Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2015

https://archive.org/details/williamstownwill00perr_0

ALLEN COUNTY PUBLIC LIBRARY
3 1833 03422 5075

Gc 974.402 W673peb
Perry, Arthur Latham, 1830-
1905.
Williamstown and Williams
college

WILLIAMSTOWN

AND

WILLIAMS COLLEGE

BY

ARTHUR LATHAM PERRY, LL.D.

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY AND POLITICAL ECONOMY, WILLIAMS COLLEGE,
MEMBER OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY, AND
PRESIDENT OF THE BERKSHIRE HISTORICAL
AND SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY

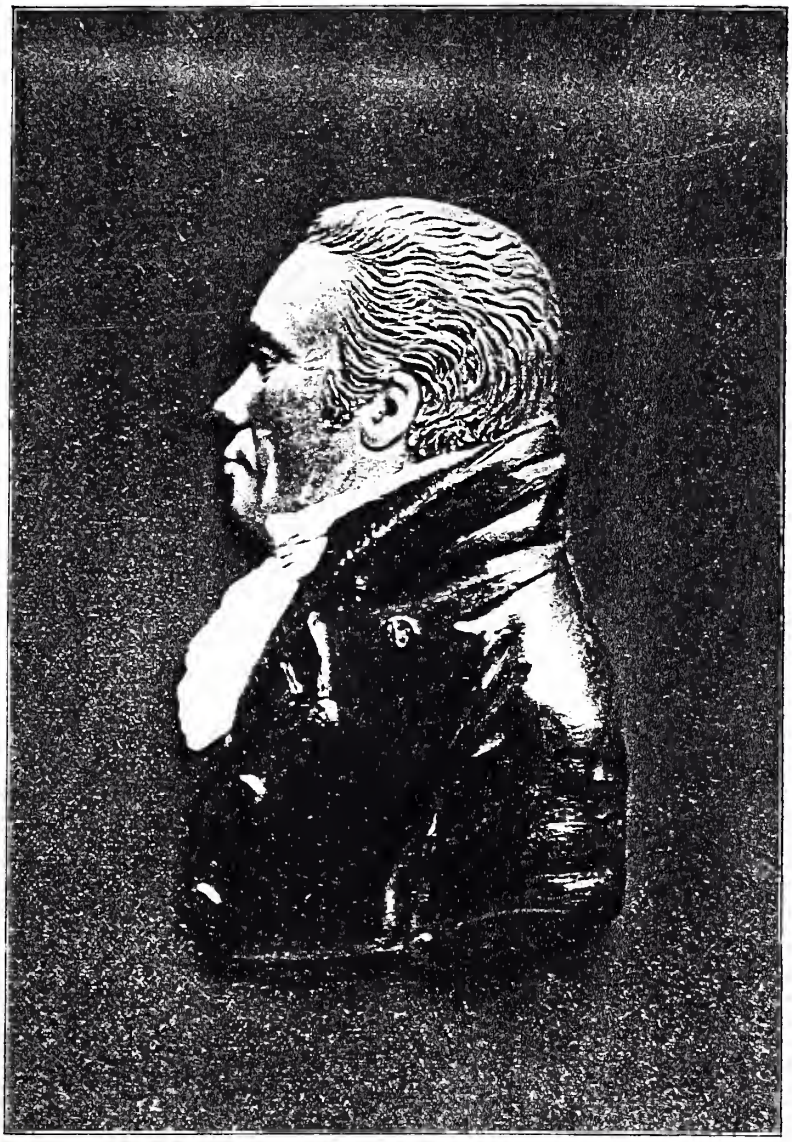
PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHOR
1899

Cal-State Library, Fullerton

COPYRIGHT, 1899, BY
ARTHUR LATHAM PERRY.

Allen County Public Library
900 Webster Street
PO Box 2270
Fort Wayne, IN 46801-2270

Norwood Press
J. S. Cushing & Co. — Berwick & Smith
Norwood Mass. U.S.A.



GEN. T. J. SKINNER,

Born 1754; died 1809.

TO

My Eldest Son Bliss Perry

WHOSE RELATIONS

TO THE TOWN AS NATIVE AND RESIDENT

AND

TO THE COLLEGE AS GRADUATE AND OFFICIAL

THOUGH BRIEFER

HAVE BEEN ALMOST AS INTIMATE AS MY OWN

PREFACE.

"Origins in Williamstown," a book of much the form and size of the one now in the reader's hands, was published in 1894, and in a second edition with *addenda* in 1896. The present book is in continuation and completion of that, but it has not been thought best to denominate this as volume second. Each book has its own title, and in a sense its own subject-matter capable of a unified treatment; while in the broadest view the theme is but one throughout, and the two volumes halves of one whole. The early story of the valleys of the upper Hoosac and the upper Deerfield, and of the water-shed between them, links itself inextricably with the great European wars of England and France falling at intervals between 1689 and 1759, the latter the date of Wolfe's definitive battle on the Plains of Abraham. These sustained relations of the general course of the "Origins" to the flow of world-history of the highest significance, gave to that volume a sort of backbone, which is of necessity wanting to this book now in hand. Fortunately, the reader will probably find, as the writer thinks he has already found, a kind of inferior substitute for that in the gradual unfolding, in the way of historical results, of the personal purpose of Colonel Ephraim Williams, the founder alike (and by one pregnant stroke of his pen) of both Williamstown and Williams College. Nevertheless, as there has been some consciousness in the composition, so there may be in the perusal of the present volume, of a somewhat lower series than before of supports and attachments and concatenations. There is here more of what is personal, and less of what is strictly historical.

And this leads to the important question often lifted, What is History? Perhaps I cannot give a satisfactory answer to this great question; but I can certainly describe my own conception of what the answer should be, and that, too, under which these books have been written. History is not a record of mere happenings, nor even of those happenings which have had a tangible and describable, and

in one sense important series of results. History must indeed be happenings with all three of those characteristics, but also furthermore with this distinctive characteristic, namely, that they be seen to contribute to the *social progress of mankind.* History may be local, or national, or universal, while the happenings must all be in their nature recordable, and in their perceived issue also of social benefit to mankind. May an illustration be pardoned here? Israel Putnam pulled the wolf out of the den at midnight by its ears. This happening became and continued extraordinarily famous; but it was in no proper sense of the word historical; the same man in 1775 was the first to advise the fortifying of Bunker Hill, and displayed great courage and energy throughout that battle; and those happenings on that June day were every whit historical. It has been often said of late years, that Biography is History. Some of it is, but most of it is not. I regard these two books as mainly historical under this conception and definition of History; but much of each of them is rather biographical and descriptive. I have aimed in general to give pictures of places and persons and successive events, believing that these might prove interesting and profitable at least to the local generations to come. Some inquisitive and reflective minds elsewhere may be drawn to the true story of beginnings and their progress, whether civic or educational, when those have become prominent and promise to continue useful as organisms. Even the gross mistakes of some of the past actors may serve the useful purpose of guiding future ones into safer and pleasanter paths. At any rate, I have not written for the mere pleasure of writing, though much of it has proven a pleasure and none of it an onerous task. Still less have I written with any expectation of pecuniary gain; knowing full well that such books as these are apt to cost their authors five dollars to one dollar ever returned.

Some readers are very properly curious about the sources of the information communicated by historical and biographical writers. In these two books, for the most part, the sources are indicated in the text itself rather than in any array of footnotes. The sources may truly be called original sources. For the first half of the period covered by my special story, the written sources (largely manuscripts) were found in such copious public repositories as the State Secretary's Office in Boston, the State Library there, the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the Registries of Deeds and of Wills scattered over the State, and in various private quarters throughout New England. For the second half of the period, in addition to researches diligently continued in all these

and other similar directions, I have had the advantage of a continuous town and college residence of more than fifty years, commencing in September, 1848. From first to last I seem to myself to have been remarkably well placed for knowing the real state of things, for understanding the character and purpose of all the chief actors, and for seeing and testing the action and reaction of causes and effects. My interest in what was going on was sharp from the beginning; my observation of men and things was unintermitted; and through no direct agency of my own I was thrown for twenty years into what proved to be the storm-centre of the chief contact of the college with the outer world. This last circumstance justified and even necessitated, if a true and clear record were to be drawn, much more reference to myself as an individual actor and a consequent public target, than would otherwise have been proper for me as an author. I have tried to keep throughout to the law of moral proportion. I have not encountered in my researches or in my associations any perfect men, and but very few essentially superior in their public virtues to the general average of those of their class; and I have been too conscious of my own imperfections in insight and judgment, to suppose that my comparative estimates of the men who have constantly confronted me as a narrator, were in any sense perfect. All I can say is, that I have endeavored to hold the scales even, and to be just when it was impossible to be commendatory. In all cases I have based my judgments on historical evidence, chiefly of course on the testimony of eye- and ear-witnesses, which evidence I have been at large pains and expense to accumulate; and the very fact that I have at no time expected that any future and competent inquirer would go over the same ground with equal patience and minuteness, made me the more cautious and conscientious in order that the present results might be, and be thought worthy to be final.

A single further explanatory word will, I hope, put me on a fair footing with all my readers. I and I alone am responsible for the construction of the facts, the inferences drawn from them, and the opinions occasionally expressed, in this present volume. In these matters I have counselled with no one, not even with him to whom the volume is affectionately inscribed, to whom, if to any one, I should certainly have gone. To him, indeed, I read casually a few pages of the text of the last chapter, relating to Professor Bascom; but I did not ask, neither did he proffer, any the least criticism of matter or style. I also read to my long-time colleague and neighbor, Professor Spring, a few pages from the manuscript of the

initial chapter, simply for the purpose of gaining his current impression of the rhetorical style, — whether it were sufficiently clear and flowing. Otherwise than this, no person has known or now knows what or why or how I have written. This is stated explicitly in order to clear the skirts of anybody and everybody, who might perhaps be supposed by some to have influenced the tone of the text in one way or another. A subordinate to this point and yet a part of it should be explained, that many persons and families characterized in these pages stand in general as examples and representatives of others, who could not be named at any length, if at all. The book is too large, as it is; and some readers may be disappointed, that they or their ancestors find no place in the record, and may be inclined to say that those who do find place owe it to special relations to the writer of modern members of the families favored. For example, a more copious recital of the ancestors and deeds and descendants of Zebediah Sabin and Nehemiah Smedley is given than of those of other early settlers in every way as meritorious as these. The reason of such discrimination was twofold: first, their record was fuller and more accessible than that of others; and second, it was intended so far as possible, to make these samples and representatives of their class, in substantial accordance with the ancient principle, — *Ex uno disce omnes.*

While thus exonerating all my friends and associates from responsibility which is not theirs, I have here publicly to express my thanks to innumerable helpers in all the walks of life, — official and private, — for information courteously and untiringly given by word of mouth and by way of written message, without which help and encouragement these books could never have been written.

ARTHUR LATHAM PERRY.

WILLIAMS COLLEGE,
December 3, 1898.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I

PAGE

WILLIAMSTOWN AND BENNINGTON 1

CHAPTER II

WILLIAMSTOWN FREE SCHOOL 151

CHAPTER III

TOWN AND COLLEGE TILL THE SEMI-CENTENNIAL 227

CHAPTER IV

TOWN AND COLLEGE TILL THE CENTENNIAL 555

CHAPTER V

BACKWARD AND FORWARD 763

LIST OF FULL-PAGE ILLUSTRATIONS.

	OPPOSITE PAGE
Gen. T. J. Skinner. Born 1754; died 1809	*Frontispiece*
Col. Simonds	249
William Hyde	494
Orrin Sage. Founder of Professorship	708
Amos Eaton. W. C., 1799	766
William Cullen Bryant. W. C., 1813	775
Mark Hopkins. W. C., 1824	780
David Dudley Field. W. C., 1825	786
William Dwight Whitney. W. C., 1845	796
John Bascom. W. C., 1849	801
James Abram Garfield. W. C., 1856	824

WILLIAMSTOWN AND WILLIAMS COLLEGE.

CHAPTER I.

WILLIAMSTOWN AND BENNINGTON.

The Hampshire Grants, in particular, a country unpeopled and almost unknown in the last war, now abounds in the most active and most rebellious race of the continent, and hangs like a gathering storm on my left.

—General Burgoyne, in August, 1777.

The elements of the "town" or "ton" of the Anglo-Saxon times in England were the most peculiar and precious freightage that the founders of New England brought with them across the sea. The German tribes, who conquered and settled in England between the years of our Lord 450 and 600, were always fond of self-government; and every free man thought it both natural and needful that he should take part in public affairs. The smallest self-governing division of these people, and the one of all by much the dearest to them, was the township so-called. This was originally at once an agricultural community of quite limited extent, holding certain parts of its land as a common pasture, and cultivating certain other parts in common under by-laws of its own making; and at the same time, also, it was the lowest unit in the civil administration of their affairs, holding statedly a general meeting or *gemote*, as it was called, in which the townsmen made their local laws and elected their petty officers, namely, the *reeve* and the *beadle;* and, furthermore, after the conversion of England to Christianity, and the organization of the local churches, the parish or lowest unit of ecclesiastical division usually covered the same ground as the township, and in process of time came in many cases to supersede it. Whether these little centres of land, and of rule, were in the first place seized by arms and so held on the part of a small body of kinsfolk and acquaintance, or had been allotted out to them by the military chief whom they

had chosen to follow, they became in either case the most pregnant and enduring points of English government, both at home and in all their colonies later. The Pilgrims of Plymouth and the Puritans of the Bay, and the earliest settlers in New Hampshire, and Rhode Island and Connecticut, almost without knowing it, placed these simple principles at the foundation of the organization of their new homes in New England.

In the course of natural development in Old England the townsmen came to elect in their common gemote persons to represent them in the assemblies of the larger civil divisions of the Hundred and the Shire; and in New England, under a similar development, the town-meetings came to choose their representatives in the judicial and other business of the County, and at length also in the General Court of the Colony. Thus the town was the original unit of civil and ecclesiastical administration in Massachusetts; and in time became the radical and essential organ of political opinion and action. The General Court, however, or Legislature, has always been relatively strong in Massachusetts, and has perhaps been steadily growing stronger, in something the same way as the Parliament,—the original *Witenagemote*,—of England has come to absorb or at least to regulate most of the original local functions there. Since the organization of the government of the United States in 1789, there has been probably no State in the Union which has maintained a stronger doctrine of State Rights, as over against the Union of the States, than has Massachusetts. An indestructible Union of indestructible States, is a phrase that has constantly expressed the prevailing political sentiment of the Bay State.

As organized under its two royal charters in succession, Massachusetts had control of all unoccupied lands within the chartered limits, but these limits themselves were not definitely settled until late in the eighteenth century. The line between Massachusetts and New Hampshire was not finally drawn until 1741; and the far more troublesome western line separating it from New York was not marked for good and all until 1787. The entire western end of Massachusetts, embracing all the land comprised in the County of Berkshire, which is nearly one-half of the territory within the State west of the Connecticut River,—the western half of which, or Berkshire county, being just fifty miles long as measured north and south, and averaging nineteen miles wide east and west,—was settled by white inhabitants much later than the other counties of the Commonwealth. The tie of connections between land as such, and the civil government having jurisdiction over it, has always been very close

in all English-speaking countries. Indeed, it has been and still remains closer than the bottom facts will logically warrant. There is a sort of sacredness attached to land in relation to public authority, and also in other relations, which vanishes under any strict analysis and comparison. Separate from any efforts on the part of the alleged government to improve them, or any expenditures to defend them, unoccupied lands have no more value than so much space measured off in the air above them. That is to say, they cannot be sold for anything to anybody. Anything whatever that cannot be sold is not then and there a Valuable. Lands become valuable only under the labors of human hands to improve them for human uses, in strict connection with the desires of other men to come into possession of them by purchase; and when these labors are intermitted and become futile, or these desires for any reason cease their action, the value of even once valuable lands disappears of necessity.[1] In other words, the value of land-parcels comes into existence, increases, diminishes, and sometimes fades out altogether, under precisely the same principles as that of all other material commodities. The land-parcel itself is economically a commodity.

The General Court of Massachusetts had had its eye on these western lands for a long time, and had wished them well settled, primarily for military reasons, and secondarily for political and pecuniary reasons. But the obstacles to their peaceful settlement were great. (1) their boundary lines were not yet fixed; (2) the Dutch from Albany were creeping up the Hoosac and its tributaries, and were hateful even when not hostile to their English rivals; (3) the French from Canada and Indians under their influence — to say nothing of the local Indians — had long been making and were liable at any time to make hostile incursions of one sort and another through this bit of territory, Nature having marked it out as a part of a grand route of migrations, warlike campaigns, travel and transportation between north and south and between east and west; (4) from the eastward the strip was somewhat removed from the other English settlements, and was certainly difficult of access on account of the Hoosac and other mountains; and (5) the whole was covered with thick and almost impenetrable forests, much of the land being broken and mountainous.

Under all these discouragements it is not strange that the first technical township within the present limits of Berkshire County — that of Sheffield on the Housatonic River — was only incorporated and established as such in 1733. The land-parcels there, however,

[1] See author's *Political Economy*, pp. 276 *et seq.*

on which everything at first turned, had been generally divided and distributed to purchasers, mostly from Westfield, eight years before this, by a committee of the General Court. The settlers upon these lands came in gradually after 1725, and constituted until 1733 what was called in those times a "Propriety" in distinction from a Township. This was a loose political organization under the control of the General Court, or rather of committees thereof appointed for that purpose. About sixty families settled in the "lower Housatonic" Propriety before it was incorporated as a town under its present name. From two of these original families in particular, the Deweys and the Nobles, there came long afterward members from Sheffield to Williamstown, who became very prominent citizens here.

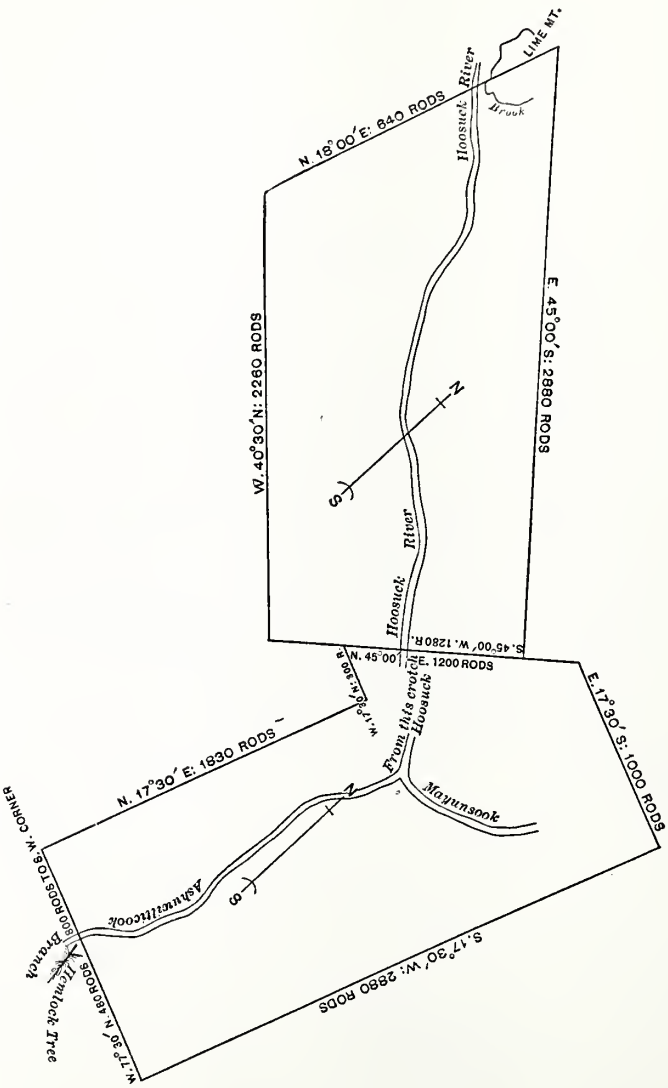
The course of development was somewhat different in the "upper Housatonic" district, parts of what are now Stockbridge and Barrington. Religious motives mingled with political in the action of the Governor and Court in relation to this interesting settlement. In 1734 John Sergeant and Timothy Woodbridge commenced a mission among the Housatonic Indians, about one-half of them then living on the "upper" and the other half on the "lower" river. The mission was located in the "upper" precinct, and was strongly patronized in official and other circles in Boston; and it became a serious and pressing object to bring these Indians together in one place for easier and more effective instruction in Christianity and civilization. With this end in view, the Legislature granted to these Indians a township of land six miles square just above Monument Mountain; and a year later a committee, of which Colonel John Stoddard was chairman, laid out the town, which, including the present West Stockbridge, was in form an exact square; a year later still, the lower Indians having mostly moved up the river, the Legislature ordered a meeting-house and schoolhouse to be built for them at the charge of the Province, Colonel Stoddard becoming chairman of a new committee raised for that purpose; and in May, 1739, the town was regularly incorporated, and often called the "Indian Town." Stockbridge was its name by act of incorporation.

With the further view of instructing the Indians in the arts of civilized life by way of example, liberal grants of land within the town were made by the Court to the heads of four white families to induce their residence, namely, to Ephraim Williams of Newton, Josiah Jones of Weston, Joseph Woodbridge (brother of the missionary teacher) of West Springfield, and Ephraim Brown of a place now named Spencer. The first mentioned was the first to arrive with his family in June, 1739, and he exerted an extraordinary

influence, much of it apparently for evil, in Stockbridge and its vicinity, for fifteen years, when he died in Deerfield. His gravestone is still legible in the "old burying-ground" there.

Governor Jonathan Belcher, then of Massachusetts and afterward occupying a similar position in New Jersey, was a patron and correspondent of this Ephraim Williams as well as of the Indian Mission in Stockbridge. A considerable number of letters are extant from the one man to the other, of no great historical consequence, and exhibiting neither of them in a specially favorable light; but there was one commission received by Williams shortly after he removed to Stockbridge, from the Governor and Council at Boston, of very considerable historical importance. It was this: he was directed to proceed with a sworn surveyor and chairman, and to lay out two townships of land in the name of the Province on what proved to be the head waters of the Hoosac River, and to unite the two townships together in a form favorable to future mutual assistance and protection. The first white man ever to perambulate within the limits of the present Williamstown and North Adams were those comprised in this party. That there were some Indians also accompanying the surveyors from Stockbridge is almost certain, because the report of their work to the Governor and Council gives the Indian names of the two branches of the Hoosac, of the Hoosac itself, and a correct drawing of the junction of the two and of the general running direction of all three. The Indians called the north branch *Mayunsook*, the south branch *Ashuwillticook*, and New England ears then doubtless heard for the first time the ever euphonious and since famous designation Hoosac.

This was in the autumn of 1739. For some reason the Williams' survey of the townships was not quite completed. The surveyors complained in their report of the opposition they had met with by "sundry gentlemen from Albany." Then the two townships were not as compactly joined together for the reciprocal encouragement and defence of the prospective settlers as had probably been designed at the official headquarters in Boston. At any rate, nothing ever came of this survey as a permanent lay-out. Just ten years later, however, that is, in 1749, the old French war having been brought to a temporary close by the Peace of Aix la Chapelle in 1748, another committee of the General Court under better auspices made a new survey throughout, and laid down the permanent lines of two townships parallel with and touching each other throughout the greater part of their length north and south. They then very properly denominated the townships East Hoosac and West Hoosac. The



"A Plan of 23,040 acres of Land lying on the East Side of Ashuwilticook River and South Branch of Hoosuck River, beg'ing at a Hemlock Tree mark'd O+.

"Surveyed, May 1739, by the Needle of the surveying instrument,

By Mr. NATH. KELLOGG,

Surveyor."

former was the one first reached by the then only path of access, namely, the immemorial Mohawk trail from the Hoosac to the Deerfield over the Hoosac Mountain, and it also embraced the rude military work built by the Province in 1745 and rebuilt in 1747 after its destruction by French and Indians the year before, and made famous both previous and subsequent to the Peace as "Fort Massachusetts"; but nevertheless the Court's committee of 1749 found on examination and expressly reported to their masters at Boston that the latter, or West Hoosac, was by much the better situation for a new settlement, — "the committee do deem the west township the most valuable."

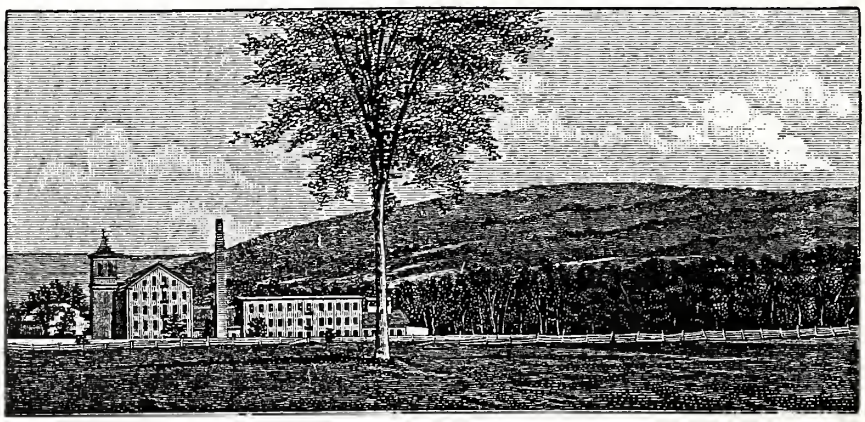
Even this survey of 1749 settled only the exterior lines and the common line dividing the two townships. The next spring still another committee came over the mountain from the eastward to lay out for the west town sixty-three house-lots of "ten or twelve acres each contiguous to each other in the best of the land," to be offered for sale to individual proprietors wherever these could be found, the ownership of any one of which to carry along with it in addition the gradual ownership of one sixty-third part of all the rest of the land in the town outside the house-lots, as that land should be successively divided by vote of the proprietors themselves into other lots, like Pine lots and Oak lots and Meadow lots and 50-acre lots and 100-acre lots and so on. The chief conditions of the sale of the house-lots were as follows: —

That each settler pay the Committee upon his being admitted £6 13*s.* 6*d.* lawful money for the use of the Government, and that he shall within the space of two years from the time of his being admitted build a house eighteen feet long, fifteen feet wide and seven stud, and shall fence five acres of his said house lot and bring the same to English grass, or fit it for plowing and raising of wheat or other corn, and shall actually by themselves or assigns reside on said house lot five years in seven from the time of their being admitted, — and that they do settle a learned Orthodox minister in said town within the term of five years from the time of their being admitted.

In harmony with the last of these conditions, one house-lot (with the same after-privileges as the rest) was to be reserved for the first settled minister, and another as toward the annual support of the ministry, and a third for the support of a school; and then the remaining sixty portions were to be offered for sale by lot wherever a market for them could be found. The three lots thus reserved for public purposes were among the most eligible of the whole series, — all of them in close proximity to the Square, as it was then called, that is, the junction at right angles of the very wide main street

running east and west with the wide intersecting street running north and south. On the Square itself stood the two first meeting-houses of the town in succession, from 1768 to 1866; and on the first pastor's lot, No. 36, sold by him shortly after his induction, stood during the whole of the nineteenth century the principal tavern of the town.

In September, 1752, the committee charged with the sale of the house-lots reported themselves as having completed the service as directed by the order of the Court. They had spent fourteen days "in lotting" several of them at Fort Massachusetts, three of them at Concord, three at Worcester, and one at Watertown. Captain Ephraim Williams, then the commander at Fort Massachusetts, eldest



PRESENT SITE OF FORT MASSACHUSETTS.

Perry's elm set in 1859.

son of that Ephraim Williams already briefly characterized, bought in this way two of the lots, Nos. 8 and 10, and fifteen more of the lots were bought at the same time and in the same way by other officers and soldiers of the fort. About fifteen additional lots, making a majority of the sixty, were bought by parties who had had to do in some civil capacity or other with the two new towns or with Fort Massachusetts. On the renewal of the French and Indian War in 1754 nearly all of the men and officers previously in the military service, who in the meantime had been "subduing" their house-lots and erecting their "regulation" houses, resumed their places in the military service of the Province, either in Fort Massachusetts or in the West Hoosac Fort then first built and garrisoned. Young men from Connecticut mingled in about equal numbers with the young

men of Massachusetts both in the labors of the so-called Peace, and in the stir and hazards of the war that followed. Williamstown, accordingly, had a very distinctive military origin. The purpose of the Province in the civil establishment of the two towns, as well as in the erection and maintenance of the two forts, was predominantly military. In the lull of active arms between the Peace of Aix la Chapelle and the renewal of the war, some twenty of these proprietors had made the legally required beginnings upon their little homesteads. The committee had laid out the house-lots along both sides of a broad street fifteen rods in width, and stretching from Green River on the east to Buxton Brook on the west, a distance of about one mile and a half. On account of a relative facility in getting at water, the earliest houses, corresponding in size and height to the conditions prescribed by the General Court in selling the lots, were built on both sides of the Hemlock Brook and on both sides of the main street toward its western end. To these few resident proprietors, struggling under local difficulties of every kind, it became imperatively needful that they should have a civil organization authorizing them to hold legal meetings for the purpose of taxing themselves and all other owners of the house-lots, whether resident or not, to sell at public auction after proper advertisement the lots of any delinquents in paying these rates, to open roads and other needed conveniences demanded by the major voice, to proceed further to divide among themselves the common lands of the township, and to defray all expenses connected therewith, to determine upon a method of holding legal meetings to choose such officers as a proprietors' clerk and treasurer and assessors and collectors, to hire a minister and build a meeting-house, and provide for a school — in short, to perform all these functions in the way of local self-government peculiar to a Propriety.

Accordingly, on the 10th of September, 1753, the House of Representatives at Boston voted that William Williams, "one of his Majesty's justices of the peace for the County of Hampshire [it was eight years later when Berkshire County was set off], issue his warrant for calling a meeting of the proprietors of the west township of Hoosac so-called, directed to one of the principal proprietors of said township requiring him" — and so on. This vote was concurred in by Governor Shirley and the Council the same day; and on Nov. 15, 1753, William Williams of Pittsfield issued his warrant to Isaac Wyman of West Hoosac, requiring him "to notify and warn the proprietors of said township that they assemble at the house of Mr. Seth Hudson in said township on Wednesday, the fifth day of

December next at nine of the clock in the forenoon to act" — and so on. Such meeting was accordingly holden at that time and place, and inaugurated a successful local self-government, which continued for twelve years the sole authority within "the west township of Hoosac." In 1765 the town was regularly incorporated by the Province authorities at Boston, and received the usual accession of powers, including the right to send a representative to the General Court. The town-meetings holden regularly thereafter superseded for many purposes the previous proprietors' meetings; nevertheless the latter continued to assemble at intervals throughout that century to care for the special functions originally confided to them. The proprietors and not the townsmen called and settled the first minister, Rev. Whitman Welch, in 1765, and paid all the expenses of his ordination; they built and paid for the first framed meeting-house in 1768, and they continued to regulate all matters concerning the still undivided lands. Of course the town grew relatively stronger and the proprietors weaker, especially after the Revolutionary War, during which the functions of both were pretty much suspended. Before the second meeting-house was erected in 1796 the College had come in with its needs for seating on Sundays and public use for Commencements, and that was built by subscriptions taken up irrespective of the old civil division. The last entries in the old Proprietors' Book, which is still preserved in the original, and complete in a fair copy taken at the instance of the present writer in 1878, bear the dates "1801," "1802," and "1803."

The proprietors mentioned by name in the record of their first meeting, Dec. 5, 1753, are: Allen Curtis, Seth Hudson, Isaac Wyman, Jonathan Meacham, Ezekiel Foster, Jabez Warren, Samuel Taylor, Gideon Warren, Thomas Train, Josiah Dean, Ebenezer Graves, — eleven men. With the exception of Allen Curtis, who was the moderator of the meeting, and who not very long after returned to his former prominent position as a citizen in Canaan, Connecticut, all these had been soldiers in Fort Massachusetts before and all took military service in some form when the French War broke out again in 1754. Seth Hudson's house, in which this first proprietors' meeting was had, is still standing in a modified form less than half a mile down Hemlock Brook from its original site, and on the west side of the brook. The second proprietors' meeting was had April 18, 1754, in the house of Allen Curtis, which stood directly across the brook from Hudson's house and on the west side of it. At this meeting it was voted to set off out of the common land not yet divided "two acres and a half for a burial-

place," on what is now called "Johnson Hill," near the present residence of Mr. Eugene Jerome. This land, however, was not long used for this object. It proved to be too far from the then dwelling-places of the people. Another parcel was set off adjoining the main street on its north side just west of Hemlock Brook, which, with its enlargements, has ever since been the chief "God's acre" of the town.

One month later, namely, May 15, 1754, the third proprietors' meeting was had "at the house of Captain Allen Curtis," and the names of three proprietors additional to the former eleven appear in the record of it, to wit, Captain Elisha Chapin (who was chosen the moderator), Oliver Avery, and John Crawford. The chief business of this meeting was to draw for the second division of 50-acre lots, the Meadow lots and the first division of 50-acre lots having been drawn for at the previous meeting in April. Fair as was this opening of local government in West Hoosac, both as to the division and partial subjugation of lands, the beginning of roads "to convean" the same, and the laying and gathering in of taxes for these and other common purposes, the prospects of the hamlet were suddenly clouded over by the furious outbreak of the final French war in America. There were no further proprietors' meetings in West Hoosac for six years and a half. The next one, and the fourth in order of time, assembled Oct. 1, 1760. It is significant of the storms of the interval that this meeting was warned to be held "at the West Hoosac Fort." Although there were no developments of civil significance within the township, great things had taken place elsewhere in that interval of time. The most consequential single battle ever fought in America was that between Generals Wolfe and Montcalm on the Heights of Abraham, Sept. 13, 1759. It settled the question of French domination on this Continent. The formal conditions of peace were not entered into by treaty between England and France until 1763; but there was not a village, nor scarcely a home in New England, but understood perfectly before New Year's of 1760, that it was all over with New France. The old routes to the northward from Massachusetts and Connecticut, which for half a century had been paths of Indian ambush, fierce hand-to-hand battle and sudden death, became all at once open and safe and extraordinarily attractive to white settlers. West Hoosac lay right in the road of each warlike expedition from those two Provinces to Ticonderoga and Crown Point; and many an officer and soldier in passing through cast their eyes about upon the well-wooded and well-watered fields, and remembered them after the war, and turned

their faces thitherward again to find a home. A military company from Hardwick, Massachusetts, in returning southward from Ticonderoga, made the mistake at what we call Hoosac Junction of following the path up the Walloomsac instead of that up the Hoosac, and were so impressed with the site of what is now Bennington, that, in the spring of 1761, a large part of them, with others, returned over the Hoosac Mountain and through West Hoosac to make the first permanent settlement there within the present limits of Vermont.

Another military company from northwestern Connecticut, composed in part of young men who had previously been in West Hoosac to look for a life-location, left these and several others besides, when the company as such returned to the Colony that sent them at the instance of Massachusetts to help defend an access common to both Colonies, threatened by hostile French and Indians. The news of Wolfe's victory at Quebec brought many new settlers to West Hoosac. Traffic in the house-lots and in the out-lots drawn by these became very brisk in the years 1760–65. There were eight supplementary divisions in all, and these were made in the following order: (1) meadow lots; (2) 1st division 50-acre lots; (3) 2d division 50-acre lots; (4) 100-acre lots; (5) Pine lots; (6) Oak lots; (7) 60-acre lots; and (8) Pitches. Excepting those who had been officers or soldiers either in Fort Massachusetts or the West Hoosac Fort, comparatively few of the actual settlers prior to the incorporation of the town in 1765 came from the eastward over the Hoosac Mountain. Most of the rest came from Connecticut. If we extend the view till the end of the century, it is noteworthy from first to last that nearly all of the comers into Williamstown from Connecticut came from three sections of that Colony: (1) from the northwestern corner, with Litchfield as a centre; (2) from the northeastern corner, with Killingly for a centre; and (3) from Colchester and its immediate vicinity. From Colchester alone came at least twenty-five families, who possessed staying qualities, and who left posterity here. As for sporadic families from Connecticut, the Corbens were from New Haven, the Whitmans from Hartford, and a part of the Kelloggs from what is now Vernon.

An important consequence of this large infusion of Connecticut families into a Massachusetts township, in connection with the huge barrier of the Hoosac Mountain on the east and the easy route down the Hoosac into the Dutch country and the North River to the westward, was and is some pretty sharp differences in the social and religious conditions of Williamstown as compared with those of the typical Massachusetts town. What these differences consist in might

prove difficult to express in exact language, but they have always been felt by dwellers here who have also had a considerable experience there. The first pastor of the church was a Connecticut man and a Yale graduate. When the College came in, in 1793, the same was true of President Fitch and the early tutors. The relations of the College to that in New Haven have been down to the present day more abundant and intimate than to that at Cambridge. It is possible that the Dutch and other New York influences, blown over the Taconics and wafted up the Hoosac River in the ever cool breezes from the northwest, have been even more penetrating and pervasive than those from the southward. New York, at any rate, has always been a very strong patron of the College, both as to funds given and the number of students sent. The annual catalogue for the present year (1893–94) shows 138 students from New York and 88 from Massachusetts. It is scarcely needful to relate, so consonant was it to human nature in general, that, in the early settlement of West Hoosac, and in the inevitable jealousies between the Massachusetts Fort and the later fort in the west township, the transient disputes and quarrels took on a form of bitterness drawn in part from the prejudices of the men of the two rival Colonies.[1]

Colonel Ephraim Williams, Jr., long the commander at Fort Massachusetts, had made it in his last will and testament, drawn at Albany in 1755, a condition of a small bequest to found a free school in West Hoosac, that the town, when incorporated as such, should be named Williamstown. Ten years later the seal of the General Court was expressly put upon the new and every way appropriate designation of the town. The new name and the reason for it, and the additional privileges of a Town over those of a Propriety, tended to increase and did increase the population of the town. The increased population demanded better facilities for public worship; and the first framed meeting-house, built in 1768, answered to this demand. A log structure thrown up on No. 36, the house-lot designated for the first settled pastor, had accommodated the desultory preaching until the settlement of Mr. Welch in 1765, and his own also for three years longer. This rude building continued as a schoolhouse and as a place for social worship till long after the Revolutionary War. The good women of the town held a prayer-meeting within its walls (such as they were) on the battle day of Bennington till after the sun went down and the news of the victory was brought.

[1] For a copious account of these two forts with their officers and men, of the settlement of West Hoosac, and particularly of Colonel Ephraim Williams, the founder, see the author's *Origins in Williamstown*.

The *decennium* between the completion of the local meeting-house in 1768 and the surrender of Burgoyne on the upper Hudson in 1777 were probably the most prosperous, and certainly the most stirring, years in the history of Williamstown. The population rapidly increased. The colonial census of 1776 showed 1083 inhabitants in Williamstown. The fertile lands of the town found a quick market on the part of purchasers, still mainly from Connecticut. Farms and homes swiftly changed hands in that decade, as the registry of deeds bears abundant witness to this day. This was the result partly of Yankee speculation, and partly of a determination of some of the more enterprising owners of the house-lots to secure each a farm made up of contiguous lands, instead of the original idea (found ineligible on trial) of a home-lot of ten acres in a village and scattered out-lots drawn successively in virtue of that. For example, Nehemiah Smedley sold his already well-tilled and well-orcharded house-lot No. 1 (on the Square), to aggregate for himself a compact farm on the lower Green River, still owned and occupied by one of his descendants; and Benjamin Simonds sold his home-lot next west of Smedley's, on which he had already opened the first tavern in the hamlet, No. 3, to gradually put together what was then the best farm in the township, now called the "River Bend Farm," north of the Hoosac, and to erect on it a substantial farm-house and tavern-stand still doing duty in the former capacity. In the same interval of time there settled in the town a dozen or more young men destined to distinguish themselves in the Revolutionary War and otherwise, most or all of whom will be particularly characterized in the following pages.

SEAL OF THE FREE SCHOOL.

Here impressed from the original die cast in 1790.

Before that war broke out in 1775, a few, but not many, of the earlier settlers in Williamstown had passed on into Vermont, following in the steps of the first party ever migrating in a body into the territory now constituting that State, namely, six families, four of them from Hardwick and two from Amherst. They were the families of Peter Harwood, Ebenezer Harwood, Leonard Robinson, Samuel Robinson, Jr., Samuel Pratt, and Timothy Pratt. They came on horseback, twenty-two persons in all including women and children, over the Hoosac Mountain by the old Mohawk trail, passed Fort Massachusetts and the West Hoosac Fort, in all probability spent one night in the little hamlet here, and arrived on Bennington Hill

June 18, 1761. Mary Harwood, sister of Peter Harwood, just then entering her seventeenth year, was of this party, and in about two years she became the wife of Nehemiah Smedley of Williamstown, who was twelve years her senior. In this and many other similar ways a firm connection was knit between West Hoosac and Bennington. The former had nearly ten years the start of the latter as a settlement, and it continued for many years the nearest strong settlement, because Pownal, lying between the two along the Hoosac, was only sporadically occupied, at first by a few Dutch farmers and later by a few English families. When Smedley lifted the heavy timbers of his new farmhouse on Green River into place, Oct. 8, 1772, strong hands from Bennington, Harwoods and others, assisted at the raising. Five years later, as we shall shortly see, the two towns reached each other the hand in the double battle along the Walloomsac in a most remarkable and effective fashion. From the very outset the growth of Bennington was phenomenal. During the summer and fall of 1761, besides the six families that came in June, at least twenty-five families, all purchasers under the original grantees, made permanent settlement. There is extant an original muster-roll of a military company formed only three years after the first families arrived, the heading of which runs as follows: —

"Muster Roll of the first company of Militia in the town of Bennington, organized Oct. 24, 1764."

This roll holds sixty-six names and may fairly be supposed to embrace all the able-bodied men then in town between the ages of eighteen and sixty. The name of Samuel Robinson, Senior, is not upon this roll, partly, perhaps, because he was then in his sixtieth year; but more probably because as a Justice of the Peace commissioned by Governor Benning Wentworth in February, 1762, and so the first judicial officer within the present limits of Vermont, he had fallen that summer into official controversy with the officers of New York who claimed the jurisdiction as against New Hampshire, and was under arrest and indictment for defending claimants under the latter, and spent some time in the Albany jail. He had had his military day during the last French War; had served as Captain in the troops of Massachusetts through several campaigns, and was at the head of his company in the battle of Lake George, September, 1755, in which Colonel Ephraim Williams was killed. In returning from the north with his company in the next campaign by the usual route to Fort Massachusetts, he mistook at what is now Hoosac Junction the Walloomsac River for the Hoosac, and marched up the former

till nightfall, when he perceived his mistake, but spent the night on the banks of the stream which was to be immortalized twenty years later by the battle of Bennington. He and his men from Hardwick looked around in the morning as they retraced their steps, and concluded that that would be a good region to settle in when peace should come in. This plan was carried out to the letter. Captain Robinson repaired to New Hampshire and made purchases of a considerable portion of the township rights under the original charter of 1749, and sought among his friends and acquaintances for associate emigrants to the new country. He was the acknowledged leader of the resolute band of pioneers in the settlement of Bennington, and he continued to exercise almost a controlling authority in the affairs of the town during the remainder of his life.

In December, 1765, when it was ascertained by the settlers under the New Hampshire grants that their lands were being granted over again from under them by the executive authorities of New York, Captain Robinson was deputed by those of Bennington and the three or four neighboring towns already partially settled to go down to New York for the purpose of trying to persuade them to save the legal possessions of the first settlers from the grasp of the city and other speculators; but his efforts proved to be unavailing. The next year he was appointed by the whole body of the settlers and lawful claimants of the lands granted by New Hampshire to repair to England and to present their petitions for relief to the King in Council. He reached London early in February, 1767; and in conjunction with William S. Johnson, then in London as an agent of the Colony of Connecticut, afterward prominent in the convention that framed the Constitution of the United States, and with the aid also of the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," he so far procured the ear of the Crown that Lord Shelburne addressed a letter to the Governor of New York, forbidding him in the most positive terms from making any new grants of lands in the disputed territory, and from molesting any person in possession under a New Hampshire title. Upon a later hearing before the King in Council, an Order in Council was passed prohibiting the Governor of the Province of New York in the most positive terms, "under pain of his Majesty's highest displeasure," from making any such new grants. While Captain Robinson was still prosecuting the business of his mission, he unfortunately took the small-pox and died in London, Oct. 27, 1767. In communicating the intelligence of his decease to the widow a few days later, Mr. Johnson wrote: —

He is much lamented by his friends and acquaintances, which were many. You may rest assured no care or expense was spared for his comfort and to save his life, had it been consistent with the designs of Providence. After his death as the last act of friendship to his memory, I took care to furnish him a decent funeral, at which General Lyman (who knew him at the battle of Lake George) and other gentlemen from America attended with me as mourners. He is interred in the burial ground belonging to Mr. Whitefield's church, where he usually attended public worship.

"Bunhill burial Fields" holds much human dust dear to the hearts of Americans. John Bunyan, Isaac Watts, and George Whitefield are the most famous names whose relics mingle with common earth in that particular section of God's sown field. But the name of Samuel Robinson, the true-hearted in war and peace, founder of Bennington, will be forever associated in some minds with these men of genius and of world-wide fame, and many another American, like the present writer in 1861, will seek within that sacred enclosure for an unmarked grave, and say with him, What matters it? His record is on high.

It was not so much the number as the nature of the rapidly increasing population of Bennington during the sixteen years prior to the one great event in its history that has made and will ever make that name memorable. Scotch-Irish people of the great emigration into Massachusetts of 1718 had in the sixty years next following diffused themselves widely and largely over central and western Massachusetts, all over New Hampshire, and into the disputed New Hampshire "Grants." An eye skilled in New England history since that date can usually tell on sight of the name the men of that heroic blood, in distinction from the more common English names derived from the Pilgrims and the Puritans and the later English immigrations; there is hanging in the State House at Concord, New Hampshire, an ancient parchment, dating from 1718, holding the names of 313 Scotch-Irish people professing their readiness to emigrate to Massachusetts in case proper encouragement were given to that end by Governor Shute; extended lists of later dates of the names of these people may be found in the appendix of Parker's "History of Londonderry, New Hampshire," and in Lincoln's "History of Worcester, Massachusetts," and in the town histories of Coleraine, Blandford, and many more; so that men of that strain of blood with their pretty uniform traits of push and pugnacity, conjoined with an obstinate conservatism, may be pretty certainly picked out in contemporary muster-rolls and petitions and deeds of real estate. As specimens, merely, there may be culled out of the

earliest records of Bennington, James Breakenridge, Robert Cochran, Isaac Clark, Thomas Henderson, Josiah Fuller, Brotherton Dagget, Joseph Barber, William Henry.

There can be no question that the Bennington people fought their battle against the New York claimants of their lands all the better and more bravely for the strong presence among them of the ever good-haters of this peculiar stock. Lieutenant James Breakenridge took the first brunt of the fight against the "Yorkers." The Scotch-Irish, however, never became the social and political leaders there like the Robinsons, and Saffords, and Deweys, and Harwoods. If this influence be plain in secular things, still more evident is the pervading and persistent, even if not predominent, control of these Scotch-Irish Presbyterians in and over the first church in Bennington, continuing in effect more or less down till the present day. When the settlers on the "Grants" had occasion to call for the help of New Hampshire in their greater struggle against General Burgoyne when he was boring his military way down the Hudson in 1777, John Stark, a Scotch-Irishman, was appointed by that colony to head the succors freely sent, more than half of whose forces, volunteer militiamen of New Hampshire, were of that same strain of blood. Colonel Baum on his way to the Walloomsac reported the names of five prisoners he had taken on the 13th of August,—George Duncan, David Starrow, Samuel Bell, Matthew Bell, and Hugh Moore. He calls them "rebels." Every one of these was a Scotch-Irishman. It must not be supposed, however, that the whole of these people then dwelling in New England took sides with the "rebels" in the Revolutionary War; on the contrary, their natural and sometimes unreasonable adherence to the *status quo* led some of them to cleave to the cause of the King; there were desertions from Stark's brigade as the different detachments crossed the Green Mountains to the westward; its nominal strength when mustered at Bennington on the 14th of August (Thursday) was 1332 privates, but one company had been left at the general rendezvous, No. 4, now Charlestown, New Hampshire, two companies on the mountains crossed, and all three of the detachments were weakened by sickness and desertion, so that General Schuyler estimated Stark's own force at Bennington "at 700 or 800 men." He was joined by two full companies of Bennington men, whose names are happily extant on official muster-rolls, and by at least 500 men from northern Berkshire, all whose names are on appropriate rolls in the archives at Boston, except the men from North Williamstown, who, as defending in the battle of Bennington their own homes directly with their beloved Colonel,

who commanded all the men from Berkshire in the battle, put in no claim for pay as militiamen of the Colony, and so honorably missed the chance of honorable mention by name to posterity. Scarcely a roll in all this series in which the present writer cannot confidently detect the names of one or more Scotch-Irishmen of New England.

At the dedication of the Bennington Battle Monument on the 19th of August, 1891, the orator of the occasion, Edward J. Phelps, said of the battle, "Its story, imperfectly preserved, comes down to us only in flashes, but they are flashes of glorious light." The contemporary records are indeed comparatively meagre, though they contain everything that is central and essential in the story; while it is certainly characteristic of the battle that interesting and even important details came to light from time to time for more than a century after the battle was fought. As one example of this, James D. Butler, then a minister in Vermont and since a distinguished antiquarian in Madison, Wisconsin, as preparatory to an address he had been selected to give on one of the anniversaries of the battle many years ago at Bennington, sought personal interviews with several of the then surviving participators in the fight, whose memories were clear, and who thus contributed personal and important facts to make Butler's address the most significant one out of a long series of excellent ones. As another example of the same feature of this battle, it has only been generally known since its Centennial, that one of the detachments of Stark's New Hampshire troops started from Lebanon directly opposite what is now White River Junction, from the homestead of Captain Richard Kimball, still standing intact in this year of Grace, 1894. For some reason the Kimball family kept the fact sacred from type or manuscript that their house, overlooking at once the flowing Connecticut and the mouths of the White and Mascoma rivers, was the rendezvous of Stark's volunteers from all northern New Hampshire; and that these did not start to cross the river in order to cross the mountains till some time after Stark himself, getting impatient at the next main rendezvous four towns below, namely, at old No. 4, now Charlestown, had gone fuming on before to Manchester, Vermont, where he consulted with and reënforced Colonel Seth Warner, then in command of a Continental regiment, and hastened on to Bennington, which he reached August 9th.

Bennington had been named by Stark at the outset of the campaign as the general mustering-place of all parts of his brigade, which he enlisted and commanded under the direct authority of the

Colony of New Hampshire, and not at all under Continental authority. General Schuyler, then commanding the Northern Department with headquarters at Stillwater, sent an officer to conduct Stark and his levy to headquarters. Stark very properly refused to budge an inch, alleging that he had been appointed Brigadier-General by New Hampshire for the purpose of defending New Hampshire people then settled on the Grants, and that his men had been enlisted and rendezvoused under those express terms, which left it, however, discretionary with himself to act independently or subordinately. Schuyler was annoyed at Stark's decision, and complained to Congress of what the latter immediately resolved was "insubordination and highly prejudicial to the common cause at this crisis"; but Schuyler was too good a patriot and too good a soldier not to avail himself of every possible coöperation, under whatever terms proffered, and he soon opened a cordial correspondence with Stark, who detailed to him his local plan of operations, which the General approved, and for which Burgoyne himself soon furnished the desired opportunity.

Three rude routes through the woods had been opened during the last French and Indian wars, from the Connecticut River over the Green Mountains to Ticonderoga and Crown Point. All three of these came handy to General Stark. After Fort Dummer was built in 1724, Massachusetts sold goods there cheaper than the French sold corresponding goods in Canada, and hence a brisk Indian trade across the highlands of Vermont, the Indians crossing and recrossing Otter Creek at what is now Centre Rutland, from and back to Lake Champlain. Three times in the course of 1759 brave sights were seen at the same ford of the Creek: (1) Eight hundred New Hampshire troops, with axes and shovels and hoes, cutting down trees and levelling hummocks, and making a military road from Charlestown (old No. 4) to Crown Point, the better to coöperate with General Amherst, then on his way to the conquest of Canada; (2) soon after, four hundred fat cattle in five droves, passing over this new road to diminish (if possible) the scurvy in the great garrison at Crown Point; and (3) Major Robert Rogers, ranger and forester, on his return from the exploit of destroying the Indian village of St. Francis on the St. Lawrence, and now on his way to rejoin Amherst at Crown Point. Over this road eighteen years later passed Stark himself and one detachment of his brigade, from Charlestown to Rutland and thence south to Manchester and Bennington. We know less about the origin and conditions in 1777 of the more northern path from Lebanon up the White River and one of its branches, and

so over the watershed to Otter Creek. Lebanon and Rutland are on the same parallel of latitude. Indeed, it is not certain that the Lebanon contingent passed over the mountains in that way. It is perhaps probable, but it is by no means certain. The remarkable tradition in the family of Captain Richard Kimball of Lebanon, already referred to, is to the effect that that contingent went down the valley on the east side of the mountains, and crossed over them not far from Bennington, having tramped more than a hundred miles with scarcely any rest, and having arrived just in the nick of time. If this were so, they must have availed themselves, in part at least, of the old Indian path from Fort Dummer up the West River and over the ridge to the head waters of the Batten Kill or of the Walloomsac. The first of these passes would have brought this detachment directly to Manchester, where Stark first mustered his men, he himself with a part of his levy having just come up the Otter Creek from what is now Centre Rutland. What is certain is this, that Stark left two of his companies of New Hampshire men on the Green Mountain summit, presumably at two different places on the ridge, as a guard and reserve; and what is altogether probable is that one of these detached companies was left on the central route and old military road from Charlestown to the Otter Creek over which the General himself passed, and that the other company was detached from the men starting from Lebanon, whether they crossed the watershed by the more northern or more southern pass. One interesting fact, at any rate, in relation to this Lebanon contingent is perfectly authentic. "Old Priest Potter," as he was popularly known up and down the middle Connecticut, a graduate of Harvard College, standing six feet two in his stockings, in 1777 pastor of the church in Lebanon, which was the first town settled on the Connecticut above old No. 4, or Charlestown, volunteered to become chaplain of the contingent gathered there and to accompany it to Bennington, on condition that he be allowed to carry a musket and to fight as well as preach and pray. He was present at one or more of the councils of war preceding the battle and reported them to Captain Richard Kimball, who, though with a company, was on duty elsewhere just before the battle, — perhaps in command of the reserve left upon the ridge above. A successor in Potter's church at Lebanon was Rev. Phineas Cooke, a graduate of Williams in 1803, who stood six feet six inches high, and who was commonly called in that region, within the writer's remembrance, the "high priest of New Hampshire."

We must go back now in place from Bennington and its vicinity to Williamstown and its vicinity, and in time from the late summer of

1777 to the early spring of 1775; we are not giving ourselves in these pages to general history, nor shall we, but only to local events in their direct bearing upon what is broader and more national; and the writer is mistaken, unless we find more and more, that the comparatively restricted area between the head waters of the Deerfield River on the eastern slopes of the Hoosac and Green mountains and the stretch of the North River corresponding in latitude, enclosing the entire valleys of the Hoosac and Walloomsac and the Batten Kill with the basins as well of Lake George and of Champlain from Whitehall to Crown Point, exhibits foresight and courage and persistence, — plans and deeds as well in peace as in war, — well worthy of the pen of the historical chronicler.

What were the causes of the American Revolution? And why did these so simultaneously and effectively act upon the men of Berkshire particularly of Williamstown, the men of southern Vermont particularly of Bennington, and the men of New Hampshire particularly of the Scotch-Irish region where dwelt John Stark and most of his enlisted men? Bancroft says, "The American Revolution, like the great rivers of the country, had many sources, but the head spring which colored all the stream was the Navigation Act." The Navigation Act had long forbidden the English colonists in America to import or export or carry British or foreign or colonial merchandise upon other than English-built bottoms, whereof the master and three-fourths of the crew were English subjects (not colonists). Some few relaxations in the strenuousness of this abominable law, which embodied every feature of "Protectionism" whenever and wherever applied; and later an ignoring of its stricter terms by British officials through bribery direct or indirect, and a persistent disregard of them by colonial merchants and carriers; had enabled the New England colonists (always fond of the sea) to develop a very considerable and profitable commerce with Europe, and particularly with the West Indies. The year 1765, which was the year of the incorporation of Williamstown, witnessed on the part of the Parliament of Great Britain a determination to reapply to the commercial colonists of America in all their original stringency the terms of the Navigation Act, and also witnessed the passage of the Stamp Act, the principle of which was the same as that of the other, namely, to get *something for nothing* under the disguise of a true trade, whose principle is *something for something* to the mutual advantage of both parties. The pretence of Britain in both cases was to compel the colonists, who had been admittedly benefited by the great Peace of 1763, to pay a part through taxation by Parliament of

the immense expenses of the great War that had led up to that Peace. The Americans justly retorted in effect, that, if they had not already borne their full share of the costs of the War, as, for example, by the capture of Louisburg and in the battle of Lake George, the best and only way for them to contribute further to the prosperity of Britain and to their own prosperity, was by an unrestricted commerce with Britain and with the rest of the world as they might choose, — a commerce enriching both parties to it by the very necessities of its nature! "No taxation without representation" was the *form* the dispute took on, but the *substance* of it from first to last was the "self-evident" and inalienable Right of men to buy and sell and get gain! When Jefferson came to voice the American view in the Declaration of Independence, he held, and the whole country unanimously held with him, that the Right of all men to Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness was Self-Evident. It did not need to be proved, it was *self-evident*. The cause of the American Revolution was the ever blessed cause of Free Trade. That cause united the Colonies without an exception in the Declaration of Independence. It united a very considerable majority of the colonists in a long and costly war; and when that war was ended in an indestructible Union of indestructible States, absolute Free Trade prevailed as between them and all the rest of the world, save Great Britain only.

It was scarcely a process of reasoning that brought our fathers into the Revolutionary War, and kept them in it through enormous deprivations and sufferings till its glorious ending; it was a direct sense of wrong suffered at the hands of the mother country, in forbidding them to build their own ships and to sail them for a profit wherever in their judgment a profit was to be found, and also in putting huge obstacles through the Stamp Act to the free buying and selling of lands, and all other valuables as between localities and individuals at home. "No taxation without representation," while it was a sound political truth and had a wide discussion on both sides the ocean, was such a generalization from particulars as never moves the masses of men to prompt and perilous and persistent action. It was the particulars themselves, namely, that they were losing every day and liable to lose altogether through artificial and parliamentary prohibitions, the best markets for their own products of every kind; their most natural and therefore the most profitable fields of activity in ship-building and all other arts of navigation; and even their domestic buyings and sellings also through the legal necessity of purchasing expensive stamps, in order to make valid the ordinary

contracts of sale and delivery, of loans and collections. There were other Acts of Parliament grievous to the colonist in the decade 1765–75, but these were the central ones, that came home to everybody's sense of injustice, and to a loss in every man's pocket actual and prospective. It was felt grievances, and not merely high-handed violations of well-grounded political and economical principles, that drove our fathers into revolution and independence.

This point is of great importance as explaining the readiness of the farmers and artisans of New England to enlist as patriots in the military service against Great Britain. They entered largely into combinations also to go without the use of tea and other foreign products, of which the mother country insisted on being the sole carriers, to the artificial and considerable enhancement of their price to the colonists; and they agreed too with one another to go without the use of British manufactures so far as they could, because the British policy of Protectionism as applied in the colonies, was so deadly hostile to the incipient manufactures of the latter, and, indeed, to their every commercial exportable. In short, Protectionism wrought then its usual and universal mischiefs, — just as it has wrought them on a prodigious scale in the United States during the last thirty years, 1864–1894; namely, enhanced in price almost everything the people have had to buy, and at the same time diminished in price almost everything they have had to sell. Without some such palpable and widespread and impoverishing cause as this, the peaceable and industrious and previously prosperous colonists in New England would not have abandoned their farms and shops and stores to go into a seemingly desperate contest with England, which, with their help, had just before put an end to New France in America.

The first offensive and successful military movement against England in the Revolutionary War had, in a certain sense, its seat and centre in Williamstown and Bennington. John Brown, a young lawyer of Pittsfield, had been appointed by Samuel Adams and Joseph Warren, the Boston Committee of Safety, in February, 1775, an emissary to Canada to obtain information of the state of that province, and to endeavor to counteract any unfriendly efforts in that quarter. Brown passed through Williamstown and Bennington, and held consultations with the patriots in both places, especially in the latter, which furnished him for his journey northward a guide and assistant in the experienced person of Peleg Sunderland. Brown wrote from Montreal on March 29, to Adams and Warren a letter, which closed as follows: —

One thing I must mention to be kept a profound secret. The fort at Ticonderoga must be seized as soon as possible should hostilities be committed by the king's troops. The people on the New Hampshire Grants have engaged to do the business, and in my opinion are the most proper persons for this job. This will effectually curb this province [Canada], and all the troops that may be sent here.

Benedict Arnold, then of New Haven, had in the meantime spoken to Samuel H. Parsons, then a member of the Connecticut Assembly, of the importance and feasibility of the capture of the fortress and of his owu desire to attempt it. Shortly after, Mr. Parsons and five other gentlemen of Hartford, for the sake of secrecy and despatch aud without communicating their purpose to the Assembly then in session, obtained from the colony treasury, on their personal obligations, £300 to be used in the undertaking. This was on Friday, the 28th of April. The same day two Hartford men were despatched with the money to the northward, and the next day six others to accompany them. At Pittsfield those were joined by John Brown (just returned from Canada) and Colonel James Easton, and messengers were sent thence to Benuington to engage Colonel Ethan Allen in the enterprise with his easily to be enlisted men on the Grants. Money makes the mare go; and the £300 in the hands of the Connecticut men, now increased to sixteen in number, so pushed on the enterprise from behind that Colonel Easton had little difficulty in enlisting forty-one men in Williamstown and Hancock, and Colonel Allen a much larger number on the Grants. On Wednesday, the 3d of May, all these enrolled men were in Bennington, amouuting to nearly two hundred; when it was agreed that Colonel Allen should be in command of the entire party. On Sunday evening, the 7th of May, all were at Castleton, the place of rendezvous, only a little more than twenty miles from Ticonderoga. On Monday a council of war was held, of which Captain Mott of Connecticut was chairman, at which it was decided that Captain Herrick of the Grants with thirty men should take Major Skene of Skenesborough (now Whitehall) into custody as a well-kuown Tory, and that the remainder should proceed to the lake shore opposite Ticonderoga, cross over in boats prearranged to be brought there, and attack the fort by surprise. Allen was to be and was first in command, Easton second, and Captain Seth Warner the third, they ranking according to the number of men they had respectively raised for the exploit.

In the meantime Benedict Arnold, intelligent and patriotic and ambitious and restless, had taken a commission from the Massa-

Cal-State Library, Fullerton

chusetts Committee of Safety, dated the 3d of May, in terms as follows: —

To Benedict Arnold Esq. Commander of a body of Troops on an Expedition to subdue and take possession of the Fort of Ticonderoga.

Sir: Confiding in your Judgment, fidelity and Valor, we do by these Presents constitute and appoint you Colonel and Commander in Chief over a Body of Men not exceeding four hundred, to proceed with all expedition to the Western parts of this and the neighboring Colonies, where you are directed to enlist those Men and with them forthwith to march to the Fort at Ticonderoga and use your best endeavors to reduce the same, taking possession of the Cannon, Mortars, Stores, and also the vessel and other Cannon and Stores upon the Lake; you are to bring back with you such of the Cannon and Mortars, Stores, &c., as you shall judge may be serviceable to the Army here [Cambridge], leaving behind what may be necessary to secure the Post with a sufficient Garrison. You are to secure suitable Provisions and Stores for the Army, and draw upon the Committee of Safety for the amount thereof, and to act in every exigence according to your best skill and discretion for the publick Interest — for which this shall be your sufficient Warrant.

By Order,

Benja Church Jun'r,
Chairman Com'tee of Safety.
William Cooper, *Sec'y.*

It is said in Sparks's "Biography of Ethan Allen," and also in his "Life and Treason of Benedict Arnold," in Hall's "Early History of Vermont," and in many another good book of History, as these are, that Arnold, in accordance with these instructions, proceeded to Stockbridge, where he had but just begun to enlist men for his enterprise, when he heard that a party from Connecticut and from Berkshire had already preceded him upon the same errand, whereupon he started at once to overtake them. This is a very considerable error in statement. Arnold did not go within forty miles of Stockbridge upon this occasion. There lies open before the writer at the present moment an exact transcript of the original Bill of Expenses presented by Arnold to the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts for what he calls his "Disbursements from Cambridge to Ticonderoga." This document has never before the present time been used for historical purposes. It was rendered by Arnold in connection with several letters to the same authorities, the first of which was sent on the 11th of May, the day after the capture of the fortress, "per express," as Arnold says in a later letter dated the 14th. This bill of items from the 4th to the 20th of May is here given entire, because it settles forever the question of the route he took, and involves the settlement of several other subordinate questions.

THE HONORABLE PROVINCIAL CONGRESS OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY

To B. ARNOLD, *Dr.*

Disbursements from Cambridge to Ticonderoga.

1775	£	*s.*	*d.*
May 4 — To shoeing horses on the road	–	8	–
To dinner, horse keeping &c at Concord	–	15	3
To shoeing horse 4*s.* 6*d.*; liquor, 2*s.* 8*d.*	–	7	4
To supper and lodging at Shrewsbury	–	17	9
5 — To breakfast &c. at Holden 10*s.* 10*d.*; dinners, 3*s.* 4*d.*; suppers and lodging, 5*s.* 6*d.*	–	19	8
6 — To ferrage at Deerfield, 1*s.* 6*d.* breakfast 2*s.* 2*d.*	–	3	8
To shoeing horse, 5*s.* 5*d.*; ferrage, 1*s.* 4*d.*	–	6	9
To cash paid Capt. Oswald at Shrewsbury, expenses,	18	17	9
To cash paid Thomas W. Dickenson, expenses of cattle,	6	–	–
To Captain Brown's bill of expence,	1	4	7
To dinner and lodging, 4*s.* 10*d.*; paid Nehemiah Smedley 60*s.*	3	4	10
7 — To dinners, suppers and lodging	–	7	8
8 — To dinners &c.	–	6	–
10 — To cash paid Captain Warner, expenses to Crown Point,	–	18	–
To — of horses 5*s.*, paid the Commissary 3*s.*	–	8	–
13 — To cash paid Sergt. Anderson 12 gallons rum for people	2	8	–
14 — To ditto paid Mr. Romans for expenses to Albany and Hartford	2	16	–
To ditto paid William Nichols express to Hartford	4	4	–
To ditto paid Lewis, expenses 6*s.* baking bread 6*s.* 4*d.*	–	12	4
To ditto paid spy for intelligence to St. Johns	1	8	–
To expenses on the road to St. Johns	–	10	–
To Donihue's bill at St. Johns	2	19	6
To cash paid Lieut. Lyman's expenses	–	1	6
To Walson's bills 8*s.*, Lyman's bill of expenses 8*s.* 3*d.*	–	16	3
20 — To cash paid Capt. Brown's expenses to Cambridge and back	8	18	8½
To ditto paid Capt Nineham, an Indian Ambassador from Stockbridge to Caunawauga	3	12	–

When Colonel Arnold turned his horse's head at Concord toward Deerfield, along the present line of the Fitchburg Railroad, and so toward the present Hoosac Tunnel and the river of the same name beyond, he demonstrated that his immediate objective was Williamstown and not Stockbridge. He reached Williamstown by the old Indian Trail over the Hoosac Mountain on the evening of the third day from Cambridge.

Besides paying for dinner and lodging for himself and single companion, he also paid Nehemiah Smedley at the same time for "expenses," 60*s.* What were those expenses? Looking back over

the bill, we find that he had paid cash to "Captain Oswald at Shrewsbury *expenses*," £18 17*s.* 9*d.* Captain Oswald figured a little later at Ticonderoga. Little or no doubt remains that Arnold, not stopping in his haste to enlist men himself in accordance with his instructions, paid money to others to enlist them and bring or send them northward as soon as possible. Provision was made at Deerfield to have men enlisted, and Arnold bought there (see bill) £6 worth of cattle of Thomas W. Dickenson; and we know from other sources that T. W. Dickenson and his younger brother, Consider Dickenson, started the next morning to drive the cattle to Ticonderoga. This little transaction was well known and well remembered at Deerfield; for more than one hundred years afterward the north room of the house, which was then an old-fashioned tavern kept by Talah Barnard, was shown to strangers as the place where the cattle-bargain was made, and whence Arnold, after taking a glass of spirit (the usual accompaniment of bargains completed), mounted his horse and rode on up the Deerfield River through Charlemont to and over the mountain. Joseph White, late Treasurer of the College, a native of Charlemont, told the writer more than once that his grandfather White, who was at Ticonderoga as a soldier in less than a week from this time and witnessed some of the unseemly disputes there between Arnold and Allen, used to tell him in his boyhood that Allen was no match for Arnold in these contests, — "*he hadn't got no grit, Joe!*" It is certain, accordingly, that Colonel Arnold took such steps along his route as brought many Massachusetts soldiers to Ticonderoga almost as soon as he got there himself. Indeed, the Connecticut committee present there reported to the Massachusetts Provincial Congress the next day after the capture, that is, May 11, that there were then at Ticonderoga 16 men from Connecticut, 60 from Massachusetts, and 140 from the New Hampshire Grants. As Colonel Easton admittedly took up to Castleton but 41 men from Williamstown and Hancock, some 20 must have been added to these before Thursday, the 11th. Where did they come from? The present writer does not know for certain.

Only two conjectures are plausible — scarcely even possible — to account for the 60 shillings paid to Nehemiah Smedley in the latter's own house on the evening of the 6th of May "for expenses" over and above the "dinner and lodging" 4*s.* 10*d.* Smedley was then an officer in the Williamstown militia, probably captain, a rank he certainly held a few months after; and with one or two exceptions, he was the most prominent and influential citizen of the place. The precedent of Captain Oswald at Shrewsbury makes it most

likely that the "expenses" in both cases were the furnishing and forwarding of volunteers to Ticonderoga. It is true, a good many had already gone from Williamstown, but it is also true that that place is the nearest and quickest in Massachusetts to the then objective point. This supposition also best accounts for the increase there of twenty Massachusetts volunteers by the following Thursday, although it is clearly possible that men might have reached there from Deerfield and Charlemont through Williamstown in the interval between Saturday and Thursday.

But the only other reasonable conjecture must not be passed over in silence. Smedley had raised the house in which he then lived, in which he died in 1789, in his fifty-seventh year, and which is still owned and occupied by one of his lineal descendants (B. F. Bridges), Oct. 8, 1772. It was the second two-story house ever lifted in Williamstown; and it is somewhat remarkable that both of these are still standing in good condition as the nineteenth century is wearing close to its end. Smedley covered his frame and rafters in a substantial manner, finished off a cellar-kitchen into which he built a huge stone oven, — a sight to behold till this day, — and then, as the war clouds began to lower, said to his children, who in turn reported it to theirs, — "*We will wait now and see who is going to own it.*" When Benedict Arnold lodged and dealt under that roof, the big oven in the basement was the most striking thing beneath it. Arnold had bought live cattle at Deerfield to help feed his troops, moving and in garrison; but how about bread for the same? Two years later, to our certain knowledge, large quantities of bread were baked in that oven and sent to Bennington by the hand of the eldest son, Levi Smedley, who lived to old age to repeat the tale, to feed Captain Smedley and his military company the day after the battle of Bennington. What was there to hinder the suggestion and completion of the contract, that bread should be baked in that oven and sent to the northward? Smedley's broad acres on Green River were by that time growing an abundance of wheat. He was a thrifty and forehanded man. The relatively small sum of £3 is perhaps more consonant with a trade of this sort than with one like that with Captain Oswald at Shrewsbury. No matter. Williamstown contributed in men and other means liberally to the capture of Ticonderoga and the holding of Lake Champlain. It must have been at Williamstown that Arnold first heard of the party from Connecticut gone on before; and without any doubt he showed his commission from Massachusetts to Captain Smedley, which *seemed* at any rate to give him a right to command any volun-

teers raised in "the western parts of this and the neighboring Colonies." The detailed information received here would naturally quicken his pace, — if that were possible. It had been rapid riding before, involving a good deal of horse-shoeing "on the road," as is clearly shown on the bill.

Smedley's folks kept "Saturday night" in accordance with the old Connecticut custom, whence he had come some twenty years before, but that did not keep the parties from business, nor from conning busily all the circumstances of the case. Smedley's wife was Mary Harwood from Bennington. Arnold would naturally want to know all about the roads thither and beyond. He himself certainly made good time that Sunday and the next day, for before Monday evening he had overtaken the advance party at Castleton, less than twenty-five miles short of Ticonderoga. His coming was the signal for great confusion in Colonel Allen's camp. Arnold immediately and stoutly claimed the chief command by virtue of his commission from the Committee of Safety of Massachusetts, which he promptly exhibited, and which, while indeed it directed him to enlist his men in "the western parts of this and the neighboring Colonies," directed him also "to act in every exigence according to your best skill and discretion for the publick Interest, — for which this shall be your sufficient Warrant." Particularly it authorized him to take "possession of the Cannon, Mortars, Stores, and also the Vessel and other Cannon and Stores upon the Lake; you are to bring back with you such of the Cannon and Mortars, Stores, &c., as you shall judge may be serviceable to the Army here [Cambridge], leaving behind what may be necessary to secure the Post with a sufficient garrison. You are to secure suitable Provisions and Stores for the Army, and draw upon the Committee of Safety for the amount thereof." It was not a clear military question by any means as between Colonel Allen and Colonel Arnold at Castleton; and it is a wonder that, with such disputed claims to the leadership, the fortress of Ticonderoga with all its artillery and stores surrendered at discretion thirty-six hours later.

On the other hand, it is no wonder that the men already raised for the special expedition of reducing the fortress under the auspices of Connecticut men and money, accompanied by prominent men from that colony who styled themselves the "Committee of War," officered by those well known to them, who had actually enlisted them for a definite purpose, and now already near to the fort to be attacked, should refuse to be placed under an entire stranger coming with a commission from another colony, and should threaten to abandon the

Expedition in a body and return to their homes, in case the command were to be transferred to Colonel Arnold. The point of military rank was not wholly clear; colonial jealousy as to authority and precedence came into the question; Arnold insisted on his claims with warmth and pertinacity, and Massachusetts, whose commission he bore, was coming to be recognized by all as head and front in the present quarrel with Britain; nevertheless, by the determined attitude of the rank and file already gathered at Castleton, Arnold was forced to yield for the time being. Allen himself was more or less concessive both then and later, and it was agreed that Arnold should be allowed to serve as a volunteer, but without any special command. So the march was resumed. The party arrived late on the 9th of May at Shoreham, nearly opposite the fort across Lake Champlain. The prearrangements made for boats to concentre there sufficient to carry the whole party across had failed. A few boats were gotten together with great difficulty, and largely through the efficiency of Arnold, who was well acquainted with water transportation, and with all the arts of navigation as then practised. Eighty-three men crossed over with Allen and Arnold. The boats were to be and were sent back for the rest, left under the command of Captain Seth Warner, but the day was already beginning to dawn when the first party landed just below the fort; and Allen and Arnold agreed, that if the reserve were waited for, the fortress could not be taken by surprise.

There are several contemporary written accounts of what immediately followed, resulting in the bloodless capture of a renowned fortress by a mere handful of determined men on the early morning of May 10, 1775. One of these and the first one printed, the data for which were furnished by Colonel Easton of Pittsfield, is so manifestly distorted by the egregious egotism of Easton himself, and is so flatly contradicted by eye-witnesses, and by the subsequent statements of Captain Delaplace, the British commander of the garrison at the time, as to be historically worthless. Easton's good name went down forever under his lack of veracity upon this occasion. Accounts by the respective partisans of Arnold and Allen are of course somewhat colored by that circumstance, while the following contemporary narration signed by "Veritas," which was written indeed with the purpose of taking the wind out of poor Easton, and which does not probably do full justice to Colonel Allen in the premises, is yet corroborated in all its main particulars by eye-witnesses favorable to him. The simple truth of history is, that Allen and Arnold both performed their parts exceedingly well in this critical transaction, and neither of them can be safely praised or blamed at the expense

of the other. Long afterwards, both of them came into great odium, Arnold especially, for downright treason to his country; but so far as the capture of the forts Ticonderoga and Crown Point is concerned, and the maintenance for the then present of the new power over the whole of Lake Champlain, there is abundant credit for both of them, and no good ground for the disparagement of either of them.

As the above account of the reduction of *Ticonderoga*, which from its complexion, I suppose originated with that very modest gentleman (Colonel *Easton*) himself, is so replete with falsehood, and is so great an imposition on the publick, that I think it my duty, in order to undeceive the publick, and to do justice to modest merit, to give you a candid detail of the whole matter, for the truth of which I appeal to every officer and private who were present, which is as follows:

Some gentlemen arrived in the *New Hampshire Grants* from *Connecticut*, with a design of seizing on the fortress of *Ticonderoga;* were there joined by a number of men, among whom were Colonels *Allen* and *Easton;* the former with the assistance of Captain Warner, collected about one hundred and fifty men, with whom they marched to *Castletown*, twenty miles from *Ticonderoga*, where they left Colonel *Easton*, and proceeded ten miles towards *Shoreham*. The next day Colonel Arnold arrived at *Castletown* from *Cambridge*. Having concerted in a similar plan, and being commissioned by the *Massachusetts* Congress to raise a regiment, he proceeded on to the party commanded by Colonel *Allen*. When Colonel *Arnold* make known his commission, &c. it was voted by the officers present that he should take a joint command with Colonel *Allen*, (Colonel *Easton* not presuming to take any command.) When the party had marched to *Shoreham*, ten miles on the lake below *Ticonderoga*, where they waited for batteaus to cross the lake, until midnight, and none arriving, Colonel *Arnold*, with much difficulty, persuaded about forty men to embark with him in a batteau accidentally taken there, and landed about half a mile from the fort, and immediately sent back the batteau, which, by reason of a violent storm of wind and rain, did not return till break of day, with a small boat, and near fifty men in both. It was then proposed by some gentlemen to wait open day and the arrival of the remainder of the men, which amounted at that time to near one hundred. This Colonel *Arnold* strenuously opposed, and urged to storm the fort immediately, declaring he would enter it alone, if no man had courage enough to follow him. This had the desired effect; he, with Colonel Allen, headed the party, and proceeded directly to the fort. When they came within about ten yards of the gate, the sentry discovered them, and made a precipitate retreat. He was pursued closely by Colonel Arnold, who was the first person that entered the fort, and Colonel Allen about five yards behind him. This I was an eye-witness of, being only a few yards distant. Colonel Arnold immediately ordered the men to secure the doors of the barracks, and went himself with Colonel *Allen* to the commanding officer, Captain Delaplace, and desired him to deliver up his arms, and he might expect to be treated like a gentleman; which he immediately complied with, as did the whole garrison.

I do not recollect seeing Colonel *Easton* until nine o'clock, and was told he was the last man that entered the fort, and that not till the soldiers and their

arms were secured, he having secured himself in an old barrack near the redoubt, under the pretence of wiping and drying his gun, which he said had got wet in crossing the lake; since which I have often heard Colonel Easton, in a base and cowardly manner, abuse Colonel Arnold behind his back, though always very complaisant before his face. Colonel Arnold was soon made acquainted with the liberty he had taken with his character; and upon his refusing to give proper satisfaction, I had the pleasure of seeing him heartily kicked by Colonel *Arnold*, to the great satisfaction of a number of gentlemen present, although he (*Easton*) was armed with a cutlass, and a pair of loaded pistols in his pocket. I am your humble servant,

VERITAS.[1]

Who was this "Veritas"? The perfect clearness and the tone of candor that pervade his communication from start to finish demonstrate that he did not belie himself in his signature. If he were a subordinate officer in Colonel Easton's command, there were military and other reasons sufficient to justify the withholding his own proper name. All he says about himself is in a preparatory note to John Holt, then publishing a patriot newspaper in Norfolk, Virginia, to whom he sends under date of June 25, 1775, "the following erroneous account of the reduction of *Ticonderoga*, which was published in Mr. *Thomas' Oracle of Liberty*, the 24th of May last; and as the writer of the account which follows it [the clipping sent] had no opportunity of seeing it till very lately, he being up at the forts ever since they were taken, he could not contradict it sooner. I beg, therefore, you will republish it in your next journal, together with the account that follows it, which may be depended on."

The present writer has some slight reasons (which he will now share with the reader) for concluding that the writer of the above account may have been Israel Harris of Williamstown. At any rate, the account squares in general and also in several minute particulars with what Israel Harris in his old age (he applied for a revolutionary pension in 1832) was accustomed to relate to two of his grandsons, Professor James D. Butler, of the Wisconsin University, and Rev. Dr. Jonathan Harris Noble, long of Schaghticoke, New York, Williams College, 1826, both of whom told the present writer directly what they had often heard from him. His detailed application for a pension is now on file at Washington, and is in general corroborative at once both of the account and of these conversations. One of his most interesting oral statements was that he himself was the third man in the single file to enter the gate at Ticonderoga, and that only Allen and Arnold were before him. Compare with this what the writer of the above account says: "The sentry was pur-

[1] See American Archives, Fourth Series, 2d Vol. p. 1086.

sued closely by Colonel Arnold, who was the first person that entered the fort, and Colonel Allen about five yards behind him. This I was an eye-witness of, being only a few yards distant."

It is almost certain from the account above given, that the writer of it was a Berkshire man and well acquainted with Colonel Easton, who would naturally have been among the first to enter the fort, and whose own false account, the first published, pretended that he was among the first. Captain Delaplace, the British commandant of the fort, when he saw afterwards Easton's account of its capture, pronounced its particulars "to be totally devoid of truth; for I solemnly declare I never saw Colonel Easton at the time the fort was surprised, nor had he and I any conversation whatever relative thereto, then, nor at any other time since." The author of our account, whoever he was, knew Easton well, and believed him to be a coward and a braggart and a liar. No Green Mountain Boy would have had occasion to know him so well. We are not dependent alone on the testimony of Israel Harris's grandsons that Harris was among those who "entered the fortress at Ticonderoga on the morning of May 10." He himself uses those very words in his application for a pension. It is plain from all the accounts that Allen arranged his men at the landing-place in three files, he heading the central one, and Arnold at his left heading another, and the Berkshire men making up the right-hand file; the road up from the landing would then, and will now, take three men abreast; but when they had almost reached the narrow gateway of the fortress, whose single sentry snapped his fusee at them and ran, the files necessarily would break up and the men would no longer stand upon the order of their going. They were all alike individual volunteers, nor were they arranged in any strict military subordination under officers. The rank and file had determined at Castleton that Ethan Allen should be their leader; Allen and the Connecticut civilians present had also agreed that Arnold should have the rank of Colonel in the enterprise, but without a separate command. It is credible and probable and as nearly certain as that sort of historical statements can generally be made, (1) that Colonel Arnold entered the fortress first and foremost; (2) that Colonel Allen entered next, in conscious and conceded command of the party; (3) that Israel Harris of Williamstown and the author of the above-quoted account (if indeed they be not the same person) were at least the third and fourth of the party to follow. So much rests securely on the contemporaneous testimony of eye-witnesses.

But posterity is indebted to Israel Harris alone for a much more

interesting and suggestive piece of intelligence in connection with the taking of Ticonderoga than that which he transmitted as to the manner and order of entering the fortress. Ethan Allen was known in his day and generation as a very profane and rough-speaking man; and many persons in the generations since have wondered that such a man, on the spur of such a moment of excitement and personal triumph, should have used such a rotund and solemn form of expression as his demanding the surrender of the fort, — "In the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress!" — especially as the Congress had not then assembled, and was only appointed to assemble upon that very day. The authenticity of the formal expression, however, is confirmed, and the consistency of the man's speech and manner at the same time maintained, by what both of Harris's grandsons have told the writer directly from him; namely, that Allen's first exclamation when he reached the stairs that led to the apartment of Delaplace, the commandant, was, "*Get out of here, you damned old rat!*" Later, when Delaplace appeared half-dressed at his door and demanded the authority for such an astounding interruption, and Allen had had time to sober down to realities, then he employed the famous phrase that has immortalized his name.

Israel Harris was born in Cornwall, Connecticut, Feb. 27, 1747. His wife was Sarah Morse. Both were members of the church here in 1779, when the first extant list of members was made out. Joseph Morse was a brother of Mrs. Harris, and so probably was Clark Morse, who lived and wrought as a hatter on North West Hill. Harris's military record as a soldier and officer from Williamstown throughout the Revolutionary War was a good one and, more than that, he passed through all the ranks from private to captain, and possessed the confidence of Colonel Simonds, who was throughout his military superior, and at whose order in 1779 he commenced to recruit soldiers here for the regular army. When the war was over he removed to Rutland, Vermont, where he became one of the original founders and members of the church, Oct. 5, 1788, and was chosen deacon in 1800. He removed from Rutland to South Hartford, Washington Co., New York, about 1808, and died there Nov. 28, 1836, in his ninetieth year. Joseph Morse, also a constant soldier here during the Revolution, migrated to Rutland and died there at the house of one of Harris's daughters, not far from the time of his own death. Clark Morse's old hatter's shop on North West Hill was moved down by oxen, about 1815, to become part of a fulling-mill on Hemlock Brook. The late Deputy Sheriff John R. Bulkley, then a little boy, whose father's oxen were in the line, ran alongside

with the rest of the boys, and being persuaded by Collins Tallmadge to take quite too much of the rum (always liberally provided on such occasions), was carried home to be cured by a method which now seems queer enough, as administered by a woman who then worked for his mother.

Israel Harris together with most of those first enlisted from Hancock and Williamstown and Pownal were dismissed from Ticonderoga to their homes a few days after the capture, as Harris himself tells us. Captain Seth Warner with a small party took Crown Point also by surprise two days after Ticonderoga. The unseemly but not unnatural disputes between Arnold and Allen, renewed and continued at the latter place, were quieted down for the time by a virtual agreement that Arnold should command at Crown Point for his important and successful operations to the northward by water (because he understood navigation), while Allen continued in command at Ticonderoga until he was superseded by Colonel Hinman of Connecticut, which colony assumed control on the lake until the Continental Congress tardily inaugurated the disastrous expedition against Canada. Israel Harris, however, almost as soon as he got home enlisted as orderly sergeant into the Williamstown company commanded by Captain Lemuel Stewart, Lieutenant Ezekiel Blair, and Second Lieutenant Nathan Smith. This company was enlisted for six months and was attached to the regiment of Massachusetts state troops commanded by Colonel James Easton and Major John Brown as field officers. Easton had not yet lost the confidence of his contemporaries at Boston and Pittsfield, and John Brown, Berkshire born and bred, was always a first-class officer till he was killed in the Mohawk Valley in one of the last campaigns of the war. This regiment promptly marched from Berkshire to Ticonderoga, and with three other regiments, all under the command of Brigadier General Richard Montgomery, commenced building boats there to carry this small army against St. Johns as a part of the expedition against Canada. In August the regiments embarked for St. Johns, besieged it for three months and four days, and Montgomery received its surrender Dec. 4, 1775, and was commissioned major general by Congress five days later. Easton's regiment, their time of service having expired, returned home. In the meantime Benjamin Simonds of Williamstown was appointed colonel of the Berkshire regiment, Aug. 30, 1775. This commission covering the levies of the entire county, Simonds held in honorable activity at Ticonderoga and elsewhere until April 4, 1777, when two regiments were organized in Berkshire in place of the single one, and he received a new

commission as colonel of the Second Regiment of Berkshire County, the First now covering the southern half of the county.

Captain Lemuel Stewart, under whom Israel Harris enlisted for Ticonderoga the second time, bears a praiseworthy record and memory in Williamstown. He lived near the Square, in the first house on South Street, east side, where Stephen Hosford long afterwards kept a tavern and a store. It is extremely probable that Captain Stewart kept a tavern there. The place was called, at any rate, "the old red tavern." It was probably the second tavern opened in the hamlet, Simonds having removed his stand from the Square across the Hoosac River a mile to the northwards, about the time that Stewart came here, say 1770, in which year the eldest of his five children, whose births are registered here, was born. Stewart held the military command in the town previous to and subsequent to the battle of Bennington, posting guards certainly at the Green River bridge at the east end of the village, and probably also at the Hoosac River bridge near Simonds's second tavern-stand. Ezekiel Blair, who was lieutenant of the company, enlisted for Ticonderoga and Canada in the spring of 1775, was of Scotch-Irish parentage, and came here from Western (now Warren) in 1764, and bought a good farm for £40 of Samuel Kellogg and Chloe his wife, about midway between the two villages. His wife's name was Elisabeth, and they had four children whose births are registered here. After about twenty years of residence he passed on to fresh fields and pastures new, — a characteristic of the men of his race in New England, who generally had very large families and consequently soon became straitened in any location first pitched upon. Probably also a spirit more restless and enterprising than that of English settlers in New England at about the same periods of time was inherited by the Scotch-Irish from their migrating ancestors, who landed at Boston in August, 1718, — five shiploads of them from Londonderry and its neighborhood in the north of Ireland, themselves descended from Scotchmen colonized there in Cromwell's time. Notwithstanding this tendency in general, there were many families of this remarkable stock who exhibited in all parts of New England unusual staying qualities from generation to generation. For one example, Absalom Blair, a near kinsman of Ezekiel Blair, coming here from the same town and at about the same time with the latter, transmitted his fine farm on the Green River to his son William, and he to his son Edwin in due succession, so that one family cultivated the same acres all held in fee simple for considerably more than a century. So too Moses Young, whose migrating ancestor, John

Young, died in Worcester in 1830, bought lands in South Williamstown in the sixties of the last century, which have never yet been out of the ownership of his direct descendants and do not at the present writing seem likely to be for a long time to come.

Only a word or two is here due to the memory of Nathan Smith, the second lieutenant of this company destined for Canada in 1775. He came here very early from Western, the town of the Blairs and very likely in company with them. He lived in several parts of the town, bearing in his old age the honorary title of "Govenor Smith," died in 1820 aged 102 years, a person of greater well-authenticated age than any other citizen of the town down to the present time. He was born in 1718, the very year of the principal Scotch-Irish immigration, although he was not of that lineage at all. He possessed staying qualities of another sort. The late Dr. Sabin remembered the "Govenor" well. He fell into extreme poverty in his old age, and desired to marry again, in order, as he said, "to have some body to *convarse with.*"

When Colonel Arnold reported in person in July as well as in writing previously to the Massachusetts body that had employed and commissioned him, his doings and difficulties on Lake Champlain, it was seen and recognized that they had every reason to be satisfied with his services in general. He had accomplished with very little means and amid incessant animosities (for which he himself was partly to blame) great things in the way of preparation for General Montgomery's advance on that side toward the conquest of Quebec, which was the grand objective in the first offensive campaign of the Colonies against the mother country. While Quebec still remained the principal French fortress in America, it was talked over around many an English camp-fire during the last French war, and distinctly proposed by Governor Shirley to a military council in New York in 1755, that Quebec was most vulnerable on its easterly side by means of the Kennebec and Chaudière rivers. Twenty years later General Washington at his camp in Cambridge, in conference with several members of the Continental Congress, revived this scheme, which Arnold himself may have proposed at that time, of a coöperative force ascending the Kennebec and descending the Chaudière, to meet under the walls of Quebec General Montgomery and his army descending the St. Lawrence. The enterprise was bold and perilous, encompassed with untried difficulties, requiring in the leader dexterity and audacity and pertinacity to the last degree. Arnold was then the only man in Cambridge fitted or willing to head a party in such perils. He was commissioned by Washington a colonel in

the Continental service and given a body of about eleven hundred effective men, consisting of ten companies of New England musket-men and three companies of riflemen from Pennsylvania and Virginia.

It is no part of our present task to tell the story of this winter expedition, except so far as men from Williamstown took a hand in it. The musket-men for Arnold's force seem to have been drafted out of companies then present in the army at Cambridge. Such a company, holding 29 men from Williamstown, 12 from East Hoosac, 9 from Lanesboro, 4 from New Providence, 1 from Gageborough [Windsor], 2 from New Ashford, 1 from Sheffield, — a drummer, — and 1 from Boston, 59 in all, yielded 2 officers and 6 privates to the body under Arnold. A muster-roll of this company, made out after Arnold had started in September, is fortunately extant, and the reader may like to see an exact copy of it, which is herewith appended: —

Samuel Sloan	Capt.	Williamstown	
Zebediah Sabin	1st Lt.	"	On command to Quebec
Enos Parker	2d Lt.	E. Hoosuck	
Asaph Cook	Sergt.	"	
David Johnson	"	Williamstown	On command to Quebec
Bartholomew Woodcock	"	"	
Alexander Sloan	"	"	
Barachiah Johnson	Corp.	"	
Thaddeus Munson	"	Lanesborough	
William Mayhew	"	New Providence	
James McMaster	"	Williamstown	
Charles King	Drummer	Sheffield	On command to Quebec
Ichabod Parker		E. Hoosuck	
Ezra Church		Williamstown	
William Spencer		"	
Jesse Jewell		E. Hoosuck	On command to Quebec
Edward Bailey		Lanesborough	
Daniel Johnson		Williamstown	
Charles Sabin		"	
Foard Bass		E. Hoosuck	
James Andrews		Williamstown	
David Parkhill		"	
Elijah Flynt		"	
Starling Daniels		"	
Joshua Smedley		"	
Jonathan Hall		"	
Henry Wilcox		"	
Nathaniel Parker		E. Hoosuck	On command to Quebec
Samuel Pettebone		Lanesborough	
William Bennett		E. Hoosuck	
Jere. Osburn		Williamstown	

Anthony Lamb	Williamstown	
Eliphalet White	E. Hoosuck	
Benjamin Dibble	"	
Samuel Wilcox	Williamstown	
Israel Mead	New Ashford	
William Bates	"	
Joites Barns	E. Hoosuck	
Samuel Clark	Lanesborough	
Andrew Hinman	"	On command to Quebec
Thomas Whitney	"	On command to Quebec
Isaiah Honeywell	"	
John Hall	"	
Joseph Lawrence	Gageborough	
Thomas Pall	New Providence	
Seth Pettebone	Lanesborough	
Jeremiah Collins	New Providence	
James Holden	E. Hoosuck	
Moses Rich	Williamstown	
Ebenezer Hutchinson	"	
Timothy Sherwood	"	
William Young	"	
Absalom Baker	"	
Michael Watkins	New Providence	
Duncan Dunn	E. Hoosuck	
William Popkins	Boston	In the train 1 July
Alexander Spencer	Williamstown	Discharged 1 Oct.
Alexander Spencer, Jr.	"	On command to Quebec
Ahasuel Turret	"	Discharged 20 Sept.

This company was evidently one of the companies of minute-men summoned from all parts of the State to the seaboard previously to or about the time of the battle of Bunker Hill, June 17, 1775. They were quartered in Charlestown. Washington assumed the command of what was then first called the Continental Army fifteen days later under the old elm at Cambridge. This company became a part of the 26th Regiment, then commanded by Colonel John Paterson, of Lenox. The news of the battle of Lexington had reached Berkshire at noon of the day following it; Paterson himself, with parts of his regiment of minute-men, had started at sunrise the next morning, other parts followed a little later; and the United States began to commission for the national service officers of this and other regiments even before Washington took command of the army. It will be in order now to give a brief account of some of the officers and men of this northern Berkshire company at Charlestown, eight of whom started with Arnold in September for the Kennebec and Canada. About one-half of these reached Quebec with him. The field officers

in this famous expedition, besides the chief in command, were Lieutenant Colonel Christopher Greene, Lieutenant Colonel Roger Enos, and Majors Bigelow and Meigs. At the head of the riflemen was Captain Daniel Morgan, who became renowned before the war was over. Colonel John Paterson of the 26th Regiment Continental, of which our Berkshire company was a part, although he did not go up the Kennebec with Arnold, was a little afterwards ordered to Canada on the side of Lake Champlain, and took part with him in the disastrous battle of the Cedars. Paterson was a graduate of Yale College in 1762, was advanced to brigadier general in February, 1777, and later to major general, and continued in honorable service till the close of the war. He was the youngest of all the Revolutionary major generals, excepting only the Marquis La Fayette. No other citizen of Berkshire attained the eminence, during the Revolution, of John Paterson, and he closed his military career by heading a detachment of the Berkshire militia to put down, in 1786, what was called "Shays's Rebellion" in western Massachusetts.

1. Samuel Sloan. As he was the captain of the minute-men in 1775, and after the war a major general of the militia, and a very prominent citizen of Williamstown until his death in 1813, it is fit that he should be first in this list to be characterized. He was born in Norwalk, Connecticut, in 1740, and removed to Canaan in the same State, where he practised the blacksmith's trade. Becoming associated here with Asa Douglas and marrying into his family, who had been unsuccessfully engaged in trade at Canaan, and had acquired by purchase of Josiah Dean and others, some 630 acres of good land in what is now Hancock, and had settled on it in 1766, and afterwards built the large and fine house often called "the palace" in those days, now owned and occupied by the heirs of the late Daniel Gardner; Sloan bought in 1764 for £60, two hundred and fifty acres of this land, but sold a part of it again in 1766, having in the meantime appeared as "blacksmith" in South Williamstown. He bought first of Samuel Clark for £47, second-division 50-acre lot 52 overlooking the south village on the north. He commenced for a home there, but soon quitted it in favor of his brother Alexander Sloan, who afterwards built the gambrel-roof house on the place, which, after more than a century of constant service, has been but lately burned down. Alexander Sloan was one in his brother's military company at Charlestown in 1775. This house stood at the top of a pretty steep hill above what then promised to become a considerable village, and was on the county road indeed leading from Pittsfield to Bennington; but Samuel Sloan probably surmised that it

would not prove a favorable spot for a blacksmith's stand. At any rate, he quitted it to his brother, and temporarily established himself by the brookside on the next lot south, at the opening of what came to be a pretty little village. About six years before Isaac Stratton had sat down there, and was the sole dweller on that level for three or four years, two children having been born to him and his wife Mary Fox while they still dwelt north of the brook. In August, 1767, Stratton sold this lot 53 to Sloan, and moved his own home across the brook south to a low knoll on lot 54, on which he built in 1785 the large house still standing there. Sloan continued to entertain the few passing travellers, as Stratton himself had done, and the stand has ever since been practically kept as a tavern. But Sloan was evidently desirous to aggregate for himself a large farm, which he could not do to advantage in his present location; and so we find him buying 50-acre lots about half a mile to the west on the straight road laid out by the surveyor between two tiers of these lots "to covean" them. This road is now legally denominated the "Sloan road" in perpetual memory of his enterprise and success. It stretches straight from the tavern-stand nearly a mile to the "Sabin farm," owned and occupied by Captain Sloan's first lieutenant, Zebediah Sabin, of the company in Charlestown in 1775.

Sloan ultimately purchased ten of these 50-acre lots opposite each other on both sides of the road. He placed his own long and large log-house near the junction of the south ends of lots 41 and 43 on the north side of the road. This house, primitive in its construction, stood well into the present century; and the writer heard Dr. H. L. Sabin say (he died Feb. 24, 1884) that he had danced many a night, nearly all night long, when he was young, under the rafters of that old log-house. Sloan prospered in every way. He came to have the most extensive and productive farm of his day in Williamstown. It was sold not long after Sloan moved to the North Part to Ambrose Hall, and Hall sold it in March, 1818, to Griffin Eldredge for $16,930. It is reckoned in this deed to Eldredge at 507 acres. A strict survey would undoubtedly have made its area considerably more. No farm, considered merely as such, ever brought on sale in Williamstown so much money as that. In this deed, Clarissa Hall yields her right of dower, and Nathan Rossiter and Thomas E. Hall sign as witnesses. This Ambrose Hall built the two-story house at the South Part, which has had an interesting history. In it were born his two daughters, who married the famous brothers, Leonard and Lawrence Jerome. A daughter of Leonard

Jerome became Lady Randolph Churchill of the English peerage, House of Marlborough. She is known to prize highly the photograph, herewith reproduced, of the modest country house in which her mother was born. He became in due order a general in the Massachusetts militia; and in accordance with a custom of those times, was privileged to ride on parade in his old age at trainings and musters of the militia. So likewise rode General Towner. James Smedley remembered to have seen them both mounted on such occasions. Both died within a few weeks of each other in the spring of 1813, though Towner was by fourteen years the younger man. Sloan was a short and thick-set man with much gray hair upon his head in his old age. In the second meeting-house built here in 1797, General Sloan occupied the front pew on the right-hand side of the broad aisle dur-

ing all the opening years of the century; Judge Noble occupied the corresponding pew on the left-hand side of the aisle; these were the posts of honor in a New England meeting-house at that time, although the second house here was not "seated" by authority after the manner of the first one.

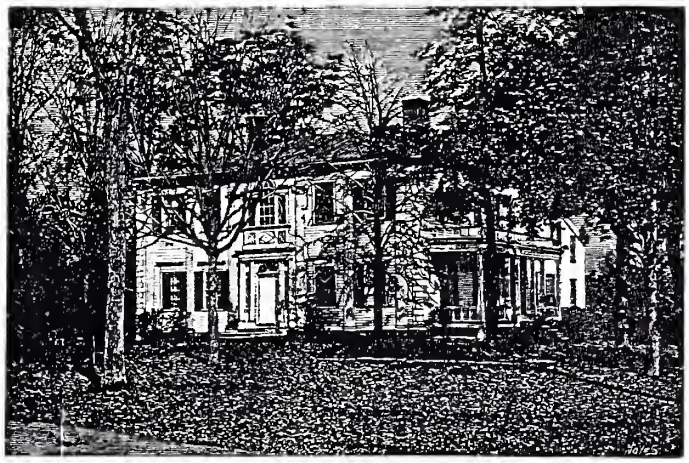
The successful establishment of the free school in the North Village in 1790, and its transformation into a college in 1793, together with many other signs that that was to become thereafter the chief place of residence and influence in Williamstown, was what naturally led General Sloan, in his then affluent circumstances, to leave the South Part and to plant himself in the North Village. He purchased accordingly House-lot No. 46, originally improved and built

on by William Horsford, directly opposite on the north side to the West College, which stood and stands on a fine eminence within the limits of the main street. There was then a house of considerable size and in good condition upon that house-lot, and Sloan caused it to be taken down, and the timbers to be erected into a commodious dwelling still standing in South Street. Obadiah Bardwell chanced to come into town as a permanent resident in the year 1800, just at the time to avail himself of this removal and upbuilding for a home for his family, which he occupied as such for many years; while Sloan proceeded to erect for himself upon the old site in 1801 a house that surpassed in size and elegance any other one built in the village for more than a hundred years from its beginning. The place has been owned by the college for a long time now, and three successive presidents—Mark Hopkins, Paul A. Chadbourne, and Franklin Carter—have made it their official residence.

The only son of General Sloan was Douglas Wheeler Sloan, born May 9, 1784. He was graduated at the college in 1803, and for the three years next following was in attendance at the famous Law School in Litchfield, Connecticut. No other native of Williamstown in those times had any such opportunities for educational training as this single scion of a fortunate family. Taller than his father, he is said to have been a remarkably handsome man, especially on horseback, and when caparisoned as a major in the militia regiment once commanded by his father. Young Dwight of Stockbridge, a contemporary mounted officer of the militia with Sloan, was often mentioned in conjunction with him, as if the two were the handsomest men in Berkshire. Douglas Sloan continued to live with his mother in the new mansion until her death in 1828, but his law office here was in a building which disappeared from the spot a long time ago on the eastern edge of the present Kappa Alpha lot nearly opposite the old Mansion House. He had a boys' school in the Sloan house after his mother's death, and the late Dr. Alonzo Clark was principal of it for a time after his graduation from college in '28, and Nelson E. Spencer of '32 was an assistant, and afterwards engaged to be married to the Major's third daughter, Harriet Douglas, who, however, died at eighteen years of age. Besides his law practice, which was of course small in such a place as this, the Major busied himself with merino sheep and other agricultural ventures on a large scale, none of which, however, proved remunerative. The large farm at the South Part was sold to Griffin Eldredge of Hancock, and two of the latter's family, James and Norman E., built each for himself a house on separate parts of the farm, one on

the south side of the road nearly opposite the old log-house, and the other on the north side somewhat further west and on higher ground.

The cellar of the old log-house is still partly visible immediately in front of a good farmhouse recently built for one of his sons by Erastus Young, who came into possession of the eastern portions of the Sloan farm and settled two of his sons upon them on opposite sides of the road. Aug. 11, 1884, the present writer had a peculiar experience in guiding a party of strangers and of direct descendants of Samuel Sloan to visit this cellar around which gathers so much interesting history. The party consisted of Mrs. Cornelia



GENERAL SLOAN'S HOUSE.
Built in 1801.

Sloan Handy, youngest daughter of Douglas Sloan, with her husband, Mr. Parker Handy, who had first married Maria, the eldest sister of Cornelia, Mrs. Maria Handy Bliss, a daughter of these, and Miss Grace Bliss, a daughter of the last; that is to say, a granddaughter (Mrs. Handy), a great-granddaughter (Mrs. Bliss), and a great-great-granddaughter (Miss Bliss) of Samuel Sloan, who had built the cellar and the house over it, in which in all probability Douglas Sloan was born just one hundred years before!

In or about 1830 Major Douglas Sloan disposed of all the large property interests in Williamstown left to him by each of his parents, and removed to New Albany, Indiana, where he died in 1839, aged thirty-five. His wife was Miss Cogswell, step-daughter to Ebenezer Fitch, first principal of the free school and first presi-

dent of the college in Williamstown. There was more of wealth and of what may perhaps be called rural aristocracy in the family of General Sloan after they moved into the North Village than in any other family in town at that time. There were five daughters and but one son, the youngest. Tradition has it that, in the muddy walking and crossing of the springtime (there were no good sidewalks in those days as at present), General Sloan would send out his hired man with two long boards for the girls to walk on, — laying down one in front while they were walking on the other in the rear! The circumstances of the family were not so stimulating and hardening for the only son as fitted him best for the part he was called on to play in after life. For obvious reasons the father, with all his limitations in the way of education and opportunity, led a more successful and influential life than his son. The mother, Hannah Douglas, was daughter to Asa Douglas, first settler in Hancock in 1766, and at times a very considerable landowner in Williamstown. He was born in 1715, and died in Hancock in 1792. His remains were first interred on the hill south of his own fine house, but in 1809, on the death of his widow, Rebeckah, were reburied in the cemetery at Stephentown, where his son William erected a monument to their memory. This Captain William Douglas, with a considerable number of other Hancock men, was in the battle of Bennington on the patriot side, and three men out of his company were killed in the battle, — Vaughn and Gardner and Sweet, — and it was vehemently alleged at the time that one or more of these were killed by townsmen from Hancock fighting in the Tory breastwork for king and Parliament. Even Asa Douglas, though an old man born in 1715, was several times out with this and other sons in the Revolutionary service. This Captain William was much trusted by Colonel Simonds, who was constantly his superior officer. Once his fleet mare brought him safely home from hazardous service at Ticonderoga (spy service, it is said), and when he took off her saddle at his own door, he said with emphasis, "*She shall never do another stroke of work as long as she lives!*" She was called "Old Ti" ever after. Captain Douglas's farm adjoined that of his father. When the captain died in "1811 in the 69th year of his age" (epitaph), the farm went to his son William Douglas, Jr., who was the first child born in Hancock, and "who died Professing his entire Belief in the Christian Religion and its Divine author" (epitaph). He died in December, 1821, aged fifty-four years. The farm in due time was transmitted to his daughter, the late Mrs. Hubbard.

These facts in relation to the Douglas family, of Hancock, have

been given here partly for their own sake, but mainly for the sake of a certain light cast thereby on the Sloan family of Williamstown. While the Sloans still lived at the South Part the Douglases were comparatively neighbors, as well as near relatives. Hannah Douglas Sloan was the daughter of Asa. He had six sons, also, besides Captain William, most, if not all of whom settled around their father in the northern parts of Hancock, adjoining upon Williamstown. There was apparently good blood in all these families. One of these sons of Asa Douglas, not otherwise remarkable, had married a daughter of Stephen Arnold of Stephentown, near by, and naturally named his son Stephen Arnold Douglas. This branch of the family migrated to Brandon, Vermont, where in April, 1813, the justly celebrated Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois was born. He was thus a great-grandson of Asa Douglas of Hancock. That Samuel Sloan should have built in Williamstown a private house by far surpassing any other house then and there is made easier by the fact that his own father-in-law had already built in Hancock a private dwelling so much superior to all others then and there that it was commonly called "the palace," that many persons came from a distance to see it, and that the fresco in the front hall was so well done that the remains of it were exhibited as a curiosity a full century after it was done. The military careers in war and peace of Samuel Sloan and of Douglas, his son, were undoubtedly facilitated by the martial spirits of Captain William Douglas and of other members of the Hancock family.

2. Zebediah Sabin. When Captain Samuel Sloan and his first lieutenant, Zebediah Sabin, started to head their company of minutemen on the road to Boston in the summer of 1775, they started from adjoining farms in South Williamstown. Not even yet has the Sabin farm passed out of the hands of his direct descendants. Within about five years after Sabin himself settled upon this rough farm to subdue it, he left the town on this very occasion, never again to return to it; but he also left here a memory for prompt and unflagging patriotism, which has ever since honored the town and for which the town will ever be prompt to honor his name. Moreover, he left behind him here a widow with five children, and her energy and excellence of character were such, and their individuality and that of their descendants down to the present time have made them so much a part of the town, that we shall find both a justification and a reward in tracing carefully the ancestry of this Williamstown farmer and that of his wife, too.

William Sabin, a citizen of Rehoboth as early as 1643, a signer of

the original combination and compact of government there in 1644, and who was often thereafter a selectman and representative to the General Court from that town, was the first American ancestor of Zebediah Sabin. There is a contemporary record of twenty children born to William Sabin by two wives, of whom the first had twelve and the second eight. Two of these only need come under our present notice, — Benjamin of the first wife, born in May, 1646, and John of the second wife, born in August, 1666. They were thus half-brothers, with a disparity of twenty years in their ages. Benjamin removed from Rehoboth to Roxbury in 1675, and living there about ten years became the first-mentioned of a band of thirteen pioneers to emigrate from Roxbury to the Nipmuck country, and to settle in what is now Woodstock, Connecticut, in the spring of 1686. The town of Roxbury, as such, had made a purchase of wild lands on the river Quinebaug, before it was certain where the line would run between Massachusetts and Connecticut, and there was a profound interest in the old town in the proposed settlement of the new, for it is said that all the people of Roxbury were then divided into the two classes of "stayers" and "goers"; and there is no doubt that the benediction of the venerable John Eliot of blessed memory, pastor of the Roxbury church, then eighty-three years old and long a consecrated apostle to the Indians, rested benignantly on the heads of the men of this emigration, for infants are recorded as having been baptized by him "in the same week that we sent out our youth to make the new plantation," and the region of country into which these men pushed had been the scene in part of Eliot's former missionary labors.

Benjamin Sabin became very prominent in the settlement of Woodstock, being deacon in the church and selectman in the town and otherwise often in official position, until, in 1705, he moved a little south into what is now Pomfret, retaining, however, his relations to the church in Woodstock till 1715, when he was chosen first deacon of the church in Pomfret, first selectman, and later first representative of the town to the General Assembly of the colony in May, 1719. His son, Benjamin, born in Rehoboth, Dec. 2, 1673, succeeded his father, who died in 1725, as deacon of the church in Pomfret. He was also an innholder there for a great many years; and four of his brothers, who with himself had moved with their father from Woodstock to Pomfret in 1705, became landholders and influential citizens in that neighborhood, and some of the large posterity of the Sabin family occupied for more than a century the lands of their fathers situated on both sides of the Quinebaug River.

The names of the original William, and of his three sons, Benjamin, Noah, and Nehemiah, repeatedly recurred in the later generations; and the Williamstown names of Zebediah, Hezekiah, Timothy, Jesse, and Charles are all found in the earlier records of the two branches of the family on the banks of the Quinebaug.

John Sabin, son of William, continued in Rehoboth till 1691, when he followed his half-brother, Benjamin, into the wilderness of the Wabbaquassets. He bought one hundred acres of land, a little to the south of his brother's land and a little south of the present south line of Woodstock, of James Fitch for £9, June 22, 1691. Here he built a house for his family, and thus became the first settler of Pomfret; and in this house his son, Hezekiah, was born Nov. 5, 1692. John Sabin was no chicken. Prior to the Indian disturbances of 1696, he had fortified his house, and gained much influence and authority over the Indians. By standing his ground, protecting the frontier, and engaging his Indian neighbors in the military service of the English, he rendered most timely and efficient aid to the people of Woodstock and to the Colonies of Connecticut and Massachusetts both. The hunted and timid tribe of the Wabbaquassets "would not be ordered by any but by virtue of authority from Connecticut," and consequently John Sabin being a resident of that Colony was placed in command over them as Captain, and also left in command of the military forces (such as they were) in Woodstock. An interesting letter from the Earl of Bellemont, Governor of Massachusetts, to John Winthrop, Governor of Connecticut, dated "Boston, 1700," brings out so fully the position and services of this fearless pioneer that it is herewith quoted entire: —

"I have been made sensible of the good service done by Mr. John Sabin, an inhabitant within your government, refering to the Indian affairs, — he having created that confidence in them of his friendship as to be trusted with their secrecy, and that during the late troubles and war he did, at his own great charge and expense to the almost ruining of his estate, subsist and succor a considerable number of the Wabbaquassets within a fortification about his own house, whereby, he not only prevented their defection but also rendered them serviceable to the English, and has since made discovery of the combination and consults had among the Indians to make a new resurrection and rebellion and to commit fresh hostilities upon his Majesty's English subjects. I understand, he was encouraged by your Government to hold his part in the war and that he should have allowance for his charge and expense upon the Indians, which not being adjusted and paid before the peace, he is now neglected. I cannot but account it very impolitic to lose so useful and public-spirited a man, or that he be discouraged by ingratitude, much more by injustice. I pray in his favor, that you will effectually recommend his services and expenses to the considera-

tion of your General Assembly for a suitable recompense to be made him. I shall not fail to endeavor some gratification for him from this Government.

Your humble and faithful servant,

BELLEMONT, *Govenor of Massachusetts.*

GOVENOR WINTHROP."

Captain John Sabin was sent in October, 1720, and for several years afterward, to the General Assembly of Connecticut from the township he had founded and bravely defended. An old and rough bridle-path, such as that which led through this same region from Boston to Hartford called the "Bay Path," had long led from Pomfret to Providence, the most accessible market-town for the new settlements in northeastern Connecticut; and in 1721 a better and broader road was opened in the same direction between the two points; and this new road, like the path that preceded it, crossed the Quinebaug just below the falls of that river (in the present village of Williamsville) at an old fording-place now greatly needing a bridge. After several failures of others in attempts to bridge this formidable stream at this point, Captain Sabin took the matter in hand, and with the aid of his son constructed a substantial bridge "*over the Quinebaug at ye falls near Pomfret in 1722.*" A Committee of the General Assembly was sent out to view the bridge officially, who reported it "*built in a suitable place, out of danger of being carried away by floods or ice, the highth of the bridge being above any flood yet known by any man living there, and think it will be very serviceable to a great part of the government in travelling to Boston, — being at least ten miles the nearest way according to their judgement.*" The cost of the bridge was £120, and for his service in building it three hundred acres of land in the common lands on the east side of the Connecticut River were allowed to Captain Sabin, "*on condition he keep the same in repair for the fourteen years next coming.*"

Captain Sabin was always a church-goer and an earnest Christian. He kept his church relations together with his brother in Woodstock till 1715, when the two, with others, organized the original church in Pomfret. He was appointed Justice of the Peace in 1724; as the leading citizen and chief military authority in the northeastern corner of Connecticut, he was appointed by the General Assembly in October, 1726, the Major of the Regiment of the County of Windham at its first organization; and after fifty-two years of varied usefulness in Pomfret, Major John Sabin died in 1743, leaving a large estate to be divided among his four children: John, a respected physician in Franklin; Hezekiah, a widely known innkeeper in Thompson; Noah, who remained a farmer in Pomfret;

and Judith, wife of Justice Joseph Leavens of Killingly. An inventory of the Major's estate showed sundry items, as follows: armor, valued £15; books, £4; brass and iron, £35; husbandry utensils, £64; stock, £306; six horses, £90; one Indian girl, £20.

In this Hezekiah Sabin, son of John and first child born in Pomfret, we are particularly interested, partly because he was an interesting personage in himself, and mainly because he was the father of our Williamstown Lieutenant Zebediah Sabin. Directly east of Woodstock and Pomfret was the long town of Killingly, near the north end of which was Quinnatisset Hill, whose summit is now occupied by the beautiful village and common of Thompson. This township is in the very corner of Connecticut, between Massachusetts and Rhode Island. In John Sabin's day the boundaries of the Colonies in this region were indistinct and disputed, and the rights in land and the limits in authority of several tribes of Indians in the neighborhood were also a source of trouble and contention, in all of which the Sabins became more or less involved. During the terrible Pequot War in 1637, the Mohegan Indians, whose earlier council-fires had been at Albany and Schodack, on the North River, but who were then mainly localized in the valley of the Housatonic, were in faithful alliance with Connecticut and Massachusetts; and when these two Colonies divided the conquered Pequot territory between themselves, the whole Wabbaquasset country was yielded by Massachusetts to the claim of Uncas, chief of the Mohegans, who, favored by the government and encouraged by interested advisers, assumed to himself quite a share of eastern Connecticut also. A large tract of this land was given over by Uncas to his son, Owaneco, and the two exercised a wavering authority for many years over the Wabbaquassets, Quinebaugs, Nipmucks, and other remnants of tribes, until, in 1679, Connecticut adjudged that Uncas and Owaneco should pass over their Indian right of six hundred acres of land in satisfaction for their Indians burning the New London County prison in a drunken outbreak, and ordered James Fitch as treasurer of the county to dispose of the land at his discretion for that purpose. Fitch selected six hundred acres lying on both sides of the Quinebaug. This was in his official position of county treasurer; but in his personal capacity as land speculator and fast friend of the Mohegan chieftains, his operations were on a much bigger scale. Uncas was already in his dotage; Owaneco was sottish and worthless; their chief patrons and advisers were the sons of Major John Mason, the hero of the Pequot War, and Rev. James Fitch, long the minister of Norwich, whose second wife

was sister of these Masons, and Major James Fitch, the eldest and enterprising son of the minister. Connecticut had ordered in May, 1680, that, "*if Uncas hath right to any land about Quinebaug he may make it out and dispose of it to Owaneco, and such gentlemen as he shall see cause.*" This was an open invitation to swarms of greedy land seekers to fasten on Owaneco, but conscious of his own weakness he yielded to the personal ascendency of Major James Fitch, and formally acknowledged him as guardian in the following curious document: —

"Whereas, at a General Court in Hartford, May 13, 1680, my father, Uncas, had liberty to dispose unto me his land upon Quinebaug River, and the Court at the same time granting me liberty to dispose of it unto gentlemen among them, as I should see cause to do, and a good part thereof I have disposed of already; but finding that some, through their great importunity, and others taking advantage of me when I am in drink, by causing me to sign deeds, not only wronging myself but may spoil it ever being a plantation — for these and other reasons, I make over all my right and title of any and of all my lands and meadows unto my loving friend James Fitch, Jun., for him to dispose of as he shall see cause.

"OWANECO,
his mark."

"Dec. 22, 1680.

Four years later a deed of conveyance executed by Owaneco and confirmed by the Court of Connecticut made over in fee simple to Fitch, a man of much shrewdness and energy and business capacity, nearly the whole of the territory now embraced in Windham County. It was from him that the town of Roxbury made its land purchase of Woodstock in 1685; and we have already seen that the same hand signed the deed of land to John Sabin in Pomfret in 1691. This James Fitch, lord of the Quinebaug, special patriarch of Canterbury, brave participator in King Philip's War, was the great-grandfather of Ebenezer Fitch, first Preceptor of the Williamstown Free School and first President of Williams College. A firmer ground of perpetual distinction is laid for him in the fact that he was the first public donor to Yale College aside from the trustees, endowing it in 1701 with 637 acres of land in Killingly, and pledging at the same time all the glass and nails needed in building the proposed college edifice. This timely benefaction is said to have exerted much influence in procuring the charter of the college from the Colony of Connecticut, and in stimulating its former friends to labor on in its behalf.

There were land troubles of other sorts in this quarter. Quinnatisset Hill, over whose summit passed the famous "Bay Path" from Boston to Hartford — an immemorial Indian track from the Charles

River to the Connecticut, and the line followed in general by the earliest emigrants from Massachusetts in 1635 had been a seat of some of Eliot's "Praying Indians" of about twenty families and one hundred souls, whom Eliot himself had visited in 1674, though the meeting-place was a few miles distant more convenient to all the bands of Praying Indians in that region. The Apostle, however, and his assistant, Gookin, "*saw and spake with some of the principal people of Quinnatisset, and appointed a sober and pious young man of Natick, called Daniel, to be their minister, whom they accepted in the Lord.*" Nine years after this, and three years before the Roxbury people came into Woodstock, two thousand acres of forest land, including the whole of this hill, were conveyed to Thomas Freak of Hamington, England, for £250, and as much more in upland and meadow adjoining it to Robert Thompson of Newington, England, for £200. Thompson was a very noted personage, president of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and a devoted friend of the Colonies. His own name is now borne by the township within which his land was located, and the name of his own English town in Middlesex is borne by another in Connecticut near to Hartford. The jurisdiction over the Quinnatisset region was not only in dispute as between Massachusetts and Connecticut, to which latter Colony it belonged without a doubt and was much later reluctantly yielded, but also the township of Killingly being persuaded that these Massachusetts grants of land to Freak, Thompson, and others were within her lawful limits, assumed a threatening attitude to these proprietors, and menaced forcible seizure of the farms already settled by those who had purchased from them. Under these circumstances Josiah Wolcott of Salem and Mary his wife, niece of Thomas Freak, who had come into possession of Freak's land, sold in 1716 to Captain John Sabin of Pomfret four hundred acres on the summit of Quinnatisset Hill for £200, the sellers agreeing "*to defend said Sabin in quiet and peaceable possession of the premises so that he be not forcibly ejected.*" The experienced John Sabin, backed by Wolcott, proved too strong to be molested, and he soon made over his purchase to his son, Hezekiah Sabin, who put up a house there and settled down with his family, the first resident proprietor, and for a long time the sole inhabitant of what is now Thompson Hill. This house was built directly on the old Boston path to Hartford, which before long became enough improved to be dignified by the designation of the "Connecticut Road," and was much frequented by land grabbers and other travellers both ways; and in accordance with the custom of men so situated in those days, Sabin

soon opened his house as a tavern, and continued to keep it as such certainly till about the time of Wolfe's great victory at Quebec in 1759. This house was about seventy miles from Boston and about fifty from Hartford as the old road went, and it became in time as "Sabin's red tavern" one of the most noted way-marks between those two important points, and to it came no end of dignitaries in Church and State, no end of land-hungry speculators from the eastward, and no end of poor families from the seaboard seeking a better home in the newer valleys of Connecticut. We can easily imagine, though no one can accurately describe the stirring scenes amid which Zebediah Sabin, the youngest child of the landlord, baptized Jan. 23, 1736, grew up to manhood. All the news that was agoing in New England throughout the French and Indian wars of the period came sooner or later to the old red tavern-stand. Mine host himself was appointed Major in 1739 of the Eleventh Connecticut Regiment, when it was first constituted from the militia companies of the five new towns in the northeastern corner of the Colony. To the famous hostelry on the hilltop travelled in due time the tidings of the taking of Fort Massachusetts by the French and Indians in 1746; the tidings of the hastily patched-up Peace of Aix la Chapelle in 1748; news of the defeat of Braddock, and very shortly after of the dearly bought victory of Lake George in 1755; and we know that the alarm following the capture of Fort William Henry by Montcalm in 1757 swept young Zebediah Sabin into the ranks as a private in one of the four volunteer companies that marched from Windham County. His father had been Colonel of the Eleventh Regiment, and bore the title till his death, but was now too old to take the field.

In the meantime young Sabin was taking an education in a quite different line from that of arms. Before he was born his father's house was the rallying-place for the first public meeting of the inhabitants north of the old parish of Killingly. They now wanted a new religious society of their own. Rude bridle-paths led up from various neighborhoods to the windy and still heavily wooded heights of Quinnatisset, a place that had long had an odor of sanctity about it, though Sabin was then its sole inhabitant, because the ruins of the old wigwam of Quinnatisset's Praying Indians were visible on its summit. A public meeting was warned "*at the dwelling-house of Hezekiah Sabin in said precinct*" for July 9, 1728. The society was organized then and there; Sampson Howe, a name familiar in Williamstown thirty years later, was chosen clerk; a divine service was shortly after held in Sabin's house, and it was

soon voted successively that the meeting-house should be fifty feet long and forty feet wide and twenty-four feet stud, and that it should stand "*right before the door of the house of Hezekiah Sabin about twenty rods from said house, near where was an old wigwam.*" Sabin gave to the new society an acre of land including the appointed site of the meeting-house, which was near the centre of the present Thompson common, and was chosen with others to take care to provide for the "raising" of the building; and when it was completed, and a good "training-place" provided in proximity with it for the new militia company, a marvellous zeal was manifested in the region round about to open up roads from all quarters to the new Hill of Zion. Accordingly in all the associations and training of the son, the practical religion of the father and grandfather mingled in with the local attachments and the military ardor and the hatred of the French and the strong love of country, and the breezy zest for novelty that hovered round the country tavern of New England about the middle of the last century. In 1754 Colonel Sabin sold for £160 "*eight acres northeast from Thompson meeting-house on the Boston road;*" and in 1757 Sabin bought of John Corbin, who occupied the southern extremity of the hill, his homestead with thirty acres of land. Here we leave the good Colonel. He had eight children and a handsome property. His wife was Zerviah Hosmer, and he had a daughter Zerviah next older than Zebediah; his eldest son was Hezekiah, who died in New Haven in 1791, and he had also a son Jesse, baptized in January, 1727; and we shall find that all these names reappear in Williamstown in the next two generations.

It is doubtful whether Zebediah Sabin married Anna Dwight, then living in New Haven, before or after he marched as a private to the northward on the alarm over the capture of Fort William Henry, Aug. 9, 1757. It was probably after, as the marriage took place at any rate October 12th of that year; and as Montcalm and his motley forces, satisfied with the terror they had caused and the ruin they had wrought, shortly retired again to Canada, after causing the demolition of the fort at the hands of twelve hundred men, and after lading on boats by about a thousand more the vast stores of plunder acquired, the militiamen who had mustered to the number of twenty thousand dispersed also to their homes, and Sabin may have claimed his bride on his return to Connecticut. She was three years older than he, and had been brought up with him within the limits of Thompson Parish. Her father, John Dwight, was prominently concerned in the building of the meeting-house and

was ensign of the military company that first trained under its shadow, although his home was on the west side of the Quinebaug, over which he and a neighbor had managed to throw a cart-bridge without any public help, so that they, too, might reach the meeting-house of their choice. In 1750, Dwight, in the meantime, become a captain, lost his house by fire, a negro servant perished in the flames, and all his "household goods, clothes, corn, meat, books, bonds, and notes of hand" were destroyed. When he died, three years later, his estate was in consequence so heavily encumbered that his widow removed to New Haven, where some of his children had previously settled. The Dwight lineage, intertwined by this marriage and otherwise with that of the Sabins, a pleasant memorial of which connection was the name of Dwight Sabin, United States Senator from Minnesota in the last decade but one of the nineteenth century, was a remarkable lineage. John Dwight, ancestor of all the Dwights in this country, came from England in middle life in or about 1635, and was one of the first settlers of Dedham, which is said to have been named by him from his resident hamlet in the old country. His son, Timothy, was also born in England and died in Dedham in 1718, aged eighty-eight. The site of the old Dwight mansion in Dedham was pointed out to the writer in 1885, just where the old carriage road to Boston passes under the railroad bridge, only a few rods from the station. Rev. Josiah Dwight, the first minister of Woodstock, who was settled there in 1690 and who died in Thompson in 1748, was one son of this Timothy of Dedham, and John Dwight, father of Anna Sabin, was the minister's son. Another son of Captain Timothy of Dedham was Captain Henry of Hatfield, whose son, General Joseph Dwight of Great Barrington, played so large a part in the early history of our Berkshire County.

Zebediah Sabin took the freeman's oath in Thompson, April 7, 1760. The greatest question of that century in America having been settled the autumn before on the Heights of Abraham above Quebec, the world to the northwest along the Hoosac and the upper Hudson lay open to the young men who had traversed the region in the various campaigns against the French, "where to choose." We do not know the reasons that led Sabin and his wife, with one or more children in the family already, to leave Connecticut as a home. We only know that he was the youngest of eight children, and it is probable that an older brother had already assumed to himself the "good will" of the old red tavern and the ownership of the adjacent acres. He had a brother nine years older than himself, named Jesse.

At any rate, we find him and his growing family in New Providence, now a part of the township of Cheshire, about a dozen miles southeast of Williamstown, amid settlers mostly from Rhode Island, of whom the chief was Colonel Joab Stafford, in the spring of 1768. The place was commonly called, and is locally known still, as "Stafford's Hill." An old deed reveals the fact that Zebediah Sabin bought, on the 25th of June, 1768, for £65 sixty-five acres in New Providence, "a part of Lot No. 6, as is to be seen on the plan drawn by Colonel Joab Stafford." One son, Timothy, was born to the Sabins at New Providence, June 1, 1770. But Stafford's Hill did not satisfy them. Williamstown, on the Hoosac, was at that time growing rapidly; its first framed meeting-house had just then been finished on the "Square," and the Rev. Whitman Welch, a native of Connecticut and a graduate of Yale, was then a settled minister giving much satisfaction to his people. Before the boy Timothy could toddle, the family was in Williamstown, two 100-acre lots had been bought in succession, the first on what is now the Potter road, No. 22, and the other the home-lot, No. 41, bordering on what was already the Sloan farm. About four years of unremitting labor there on the part of both father and mother, assisted by the two older boys, John and Charles, had made good beginnings as toward a permanent home, when the affairs of Lexington and Concord and Bunker Hill sent westward a ringing summons to the brave men and true.

Sabin's commission by the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay as first lieutenant in Captain Sloan's company is dated the 19th of May, 1775, his commission to the same rank by the United Colonies in Congress assembled is dated July 1, 1775, and both are here appended in full as copied *verbatim* from the original commissions.

THE CONGRESS OF THE COLONY OF THE MASSACHUSETT BAY.

To Zebediah Sabins, Gentleman. Greeting:

We, reposing especial Trust and Confidence in your Courage and good Conduct,

Do, by these Presents, constitute and appoint you the said Zebediah Sabins to be Lieutenant of the Foot Company in the Regiment of Foot Whereof John Patterson Esq. is Colonel raised by the Congress aforesaid, for the Defence of said Colony.

You are, therefore, carefully and diligently to discharge the Duty of a Lieutenant in leading, ordering and exercising the said Company in Arms, both inferior Officers and Soldiers, and to keep them in good Order and Discipline; and they are hereby commanded to obey you as their Lieutenant, and you are yourself to observe and follow such Orders and Instructions as you shall, from

Time to Time, receive from the General and Commander in Chief of the Forces raised in the Colony aforesaid, for the Defence of the same, or any other your superior Officers, according to Military Rules and Discipline in War, in Pursuance of the Trust reposed in you.

By Order of the Congress.

JOS. WARREN, *President P. T.*

Dated, the 19th of May A.D. 1775.

SAM. FREEMAN, *Secretary P. T.*

IN CONGRESS.

The delegates of the United Colonies of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the Counties of New Castle, Kent, and Sussex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, to Zebediah Sabins, Gent—

We reposing especial Trust and Confidence in your Patriotism, Valour, Conduct and Fidelity,

Do by these Presents, Constitute and appoint you to be — Lieutenant of Capt. Sloan's Company in the 26th Regiment, Commanded by Col. Paterson — in The Army of the United Colonies, raised for the Defense of American Liberty, and for repelling every hostile Invasion thereof. You are therefore carefully and diligently to discharge the Duty of Lieutenant by doing and performing all Manner of Things there unto belonging. And we do strictly charge and require all Officers and Soldiers under your command, to be obedient to your Orders as Lieutenant. And you are to observe and follow such Orders and Directions from Time to Time, as you shall receive from this or a future Congress of the United Colonies, or Committee of Congress for that Purpose appointed, or Commander-in Chief for the Time being of the Army of the United Colonies, or any other your superior Officer, according to the Rules and Discipline of War, in Pursuance of the Trust reposed in you. This Commission to continue in Force until revoked by this or a future Congress.

July 1st, 1775 — By Order of the Congress.

JOHN HANCOCK, *President.*

Attest. CHAS. THOMSON, *Secy.*

Captain Sloan's company went into camp at Charlestown. When the draft was made from it for Arnold's Expedition up the Kennebec, Lieutenant Sabin and Sergeant David Johnson, both from South Williamstown, were the officers taken, and six privates, of whom one only, Alexander Spencer, was from Williamstown. The sword that Sabin carried with him to Quebec, the powder-horn also engraved while he was still at Charlestown, are extant and carefully preserved here in town. The powder-horn bears this inscription: —

"LIEUT ZEBADIAH SABEN
His horn Charles Town
Camp No. 3, Decr ye
3d : A.D. 1775 I M."

Lieutenant Sabin took with him to Quebec his two sons. John and Charles. Charles was a private in Sloan's company at the time, although he was but sixteen years old; but he was not drafted with the others. Probably he volunteered at his father's request. Certainly he went and returned, and brought back with him the sword and powder-horn just referred to; and he lived to become seventy years old, in South Williamstown. The good pastor here, at any rate, Rev. Whitman Welch, a young man in whose bones the fire burned, volunteered to accompany the party from Charlestown, paying his life as the forfeit, dying of small-pox near Quebec, the following March. The Lieutenant himself, with his eldest son John, after enduring the incredible hardships of the winter's march through the unbroken wilderness, and so enrolling his name forever among the famine-proof veterans of the Quebec and the Chaudière, both succumbed to the small-pox on the retreat of the survivors of both divisions of the army up the St. Lawrence and Lake Champlain, probably at what is now Whitehall.

3. Charles Sabin. Two soldiers who had enlisted from Pownal, Caleb Morgan and John Potter, certainly went with the Sabins to Quebec, and are believed to have accompanied Charles Sabin from Whitehall to their respective homes in this neighborhood. We happen to know also the military experiences of another Pownal man, Josiah Dunning, during the first two years of the war, who served with Williamstown men, and whose story, as told by himself, in an application for a pension long afterward, throws light upon our records of Williamstown men, his neighbors and associates. Michael Dunning, born in Newtown, Connecticut, in 1730, was one of the very first settlers in Pownal, locating his home on the Hoosac at the northern foot of Northwest Hill. He was own cousin of Deacon Matthew Dunning of South Williamstown, born in Newtown, in 1714, and becoming as an old man the principal founder of the Baptist Church in South Williamstown. His son Matthew, at the time of his father's death in 1807, was a citizen of Lanesboro. But Michael Dunning left a large posterity in Pownal. His son Josiah, born in Newtown in October, 1755, was seven years old when the father came northward, presumably to Pownal. Josiah Dunning continued to live in Pownal till 1827. He gave substantially the following account of his war service in his application for a pension, which is on record in the Pension Office at Washington: —

Some time in April, 1775, while living in Pownal, Vermont, he, as a private, assisted in organizing a volunteer company to capture

Fort Ticonderoga, that elected Samuel Wright as captain, and part of the company marched to Castleton, Vermont, where Colonel Ethan Allen took the command and crossed over Lake Champlain in boats. The other portion of the company, including Dunning, marched to Skenesboro, now Whitehall, where they joined the forces under Colonel Benedict Arnold, and sailed in a schooner down the lake, arriving at Ticonderoga in the morning after the surrender of the garrison. He witnessed the exciting dispute between Colonel Allen and Colonel Arnold, relative to which one of them was entitled to the command of the troops; the former claiming the right in consequence of having taken the fort with volunteers, and the latter in virtue of his commission. Both had drawn their swords, and the men under their respective commands had raised and cocked their muskets, and presented their bayonets, when a private named Edward Richards, stepping forward with great firmness, commanded both officers to put up their swords, and to the soldiers of both parties to arrest them if they did not immediately desist. The angry officers then abandoned the dispute, with a stipulation for a duel to take place between them after the war, and Dunning thinks that Colonel Arnold then assumed the command.

In a few days Colonel Arnold, with a body of soldiers, proceeded in the before-mentioned schooner, and in batteaux, to Crown Point and then to St. Johns, in Canada, where a British vessel was captured; and the troops, including Dunning, returned to Crown Point and were employed on the lake and forts until the following September, when his company was dismissed.

About the 1st of April, 1776, he ran away from his father's to Albany, where he entered the service under Captain John Hunn, who a part of that year was in the Quarter-master Department, and Dunning was employed as a waiter to Captain Hunn, and going express to Fort George, at the head of Lake George, to Whitehall, to Stillwater and other places, as well as in other duties, until the end of December, 1776. In 1776 he served about two months as one of the guards to the public stores in Sunderland, Bennington County, Vermont, under the command of Samuel Robinson of Bennington, who is mentioned, later in the year, as Colonel.

About July 1, 1777, when he was Orderly Sergeant of a company of militia in Pownal, Vermont, under Captain Eli Noble, the news was received of the arrival of General Burgoyne from Canada, at Ticonderoga, and he was ordered to warn out his company, who volunteered to go to Bennington, where was "headquarters." They were employed in guarding the public stores, in scouting parties

after the British and Tories, until the battle of Aug. 16, 1777, at Bennington; but it seems that Dunning had been previqusly despatched with others on a reconnoitring expedition, to ascertain the position of the reënforcements (under Colonel Breyman), which were known to be several miles in the rear of the advance of the main body under General Baum, and did not return until the close of the day of the battle. After caring for the wounded and prisoners, Dunning with his company proceeded toward the State of New York, and near Tull's Mills they were fired upon by an ambuscade of a small body of Indians, which killed two men. They crossed the North River at Stillwater, and were stationed as garrison at Fort George for a time, but were present at the operations of the army at Saratoga, prior to and at the surrender of General Burgoyne in October; after which he was discharged in November at Bennington.

The mother of Charles Sabin, while she must have welcomed with rejoicing the survivor of the three whom she had sent out in the autumn to take the risks for their country, must also have been overwhelmed for the moment by the magnitude of her losses. But she was made of too stern a stuff to bate a jot of heart or hope. She had four little children around her knees, now fatherless, besides the son who had now come home from paths of peril and camps of contagion and death-scenes of terror. She rose to the occasion. She took possession of her slender opportunities. She did not scorn hard labors in the field. She directed what she could not personally perform. She lived for more than thirty years after her distressful widowhood, carrying on her farm and bringing up her children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. Her grandson, the late Dr. H. L. Sabin, remembered to have ridden with her to religious meetings, and remembered particularly her funeral, as conducted in her own and her old farmhouse. Charles Sabin married in due time the sister of two of his comrades in the company of minutemen who marched from here to Charlestown in the summer of 1775, namely, David and Barechiah Johnson. She bore him two sons, Zebediah and Hezekiah (commonly called Zeb and Kiah), who came in time to inherit the old homestead, and both lived upon it and died there.

In the meantime, or rather at some time, Charles Sabin became possessed of a smaller farm about half a mile south upon the same road, and lived there with his second wife, Mehitable Skinner, who bore to him three daughters, Maria and Betsey and Alice. The father was a character in South Williamstown so long as he lived, —

honorable-minded and sharp-witted and much too much given to strong drink and a capital story-teller. His wife was much disturbed by the bills constantly run up at the village store then kept by Lyman Hubbell, — bills contracted a good deal faster than they were paid off. One day he went home in a hilarious mood with his word of comfort for her, — "*I've settled with Hubbell! He gave me credit for jugs returned!*" Sometimes his sallies of hilarity were directed to inappropriate parties. Lyman Hubbell had the name of being a penurious man, and doubtless the neighbors often joked among themselves over this peculiarity of their respected storekeeper. At that time all the heavy freights from New York destined for this part of the country were brought up the North River by sloop as far as Schodack, and then hauled overland up the Kinderhook and over the slight and short water-shed to the Hancock Brook. Hubbell bought his goods in New York and they were brought up along this route. One time he was delayed considerably beyond the time of his expected return, and his family and even the neighbors became more or less anxious about him. But Charles Sabin, after having refreshed himself as usual at the store, felt no anxiety at all. He climbed the short hill, and rapped loudly at the door of the storekeeper's house. Mrs. Hubbell came much perturbed, when she was accosted as follows: — "*We've heerd from Hubbell! When he was coming off the plank at Schodack, he saw a sixpence in the water and he dove for it and he hain't come up yit!*" It is perhaps needless to add, that in the store itself and in a well-known shoemaker's shop nearer to his own home and in other little places of public resort within an isolated community, Sabin was a frequent visitor and a fluent political debater and a welcome teller of stories of his Kennebec and other Revolutionary campaigns, which last naturally accumulated in point and piquancy as he told them o'er and o'er. His nearest neighbor from his second home and his brother-in-law through his first marriage, was a comrade of his during the first part of the campaign up the Kennebec, but was unluckily enrolled in the rear-guard under Lieutenant Colonel Enos, which officer misinterpreted, or rather under the pressure of his own officers and of the circumstances failed to carry out an order from Colonel Arnold in the front, and was forced to order his men to retreat down the Kennebec and back to Cambridge. They came as near starving to death on the retreat as those did who persisted in the advance to Quebec; but Enos was court-martialled at Washington's camp and honorably acquitted, though he continued to bear unmerited odium, and left the army shortly afterward, either knowing

or suspecting that his retreat was disapproved of by the Commander-in-chief. Charles Sabin died June 25, 1829, aged seventy years.

4. David Johnson. He was commonly called "Black David" to distinguish him from a well-to-do contemporary — "White David Johnson" — who lived on Stone Hill. This Black David was a sergeant in the rear division on the Kennebec in special charge of five or six soldiers, and retreated of course under the orders of his superior officer. He had his own stories to tell of mishap and starvation on the retreat, particularly one of a chance-caught moose divided up among the whole detachment. A portion of the entrails fell to the sergeant and to his own little squad: — "*It was the sweetest morsel I ever tasted in my life!*" But Charles Sabin had the moral advantage over David Johnson in debate and retort, in that the former saw Quebec and Montreal, the St. Lawrence River and Lake Champlain, in short, saw the Canada campaign through to the end; so, when these two brothers-in-law and near neighbors chanced to meet in Deacon Dickinson's shoemaker's shop close by or other such place, especially if there were two or three auditors in close quarters, or a boy or two such as the one who long afterward informed the writer about this, Sabin was apt to gibe the other about what happened in the woods of Maine. "*What do you think 'has become of them guns that you stacked up there in the woods?*" "*They are there yit for all I know or care!*" Johnson was a Federalist in politics, and though he probably never analyzed the matter to the bottom, he felt no objection to some little privileges accorded under the law to those then called in common parlance the "better class"; Sabin, on the other hand, was a Jeffersonian democrat, believed in equalities under the law, as did then the majority of his townsmen; and in these little half-accidental, half-designed conclaves in South Williamstown, which broke up somewhat the isolation and monotony of life there, Sabin and Johnson had it out in hand-to-hand contests that amused, even if they did not enlighten, their fellow-citizens.

It is no more than due to the memory of Colonel Enos and to that of his in some respects unfortunate rear-guard, to insert here *verbatim* Arnold's last orders to him, and one or two other documents relative to the court-martial at Cambridge after their return.

On the Dead River, 20 Miles above the Portage,
Oct. 17, 1775.

Dear Sir: I arrived here last night, late, and find Col. *Greene's* division very short of provisions — the whole having only four barrels of flour and ten of Pork. I have therefore ordered Major *Bigelow*, and a Lieutenant and thirty-one men out of each Company, to return and meet your division, and bring up as much

provision as you can spare, which is to be divided equally among the three; in particular, of flour. This will lighten the rear, and they will be able to make greater despatch, and will be no hindrance, as I shall keep the men here making up cartriges. I make no doubt you will hurry on as fast as possible.

I am, with esteem, Dear Sir, your humble servant,

B. Arnold.

N. B. If you find your men much fatigued, and this party can bring on more of your provision than their sharle, let them have it; you shall have it again when you come up, and it will forward the whole. The carpenters of Colburn's Company have more than they can bring up.

The same day from the same place Arnold gave the following orders to Major Bigelow: —

Sir: You are, as soon as possible, to go back until you meet Colonel *Enos's* division, and take from him as much provision as he can spare, which you will return with as soon as you can. Leave your batteaus this side the carrying place, and one man to take care of the whole.

I am, Sir, your humble servant,

B. Arnold.

Major Bigelow.

A Court of Inquiry to examine into the conduct of Lieutenant Colonel Enos, charged with "quitting his Commanding Officer without leave," was ordered at headquarters in Cambridge, Nov. 27, 1775, and convened two days later, and reported "that it is necessary for the satisfaction of this world and for his own honour, that a Court-Martial should immediately hold for his trial." Such Court under the express orders of the Commander-in-chief, consisting of General Sullivan, president, three colonels, five lieutenant colonels, four majors, and a judge advocate, convened at headquarters December 1; and being duly sworn, heard the Colonel's own testimony and that of his officers, and took into consideration all the circumstances of the case. The verdict was as follows: —

The Court being cleared, after mature consideration, are unanimously of opinion, that Colonel Enos was under a necessity of returning with the division under his command, and therefore acquit him with honor.

John Sullivan, *President.*

This should have settled the whole matter in the Colonel's favor. But it did not. Murmurs and hostile criticisms continued to stir and spread throughout the army and the general public. Five months later, therefore, after the army headquarters had been shifted to New York, General Sullivan published the following voluntary statement: —

I hereby certify that I was President of a Court-Martial in Cambridge, when Colonel *Enos* was tried for leaving Colonel *Arnold*, with the rear division of the detachment under his command, bound for *Quebeck;* and up the trial it clearly appeared to me, as well as to all the other members of the Court, that Colonel *Enos* was perfectly justifiable in returning with the division, being clearly proved by witnesses of undoubted veracity (some of whom I have been personally acquainted with for a number of years, and know them to be persons of truth) that so much provision had been sent forward, to support the other divisions, as lef them so small a quantity that their men were almost famished with hunger on their return; and some would undoubtedly have starved, had they not, by accident, come across and killed a large moose. Upon their evidence, there remained no dought in the mind of myself, or any of the members, that the return of the division was prudent and reasonable; being well convinced that they had not provision sufficient to carry them half way to *Quebeck;* and that their going forward would only have deprived the other division of a part of theirs, which, as the event has since shown, was not enough to keep them all from perishing; we therefore acquitted Colonel Enos with honour.

I further testify, that by a strict inquiry into the matter since, from persons that were in the division, that went forward, I am convinced that had Colonel *Enos*, with his division, proceeded, it would have been the means of causing the whole detachment to have perished in the woods, for want of sustenance.

I further add that I have been well informed, by persons acquainted with Colonel *Enos*, that he has ever conducted as a good and faithful officer.

JOHN SULLIVAN.

One month later Enos himself, impatient of undesired odium, published an appeal "To the Impartial Publick," in the form of a signed testimonial given to him by his fellow-officers in the army. General Heath, eleven colonels (among them John Stark), six lieutenant colonels, and seven majors. It was of no use. Whether he did protest too much, or there were something real back of Washington's distrust, he soon quitted the army to become one of the founders of Vermont, and the father-in-law of Ira Allen. He died at Colchester, Vermont, in October, 1808, aged seventy-two years.

Sabin and Johnson heartily coöperated in practical efforts for the improvement of their neighborhood. They were the two leading men in the construction of the road over the Taconics to the westward in 1814, that has now long gone by the name of the Johnson Pass. Dr. Porter, the physician and surgeon, who then lived on the southern slope of Stone Hill, and who had a considerable practice in the valley of the Little Hoosac over the mountain, sent his hired man to help in the work of making the road. Henry Green also, a vigorous farmer, father of many children, who lived in what is still called the "Green Hollow" on the Gore, where Erastus Young afterward lived, put his muscle into the mountain highway; and the writer himself has heard the late Henry L. Sabin, who lived in

his boyhood a good deal with his Uncle Charles, relate that he carried the baiting or dinner many a time to the men cutting and digging on the Johnson Pass. Beside working his own farm in the ordinary way, Johnson built stone walls for his neighbors, and was more than a common man, and left more than a common impress on the community in which he lived and died. He died Dec. 7, 1836, aged eighty-nine years. He came hither from this same locality with the Sabin family, that is, the very northeastern corner of Connecticut, a section illuminated as to its settlement and early families by Miss Lamb's "History of Windham County," to which the writer is indebted for many particulars chronicled in the present chapter. The Johnson family came certainly from Thompson, and perhaps from Thompson Hill, the immediate vicinity of the Sabin red tavern on the old Bay Path. Uriah Johnson, the father of David and Barechiah and Daniel and the first wife of Charles Sabin, lies buried here, having died in 1787 in his seventy-seventh year. He was thus older than Zebediah Sabin, though their sons were contemporaries here. Barechiah Johnson made a home for himself on 100-acre lot, No. 22, near the south end of the Potter road, where the remains of his cellar wall are still visible; but he moved away to Otsego County, New York, and his house was moved down across the Ashford Brook to the Roe place, where it stood till lately as a shed or wagon-house. The other son of Uriah, Daniel, studied medicine here with Dr. Samuel Porter, and removed also to Otsego County to practise his profession. Of Uriah's sons, David alone remained in Williamstown. He lived to a good old age. He survived his wife Sarah Eaton for twenty-five years, and also his compeer and comrade Sabin for seven years, and he was cared for in his old age by his own sons, Warren and Oran, and by his daughter the first Harty Johnson, who became the wife of Ebenezer Foster. These last having no children of their own, practically brought up her nephew, William Eaton Johnson, named from his grandmother, and the son of Warren Johnson. Eaton Johnson, as he was usually called by his townsmen, passed a long life in South Williamstown in conjunction and neighborhood harmony with Benjamin F. Mills, a grandson of Captain Samuel Mills, who was always a near neighbor of Black David Johnson. Of the third generation from the original settlers there, no other two men than these were uniformly held in such high estimation by their neighbors and contemporaries, led such useful and influential lives from youth to age, and did so much to hold up all things that are good in politics and education and temperance and religion in the small hamlet in which Providence had cast

their lives. Eaton Johnson was buried at the South Part, Jan. 18, 1889.

5. Moses Rich. In Captain Sloan's company of minute-men encamped at Charlestown during the summer and autumn of 1775 was another South Williamstown farmer, whose name ought not to be passed by in the present connection. This was Moses Rich from Western or its immediate neighborhood, who came in 1763 in company with Robert McMaster and his brother John McMaster, all three from the same neighborhood in central Massachusetts, and the three families becoming the earliest settled in South Williamstown excepting only Isaac Stratton at the junction of the Ashford and Hancock brooks. Moses Rich and Robert McMaster took up adjoining farms on what is now the Woodcock road, — the lands of both being mostly on the south side of that road among the 50-acre lots of the second division, although McMaster's house stood and is still standing on the north side of the road as it now runs bending to the southwest toward its speedy junction with the Oblong road. For the sake of easy access to running water, both placed their hearthstones near to the Sweet Brook that comes trickling and twinkling down from the Kidder Pass — Rich putting his down the stream further east and considerably further from the road to the south. All other traces of a human habitation long ago disappeared from that spot on the brook side, but the hearthstone itself that has never been stirred from its original position still gives token strong to the sturdy volunteer of 1775. The writer questions whether any other person than himself knows the location of the old hearth and home of Moses Rich. He returned to it from the first Revolutionary camp in Charlestown, and time and again from other military service, though he had two sons of full military age while the war was still going on. Moses Rich was an original member of the Williamstown Church. He lived well into the present century. Sedgwick Mills, who was born on the Oblong road in 1795, told the present writer in 1877 that he remembered Moses Rich perfectly throughout his own boyhood. He also remembered John McMaster and his house on the Sloan road, very near to the spot where afterward was built the house of Norman E. Eldredge.

Elijah Rich, son of Moses, and Hannah his wife had thirteen children, all but one of them born in the substantial house still standing on the Torrey road, which he built in 1786, about a quarter of a mile north of his father's. Asenath Torrey, daughter of John Torrey, a near neighbor, born in 1772, and consequently fourteen years old at that time, lived with the Rich family when the new

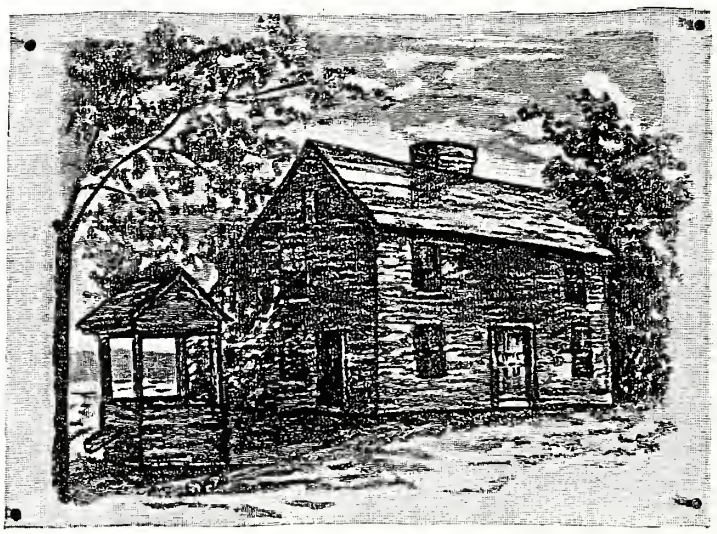
house was built; and she saw from that house the first schoolhouse built in South Williamstown burn down in the night-time. When Asenath Torrey married Walter Converse, Jan. 30, 1791, there were probably more school children within a radius of one mile from that schoolhouse than within any similar circle in the whole town. The two Torrey families, the two Rich families (for the father had five children born here 1767–77), the two McMaster families, and the families of Samuel Sloan and Zebediah Sabin were full of children of school age at that time. Asenath Torrey herself had taught a school one summer before her marriage in the Young neighborhood, or what was afterward called the Sherwood district. After a useful life, lacking but five days of ninety-seven years, Asenath Torrey Converse passed away, Sept. 25, 1869. The last time the writer was privileged to see her was at a funeral at the original Robert McMaster house, which was but a short distance from her birth-spot on 50-acre lot, No. 20, near to the Elijah Rich house where she spent a part of her youth; in short, not distant from the several places where her very long life had been spent. Phillip Rich, a younger brother of Elijah, built his house (still standing, but now for many years unoccupied) on a rise of ground north of the brook and close by his father's. Mary Rich, a daughter of Moses, married Elnathan Holmes in 1785, a couple of months before she was sixteen, and they spent their lives in the same immediate neighborhood just a little way off from the Torrey road.

6. William Young. Perhaps it will help the reader the better to put himself back in imagination into the primitive state of things existing in 1775 in Williamstown, to be reminded at this point that there was no Post Office here then nor until twenty-two years later. At that time there were but four mail routes in the entire country: (1) the great seaboard route from Portland to Savannah; (2) the route from New York via Albany and Montreal to Quebec; (3) the inception of the route from Philadelphia to Pittsburg; and (4) the ocean route from New York to Falmouth, England. It is surprising how information was borne from the seaboard to such a sequestered place as Williamstown then was with its mountains roundabout it; how quickly military companies were made up from time to time throughout the war from every part of the town then settled; and how general and well sustained were the heart-beats here in response to the throbs at the great vital centres at Boston and New York. As an illustration of the quickened intelligence and activity and patriotism that came from local exigencies and experience as well as from the more distant calls to counsel and action to certain young men of

scarcely more than ordinary original gifts, and even to some belonging to families whose racial and personal characteristics were rather sluggish than otherwise, William Young may serve us a good purpose. He was born in 1754, in or near Western, Worcester County, which county was full at that time of Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, who had migrated in 1718 from Londonderry and its neighborhood to Massachusetts, a considerable part of whom had passed in the autumn of that year from Boston into the then new township of Worcester. Among those thus passing was a Celtic family by the name of Young, who had become attached to their Protestant-Scotch neighbors in the north of Ireland, and who migrated with these to Massachusetts. The patriarch of this clan, John Young, ninety years old at the time of the immigration, died in Worcester, June 30, 1730, aged one hundred and seven years, and was buried on Worcester common. His son David, thirty-six years old at the time of the coming-in, died in Worcester in 1776, aged ninety-four, and was buried by the side of his father. Nearly all these Scotch-Irish immigrants and their immediate descendants had very large families and a remarkable longevity. The Worcester branch of them in a few years colonized bodily the towns of Blandford, Coleraine, and Pelham, and in part many other towns also, particularly Western (now Warren), Brimfield, Palmer, Ware, and New Salem. Moses Young, a son of the David above-mentioned, moved from Worcester and made a home near the boundary line between Brimfield and Western. He became a constable in Brimfield, and among his papers are receipts from Harrison Gray, Treasurer of the Province of Massachusetts, for moneys thus paid in by him in 1764 and 1765. This first Moses Young did not come to Williamstown, but three of his sons and two of his daughters had made permanent homes here before the father's death, which fell in September, 1781. The youngest of these three sons was William, and his name is on the muster-roll of the minute-men of Sloan's company encamped at Charlestown in 1775. He was then but twenty-one years old. His powder-horn is still extant in the hands of his grandson, George Smith, and bears date "ye 4th of May, 1775, Charleston." This shows that some of the minute-men from Williamstown were in camp at Charlestown in less than fifteen days from the affair at Lexington and Concord, and about forty days before the battle of Bunker Hill. Young carried the same powder-horn into the battle of Bennington, Aug. 16, 1777. He was out at various times in the military service of the Colonies during the Revolutionary War, and reached the rank of "Major" in the Massachusetts militia after that war was

over. His first wife was a daughter of Lieutenant Zebediah Sabin. There were no children of that union.

But it is rather as a civilian and politician and legislator and man of general influence in the community, that William Young calls for notice in this place. His usual title was "Esquire," and not "Major." This and various epitaphs and other records demonstrate that in general the civil titles were held in higher esteem than the military, when both rested upon the same person. His brother, Moses Young, who was seven years older, and came first and "went to chopping" on the original 100-acre lot, No. 34, which became and remains the centre of all the Young properties in that neighborhood,



WILLIAM YOUNG'S HOUSE.

and which is still owned and carried on (never a break) by the great-grandson of this Moses, showed indeed activity and foresight and acquisitiveness, and provided well for a large family, the ancestors of all who have borne the name of Young in Williamstown since, with a single exception; but neither he displayed, nor any one of his descendants, any such enterprise and sagacity and sustained vigor and widely extended influence as marked the life of the younger brother, William. Andrew also, two years older than William, who fixed his homestead on the Ashford Road, and spent a long life there, having no children, was in nowise remarkable above and beyond his average neighbor. But William Young, perhaps in part because he began his majority amid the stirring and

uplifting scenes around Boston during that first revolutionary summer, and beneath the eye of Washington himself, whose assumption of the chief command under the old elm at Cambridge he may very likely have witnessed, developed into one of the most prominent and influential men of his time in the town. Captain Samuel Clarke from Woodbury, Connecticut, where his first two children were born, the next two having been born in Williamstown in 1766 and 1768 respectively, bought the 50-acre lot, No. 36, near the east end of the Sloan Road for £20, and built on it the commodious house herewith figured, which passed in a few years into the hands of William Young, who lived and died in it, and which is now owned and occupied by his grandson, George Smith. Aside from his homestead, apparently augmented by the next 50-acre lot east, Young soon began to buy lands on a large scale. For instance, in September, 1778, he bought seven 100-acre lots and a 50-acre lot adjoining on "Trees Grant," as it was called, that is, on the "Gore," which became annexed to Williamstown in 1837. He paid for this property £300. John McMaster and Isaac Stratton sign the deed as witnesses. They were then his nearest neighbors, if he had already purchased the Clarke house and lived in it. Isaac Stratton was already Justice of the Peace in South Williamstown, and this deed was acknowledged before him. Caleb Tree, John Tree, and Elijah Cunningham had obtained from the Governor and Council a large grant of this unattached land, and it was of these parties that Young purchased. John Tree was at this time a resident of Lanesboro. Ten years later Young bought of Michael Dunning of Pownal for £1500 "current money of Massachusetts," that is, silver money one quarter depreciated from sterling, lands which Stephen Davis had sold to "said Dunning." This deed was acknowledged before William Towner, J. P. of the north village. Davis had married Young's sister.

Free Masonry flourished in Williamstown at the close of the last century and at the beginning of this. William Young set off one of the chambers of his house as a place of meeting for the South Williamstown body of that famous secret society, and became a prominent official in that organization, which circumstance contributed indirectly to the chief disasters of his career. Probably also his connection with the masonic body paid indirectly a considerable tribute to his remarkable political successes. He represented the town in the Legislature of the State in 1792, 1793, and in 1795. After an interval of five years, during which politics ran very high in Berkshire as between the Federalists and the Demo-

crats, Theodore Sedgwick of Stockbridge specially representing the former, and Tompson J. Skinner of Williamstown the latter, Young as a prominent Democrat resumed his annual place in the House of Representatives at Boston for nine successive years, 1800–1808 inclusive. In the meantime, after a length and variety of political offices holden which has never since been paralleled in Massachusetts, Skinner was appointed for 1806 and 1807 Treasurer of the Commonwealth. The Treasurer was not then chosen as now by the people at large, but was appointed by "the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth." William Young was one of the sureties both times on Skinner's bond as Treasurer for $100,000. As will be related at length on a future page, Skinner as Treasurer proved a defaulter to the State, and his bondsmen were prosecuted at law to recover the deficit. The State took temporary possession of all property held by William Young in South Williamstown; and after his death, which soon followed this catastrophe, it set off twenty-six acres with the homestead for the use of his widow, and afterwards gave back that part to her in fee simple. Captain Ebenezer Foster from Hancock bought most of the rest of the land, and erected on it the fine house still standing a little to the southwest of the meeting-house. Dr. Alanson Porter bought a portion of the confiscated land, and built a good brick house upon it a little to the east of the meeting-house. The meeting-house itself stands presumably on that part of the farm given back by the State to the Widow Young. Captain Foster represented this town in the Legislature of the State in 1830 and 1831. His wife was Harty Johnson, a daughter of Black David Johnson, and they gave a home for some years in his boyhood to their nephew, the late William Eaton Johnson. The first wife of William Young was a daughter of Zebediah Sabin. She died early and without children. His second wife was Currence Meack, daughter of the first physician at the North Part, Jacob Meack; and she bore to her husband one son and several daughters. The son was a ne'er-

WILLIAM YOUNG.

do-weel, passing under the designation of "Wicked Bill," and closing a dishonorable career in Canada. The widow lived during the first third of this century in her own house, and it came later into the possession of Lorin Smith, an excellent man, who had married one of the daughters.

Besides these six soldiers in Captain Sloan's company at Charlestown, now characterized particularly and at length, there were in that company then and there from Williamstown these additional men as given on the contemporary muster-roll: —

Absalom Baker	Ahasuel Turret
Alexander Spencer	Alexander Spencer, Jr.
Timothy Sherwood	Ebenezer Hutchinson
Anthony Lamb	Jeremiah Osborn
Henry Wilcox	Jonathan Hall
Joshua Smedley	Starling Daniels
Elijah Flynt	David Parkhill
James Andrews	Daniel Johnson
William Spencer	Ezra Church
James McMaster	Barachiah Johnson
Alexander Sloan	Bartholomew Woodcock

The first aggressive campaign in the Revolutionary War, 1775–76, began with the frustrated attempt to surprise and capture Quebec, and was ended by the expulsion of the British from their stronghold around and in Boston under the immediate command of Washington himself. We have now seen something of the important military service rendered by the men of this town in both parts of this campaign. Benjamin Simonds was commissioned colonel of the Berkshire regiment of militia, Aug. 30, 1775. There was but one regiment in Berkshire till April, 1777, when Simonds was commissioned colonel of the second or northern regiment, while the southern regiment was at the same time similarly officered, both in addition to the Berkshire regiment raised by Colonel John Paterson of Lenox and enrolled as a part of the Continental army soon after the affairs of Lexington and Concord. Simonds was a soldier in one of the earliest garrisons in Fort Massachusetts, was among those captured there by the French and Indians in 1746, and carried captive to Canada for a year, became one of the very earliest of the actual settlers in Williamstown, served at intervals and on occasion for several years both at Fort Massachusetts and the West Hoosac Fort, and after the close of the French wars rose steadily in rank in the Provincial militia until the Revolution broke out. He was in commission as colonel from 1775 until 1781. Owing in part to his well-known

alertness and capacity, and in part to the isolation and distance of northern Berkshire from Boston and the directness of the route by the Hoosac to the North River and Lake Champlain, he enjoyed at times the remarkable distinction of receiving at home his orders direct from Generals Schuyler and Gates, in command to the westward, without the intervention of the Massachusetts authorities.

The second campaign of the war, 1776–77, began on the part of the Americans with the baffled attempt to keep the British out of the city of New York, and ended by the masterly manœuvres and retreats of Washington in New Jersey before he went into winter quarters at Morristown. Colonel Simonds with his regiment from Berkshire was in the unfortunate battle of White Plains, which was fought on October 28, and soon after was ordered to Ticonderoga, where it passed the winter in garrison from December 16 to March 22, ninety-seven days. There lies before the writer at this moment a copy of the complete roster of the regiment while doing duty that winter at "old Fort Ti." The regimental officers stand as follows: —

Colonel,	Benjamin Simonds,	Williamstown
Major,	Caleb Hyde,	Lenox
Adjutant,	Daniel Horsford,	Williamstown
Surgeon,	Erastus Sargent,	Stockbridge
Surgeon's Mate,	Eldad Lewis,	Lenox
Quarter Master,	Phineas Brown,	Not known.

The surgeon of the regiment, in accordance with a custom not then unusual, was also the captain of a company. Doctor and Captain Sargeant was the only son of the Indian missionary, Rev. John Sargeant of Stockbridge; his mother was Abigail Williams, half-sister to the founder of the college. His company at Ticonderoga consisted of forty-three officers and men. Captain Amos Rathburn's company consisted of fifty-eight officers and men. Captain William Douglas of Hancock had seventy-seven in his company, of whom more than half were from Williamstown and Lanesboro. Captain Ephraim Fitch's company held on its roll sixty-three names. In Captain David Wheeler's company were forty-five men, several of them from Williamstown. Captain George King, who died in garrison, Jan. 20, 1777, enrolled in his company fifty-seven men, some of them from Cheshire and its neighborhood. Captain William Watkins commanded forty-four officers and soldiers. There were thus seven companies, aggregating three hundred and eighty-seven men, apparently all of them from Berkshire, in Simonds's regiment at Ticonderoga. On one of these muster-rolls, among other "pri-

vates," is found the name of Joseph Simonds, and opposite to the name is written, "on duty with the Colonel." Joseph was not then quite fifteen years old, but it was in accordance with a custom of those times for officers to enrol the names of their boys as privates in one of their companies, and then to assign to these duties at head-quarters as servants or otherwise to themselves. It was in this way that Lieutenant Zebediah Sabin took with him to Quebec his son John, as has been already related.

Before following further the fortunes of Colonel Simonds and his regiment in the campaign of 1777, particularly of the Williamstown men under his command, we must go back a little to the revolutionary action of the town itself in its corporate capacity, and consider the three or four men who may be properly designated as a Committee of Safety for the town throughout the Revolutionary War, even if they did not bear that distinctive appellation. The following original document is of the highest interest: —

WILLIAMSTOWN, BERKSHIRE COUNTY,
June 24, 1776.

At a legal Town-meeting of this town, held on this day, for the following purposes, the following motion was made and put to vote, viz.: Whether, should the honorable Congress, for the safety of the Colonies, declare them independent of *Great Britain*, the inhabitants of this town will solemnly engage with their lives and fortunes to support them in a measure?

Passed in the affirmative, *nem. con.*

In all the writer's search for original materials of the book now in hand, — a search that has continued at intervals during more than half a lifetime now no longer short, — he has found no distinct traces of a single citizen of the town, who maintained Tory sentiments and Tory action. There is abundant contemporary evidence even upon the official records of the towns themselves, that Pownal and Bennington and Hancock and Lanesboro, the towns with which Williamstown was then most intimately connected in all ways, had each considerable numbers among the citizens of even prominent Tories; but so far as now appears, Williamstown had none whatever; and as regards all the early landowners and leaders in the town, the evidence is positive through contemporary muster-rolls as well as universal tradition, that all the men and women here were of one mind in relation to the war. Of course, as always happens under such circumstances, there were leaders and followers, men who understood the grounds of the colonial quarrel with the mother-country and those who did not understand them, but who acted as

by instinct and under impulses of various kinds, better felt than easily explained. So far as the taking up of arms was concerned, the men of Williamstown had become singularly familiar with them through the old French and Indian wars. It is questionable whether any other town in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts had such a purely military beginning and such a constant military training as Williamstown had had. The pitch for the revolutionary song was given here very early by the prompt action of the minute-men, and by the extraordinary self-devotion of the first pastor, Rev. Whitman Welch; and the song itself appears to have kept up to the keynote until the very end. The extraordinary execution of the extraordinary plan of Burgoyne's campaign on the part of the British brought home the war to the hearts and households of the people here in an extraordinary manner. Burgoyne was coming down from Canada to unite his army at Albany with another British army brought up the North River from New York by Clinton, and so intended to cut off New England completely from the rest of the colonies. Old Ti and Crown Point were household words in every framed dwelling and in every log cabin in Williamstown; Burgoyne had captured them both as he slowly moved forward towards his hoped-for junction with General Clinton. He commanded Lake Champlain and Lake George, and it was now but a toss to the waters of the upper Hudson. Those lakes and waters in their entire stretches were perfectly well known to scores of men in Williamstown. They had heard, too, about the hireling Hessians and Brunswickers in Burgoyne's army. They did not relish that kind of means employed by Britain for the subjugation of colonists, who had loyally fought side by side with English-born soldiers against the French on many a colonial battle-field. Hired Hessians? Not a man of these colonists but had read in his Bible about "putting to flight the armies of the aliens." If they could not stop Burgoyne and his mongrels before a junction was made at Albany, they knew well enough that the war would come to their own doors, and that the hated Hessians would feed from their own corn-cribs.

Nevertheless, some suspicions of the more ardent patriots had attached themselves early in 1775 to David Noble, a native of Connecticut and a graduate of Yale College in 1764, and who came to Williamstown as a young lawyer in 1770. The following declaration, and the action of the Committee of Correspondence upon it, explain themselves and throw a clear light on the state of feeling in the town at the time: —

WILLIAMSTOWN, Oct. 24, 1775.

Whereas the Committee of Correspondence for this Town have informed me, that some suspicions have been conceived of me, respecting my principles and conduct in regard to our publick affairs; and in particular when I was Representative for this Town at the General Court held at *Boston*, in A.D. 1773; that I then acted in opposition to the measures pursued for the defense of our common rights and privileges, in that I voted against the petition and remonstrance to the King, for the removal of the then Govenour Hutchinson: Now, impressed with a sense of my duty to myself and the publick, I sincerely declare that although at the time above referred to, and for some time before then, I had conceived too good an opinion of that arch traitor to his Country, *T. Hutchinson*, and, for want of a thorough knowledge of my duty at that time, I inconsiderately opposed the abovesaid petition and remonstrance, and thereby justly incurred the displeasure of my constituents, and that by anything whereby I have given any persons reason to suspect me to be unfriendly to my Country, I have so far deservedly forfeited their good esteem. Yet, to do justice to myself, I must declare, that although I have committed errors, and been liable to mistakes, in the little part I have been called to act, I have ever been a cordial friend to the liberties and true interest of *America* so far as I understood it, and have ever conformed myself to the advice and directions of our several Congresses, and am determined for the future to unite, according to my abilities, in defence of our common rights and privileges.

DAVID NOBLE.

The Committee of Correspondence being convened on the 26th of *October*, 1775, the abovenamed *David Noble* voluntarily presented the above declaration; which, being examined and accepted by the Committee, was presented to the Town, in a publick Town-meeting, for concurrence, which being twice read, was put to vote, whether the same be satisfactory to the Town. Passed in the affirmative. Attest:

ISAAC STRATTON, *Clerk of the com.*

Just six months before the above town meeting was convened, and only five days after the affairs of Lexington and Concord on the 19th of April, there assembled another town meeting in Williamstown, in response to a call from the Central Committee of Safety for a Provincial Congress to assemble in the meeting-house in Watertown on the 31st day of May, 1775. The official record of this town meeting is interesting and stands in terms following:—

At a meeting of the Inhabitants of the Town of *Williamstown* on the 25th of April, A.D. 1775, the Selectmen being Moderators of the meeting, and Ensign *Samuel Kellogg* was unanimously chosen a Delegate to represent this Town in Provincial Congress; and the sense of the Town was communicated to him for his instruction, as follows, viz.:

That it is the sense of this Town, that we are at all times ready, as far as our circumstances will allow, to join in the common cause of *American* liberty, and to assist with our lives and fortunes, as occasion may require, to maintain our rights and liberties against all the hostile attempts to deprive us of our rights

and liberties, made by the cruel and oppressive Acts of the *British* Parliament; and are always ready to bear our proportion to defend our countrymen, and to assist in repelling force by force in such manner as the collective wisdom of the Province in Provincial Congress convened, shall judge most expedient.

The Town Clerk being absent, the meeting ordered the Selectmen to sign in behalf of the Town.

NEHEMIAH SMEDLEY
NEHEMIAH WOODCOCK } *Selectmen.*

It is worth noting here, that when this congress gathered a month later at Watertown, and the delegates presented their credentials, only nine other towns in Berkshire County besides Williamstown had sent any delegates. Pittsfield sent none, nor Lanesboro, nor Jericho. These towns were certainly dominated at that time by the Tory sentiments of some of their leading men. Sheffield, Great Barrington, Egremont, and Alford had united in despatching William Whiting; Tyringham sent Major Giles Jackson, John Chadwick, and Elijah Warren; Sandisfield sent Deacon Samuel Smith; Stockbridge had chosen Timothy Edwards and J. Woodbridge; Lenox was represented by Captain Caleb Hyde; and Richmond by Captain Elijah Brown. On the contrary, it should in justice be said, that nine other towns in the county besides these ten just mentioned, including the three specially named, were well represented in the county congress meeting in July, 1774, at Stockbridge. The action of this county congress was patriotic throughout, but by no means revolutionary. The lines of demarkation among the citizens were not yet tightly drawn in 1774 so far as the leading men in civil life were concerned; as a rule the officers and men in the colonial militia moved quicker and went further toward actual war and later toward independence. The first Provincial Congress of Massachusetts Bay had convened at Cambridge in February, 1775. This was before any overt action on the part of the British forces in and around Boston had taken place. Berkshire was about as fully represented at Cambridge in February as at Watertown in May, although blood had been shed in the interval. Fourteen towns had been heard from at Cambridge, as represented by ten delegates; ten delegates appeared also at Watertown as representing ten towns. Lanesboro did not put in an appearance at either place; in all probability because the influence of Rev. Daniel Collins tinged with decided Toryism predominated there. Williamstown sent Samuel Kellogg both in February and May, while to the county congress at Stockbridge in 1774, she sent Robert Hawkins, Elisha Baker, and Jacob Meack.

To intermit now for a little the busy note and bustling preparation of actual war with the mother country, it will perhaps be good form to characterize in some detail a few of the leading men in Williamstown who distinguished themselves in this decade of the seventies rather in civil life than in military action. Almost every one of them, however, bore the brunt of arms more or less as officers or privates as well as the burdens of local government in a critical time. The shock of prospective and actual war practically put an end to the civil administration of the proprietors as such, which had lasted full twenty years, — from 1754 to 1774, — and the town government which had come into being in 1765 came slowly into exclusive control in the course of ten years' time. We hear now of selectmen, of representatives of the town to the General Court, and of delegates from the town to the Provincial Congresses. We have already learned incidentally that David Noble was the representative to the General Court in 1773, and incurred the suspicions and censure of his fellow-townsmen by his conservative conduct in that capacity. We shall hear a good deal more of this man in the sequel, but not anything at all of him in a military way. It is doubtful whether he ever recovered the full confidence of his fellow-citizens until the war was over, even if he did then. Of these prominent civilians who rose to the occasion here, showing no lack either in intelligence or in activity, there were at least six who deserve a special mention in this connection.

1. Samuel Kellogg. The Kelloggs are of Scotch origin, as they have always believed and still believe. They have exhibited in every generation since their incoming hither about 1660, and their settling on the Connecticut River in Massachusetts in Hadley and Hatfield, certain peculiar traits adapted to strengthen in us all the belief in hereditary transmission. Like the Sabins and Johnsons and Smedleys and Mills, and several other strong families in Williamstown, the Kelloggs too came of a thoroughly good stock and were capable of perpetuating it from generation to generation. Samuel Kellogg's father was Benjamin, born in Old Hadley and married to a Sedgwick, a relative to those of that name settled afterward in Stockbridge. Samuel was born in Hadley in 1734, and about the time of his majority seems to have come to Williamstown with several other young men from northwestern Connecticut, — at first scatteringly and afterwards as a part of a military company sent up by that colony, — to look out for new homes for themselves and their families. Four at least, and probably some others of that military company, came to be among the earliest and firmest of the permanent settlers

here, all of them serving at intervals for a number of years to help garrison both Fort Massachusetts and the West Hoosac Fort. The most enterprising and far-seeing of the original proprietors of the house-lots, constituting the village of Williamstown, early perceived that they could aggregate for themselves by purchase or exchange better farms on the outlots successively drawn by the owners of the village house-lots. Kellogg accordingly bought three or four of the first division fifty-acre lots about a mile east of the east end of the hamlet, bounded on the north by the Hoosac River and on the south by the base of Saddle Mountain, and bisected near the middle by the old military path from Fort Massachusetts to the West Hoosac Fort. When he built his log house on the south side of this path, the whole tract was covered by a dense forest, and the northerly part next the river by a spruce swamp so low and wet that one could only pass through by jumping from one fallen log to another. This tract lay to the east of and adjoining to the farm of Nehemiah Smedley, one of his old comrades from Connecticut, who had been moved by the same impulse to sell his house-lots with their improvements in order to get a compact farm with a variety of soils.

On the 4th of March, 1764, Samuel Kellogg married Chloe Bacon, daughter of Daniel Bacon, whose farm was a mile or two south of Kellogg's. The Bacon families came from Middletown, Connecticut. Daniel Bacon, Jr., a brother of Chloe Bacon Kellogg, was killed in the battle of Bennington, while fighting in company with his brother-in-law Kellogg and with Absalom Blair, the father of the second Samuel Kellogg's wife. This young couple prospered in every way. They were Puritans from a Puritan stock. The blood of Major-General Sedgwick of Cromwell's army had come down into the veins of Samuel Kellogg. The names of the husband and wife are found side by side in the earliest list (1779) of the Williamstown church members. They had seven children in course of time. The fresh farm, both upland and intervale, proved to be very productive. By and by another upland farm adjoining on the southeast was added to the lowland one for orchards and sugar-bush and pasture. Kellogg had the confidence of his fellow-proprietors from the very first, partly perhaps because he had been better educated than the most of them, and certainly because he already showed more capacity for civil affairs. Three times he was moderator of important proprietors' meetings under the earlier plan of government. He was the first Justice of the Peace in the little propriety, bearing a commission as such from King George the Third, and there is some evidence still remaining that he tried in that capacity certain alleged wrong-

doers. As the Revolution began to impend in a really threatening way, and committees of Correspondence and Safety were appointed in the country towns, and the need of consultation and association was felt throughout the colony, Kellogg was twice sent to Boston by his townsmen within six months' time to Provincial Congresses there. He was the fittest man to go. He was, indeed, formally instructed in town meeting what general measures to favor; but his own pronounced opinions gave color to those of his neighbors as well as took color from their opinions. There was in general a remarkable unanimity. *Nemine contradicente* is the note appended to the town's vote of approval to the proposed Declaration of Independence, about a month before it passed the Continental Congress. The writer has not yet found, and probably never will find, a list of the names constituting the Williamstown Committee of "Correspondence" or of "Safety," as it was indifferently called; probably there was some reason for keeping the names of the members more or less concealed from the community at large. He only knows for certain that Isaac Stratton was the clerk and mouthpiece of the Committee, for that appears repeatedly in official documents of the time; nevertheless, he feels sure that Samuel Kellogg was one of the Committee from first to last, and that he never shirked any patriotic responsibility that fairly came upon him as a citizen. He shouldered his musket for the battle of Bennington and on various other occasions during the Revolution.

He died Sept. 2, 1788, aged fifty-four years. His epitaph reads, "A kind father, a patriotic and useful citizen, and a good man." His hands were certainly busy with the foundation-stones, both military and civil, of this fair borough of Williamstown. While it was still a Propriety, there was no place of service and honor that he did not fulfil. After it became a town in 1765, the same may be said. When his town took up arms against the King, who had commissioned him a Justice of the Peace, he knew all the grounds of the quarrel and took all the risks of it. He lived to witness the formation of the National Constitution of 1787, but not the organization of the government under it. He left, as the possessor of the commodious house he had built and of the fertile farm he had subdued and tilled, a son, Samuel Kellogg, born in 1766, who lived till 1829 to illustrate in his own person those principles of heredity above mentioned. He was a man of great physical strength and of more than ordinary intellectual activity. Williamstown gave few advantages for education in his boyhood, for the Free School did not open until 1791, when young Kellogg was twenty-five years old and had been married

four years; but he always had a fondness for books, and qualified himself by the industrious study of them for stations above those ordinarily held by farmers. Throughout the greater part of his life he filled one public station or another in his town and county. Like his father, he was Justice of the Peace, often selectman and town assessor, and represented his town in the Legislature of the State. For eight consecutive years, 1809–16 inclusive, and once again in 1819, he fulfilled the duties of such a representative. He was a Democrat of the Jeffersonian school, as was also a steady majority of his townsmen in those days. Indeed, his two predecessors in the House of Representatives at Boston from Williamstown, and himself, all three Democrats, filled up the time there as follows: T. J. Skinner, 1781, '82, '83, '84, '88, '99, 1800; William Young, 1792, '93, '95, 1801–1808 inclusive; and Samuel Kellogg (as above), 1809–16 inclusive, and in 1819. These and other public interests of his town and county, such as the cavalry company of the former, said to have been the best militia company in the State, of which he was long captain, did not seem to lessen his devotion to and success in the occupation of his life. He prided himself on being a model farmer. He was one of the principal founders of the Berkshire Agricultural Society under the general auspices of the celebrated Elkanah Watson, then a citizen of Pittsfield, and Kellogg received in 1823 the diploma and the premium of the Society for the best cultivated farm exhibited in the county. His livestock was usually fifteen to twenty horses, four yoke of oxen, sixty cows, a thousand sheep, not to mention hogs and hens and geese and ducks; and lastly, to gratify a neighbor, who said they were "good to meditate on," he bought a pair of peacocks! The early out-farm of his father, on what we now call Slope Hawks, had become, as it were, a part of the home-farm, and a large and new out-farm was purchased and pastured in Clarksburg, four miles from the homestead. Undoubtedly, after Samuel Sloan sold his farm in South Williamstown and moved up to the village, Samuel Kellogg was the largest and most successful farmer in town. During the latter part of his service in the Legislature he obtained the charter of the Agricultural Bank of Pittsfield; which goes to show (1) the opposition of the people of Pittsfield to a new bank in competition with the old one, and (2) the general influence of Captain Kellogg over the Legislature itself. But a truthful picture of the strong-shouldered captain requires the addition of an unpleasant line. As he grew older, he became much addicted to strong drink; and it was on this account and no other that his name bears on the church record the ominous symbol of "x," which in

algebra denotes an unknown quantity, but ecclesiastically in New England meant "excommunicated."

2. Elisha Baker. As was usual in the settlement and development of the towns in New England, young men did the most of the hard work, and took the worst of the risks, so it was in Williamstown; yet there were two quite elderly men with large families who left deep and lasting marks of their character and influence here. One of these was Richard Stratton, characterized at some length in the volume on "Origins in Williamstown," and the other was Elisha Baker, who was born in Woodbury, Connecticut, in October, 1724, and who died in Williamstown, May 22, 1797, in the seventy-third year of his age. When just turned of twenty-two he married in Woodbury, Phebe Nichols, and the twain had eleven children, all born in Woodbury. Like other families from Connecticut they moved northwards by degrees. In 1768 Elisha Baker was representative of the town of New Hartford in the General Court of Connecticut; the next year the same man represented in the same the town of Canaan; and it was in May of the former year that he bought of the Down family in Woodbury several parcels of land in Williamstown, all of them the afterdrafts of the original house-lot No. 60. The most important of these lots, and the one that afterward became his home, was the first division 50-acre lot 26, which skirts along the main road to North Adams and strikes the westerly line of that town just south of the Hoosac River. The easternmost bridge that crosses the Hoosac in this town has always been called the "Baker Bridge," because the crossroad connecting by means of this bridge the two parallel roads to North Adams, the one south and the other north of the river, turned by his house to the left and crossed his lot to the bridge. The town has recently voted to call the bridge by his name in perpetuity. His house stood on the north side of the main road, on a lift of land rising up from the low ground of the immemorial brickyard, just at the turn towards the bridge, where there has long been and is still a good house.

"Mr. Elisha Baker" (to quote from his epitaph) had five sons, Absalom and Eli and Ezra and Elisha and Ira. All of these with their father were in the battle of Bennington together from Williamstown. The father was then fifty-three years old, and he lived twenty years longer till 1797. His name and that of his wife stand together upon the original roll of church members. His political abilities are evidenced in several ways, particularly by his being chosen one of the three delegates to the Berkshire Provincial Congress at Great Barrington in 1774. The other two were Robert Hawkins and Dr.

Jacob Meack, the earliest settled physician in town. When the Revolution was practically over, and Massachusetts wished to formulate her principles of government in a permanent State constitution in 1780, Williamstown sent as her representative to that end Elisha Baker, who seems with this honorable service to have completed his public and political career. His sons, Ezra and Elisha, were both physicians here for a time, and became prominent men elsewhere. The former buried his first wife, Sarah Tucker, in the old graveyard on Hemlock Brook "in her 36th year" in July, 1796, and afterwards married her sister. He became a member of the Fourteenth Congress from New Jersey, evidently inheriting political tastes from his father. He died in 1841, and is said to have been a donor of money to Williams College. Dr. Elisha Baker migrated from Williamstown to Benson, Vermont, taking his widowed mother along with him, where she died. Benson was chartered in May, 1780, to James Meacham and Ezekiel Blair, both leading citizens, and became thereafter a sort of secondary Williamstown, as did several other early Vermont towns, particularly the one bearing to this day the old name. Mr. E. H. Baker, of Rockford, Illinois, who is very intelligent in the genealogy of the whole family, is a grandson of Dr. Elisha Baker. Ira Baker, another son of Elisha, Sr., married Mary Burbank, of South Williamstown, in 1786. Her father was in the battle of Bennington from there with the six Bakers from the north part. No wonder marriage alliances and many children followed. There was an earlier Mary Baker, sister of the first Elisha, who became the mother of General Ethan Allen and Ira Allen, and other Allens well known in the early history of Vermont. Remember Baker, brother of Elisha and Mary, was the father of the Remember Baker so closely associated with the Allens and with Colonel Seth Warner in the famous struggles of the Green Mountain Boys. Indeed, Remember Baker, 2d, was own cousin to Ethan Allen and Seth Warner, and these were own cousins to each other. This Baker was killed by the Indians near St. Johns, under General Montgomery, in 1775. He was then a captain, and was thirty-five years old. Nabby Warner, a daughter of Colonel Seth Warner, married James H. Meacham of Williamstown. She died in April, 1862. Thus was the family of Deacon James Meacham, one of the sturdy originals of Williamstown, intimately associated with the founders and fighters of Vermont. It is a pleasant reminder of our Elisha Baker and of his official relations with this town, that a living great-grandson of his, E. H. Baker, of Illinois, has now in his possession the original receipt for £60 paid to Pardon Stark for services

rendered to the town of Williamstown by Elisha Baker under date of Jan. 17, 1781.

3. Nehemiah Woodcock. In August, 1766, Barnabas Woodcock, Jr., of Milford, Connecticut, seaman, bought of Ephraim Seely, landgrabber, for £30, the 100-acre lot No. 24, the last lot but one on the Ashford Road going south. By this purchase far inland Barnabas evidently did not intend to abandon the sea, nor his home on the Sound near the mouth of the Housatonic, but he did intend in all probability to assist his two brothers Bartholomew and Nehemiah to keep comfortable in his old age their honored father. The following epitaph in the cemetery at the South Part is significant of much: "Here lies interred the body of Mr. Barnabas Woodcock, who was born in Dedham 25 Sept. 1710, and departed this life March 14, 1786, aged 76 years 5 months and 18 days." About the same time that this brother of the sea bought lot 24, Bartholomew bought for himself the adjoining 100-acre lot 26, and settled on it, dwelling there a very respectable farmer till 1820, when he sold the farm to Andrew Beers, his foster-son (he had no children), and bought the Isaac Stratton place in the South Village, where he died. Bartholomew, always called "Thol," was in the battle of Bennington with all his neighbors, and his name is borne on several other muster-rolls of the Revolutionary times; but he did not rise, like his brother Nehemiah, into influential civil positions in the town and the State. Neither name, moreover, is to be found on the records of the church, at least in Williamstown.

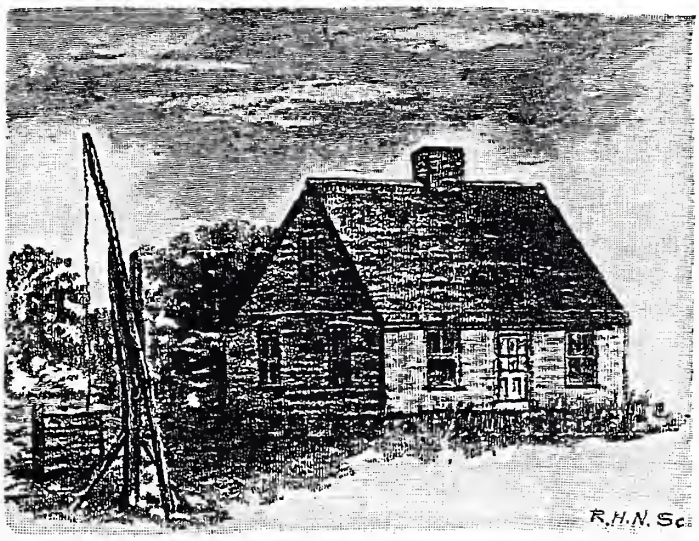
Nehemiah Woodcock early established himself on the county road about a mile north of the south hamlet at a point where that road is crossed at right angles by an east and west road now legally denominated the "Woodcock Road." The spot has been popularly called for a century "Woodcock's Corner." It is a sightly place. The house disappeared not far from 1850, but the cellar is still rudely open, and some one has lately trimmed up a chance young tree growing within it. Woodcock was five years younger than Nehemiah Smedley at the North Part; and the two were very much associated together officially in the town affairs both peaceful and warlike. We have already had occasion to notice that both were selectmen in 1773, and did not hesitate to take responsibility *in re* David Noble. In civil capacity and opportunity throughout the Revolution and afterwards, Woodcock undoubtedly surpassed Smedley; while the latter kept his hand more firmly grasping the military chances of influence and efficiency in his country's cause. While Smedley was captain in command at Bennington under

Colonel Simonds and General Stark, Woodcock was sergeant in Captain Samuel Clark's company under General Lincoln a month later in the rear of Burgoyne's army at Pawlet. In the Committee of Correspondence, in needful journeys to Boston and elsewhere, and in civil services generally, Woodcock was more like Samuel Kellogg and Isaac Stratton than was Smedley. His epitaph was not overcharged. "Erected to the memory of Nehemiah Woodcock: he was one of the first settlers of Williamstown, a firm supporter of his Country's Rights and Independence." He died March 10, 1816, in his seventy-ninth year.

Heredity in the line of transmission has its word of illustration as to the civil abilities of Nehemiah Woodcock. His son David Woodcock, born iu August, 1784, for a time a member of Williams College in the class of 1807, became a distinguished lawyer in Ithaca, New York, was a member of Congress from that district, and received the honorary degree of Master of Arts from the college in 1830. Two years later his son Don Carlos Woodcock was graduated from the college, became district attorney of Chemung County, New York, from 1841 to 1844, and later removed to practise his profession in Troy, where he died in 1884, aged seventy years. It is pleasant to be able to add, in reference to a man so devoted to public duty in rude times as was Nehemiah Woodcock, that one of his granddaughters married Stephen Booth Cushing, Williams College, 1832, and Attorney General of the State of New York, and another of them married Mr. Ferris, sometime Secretary of the Territory of Utah; and that one of his great-grandsons, Fenn Woodcock, was a useful and prominent citizen of the new State of Washington, while his sister, Mary Woodcock, became the wife of Dr. F. W. Chamberlain, a practising physician in the city of New York.

4. Robert Hawkins. Of the three delegates from Williamstown to the County Convention convened at Stockbridge in July, 1774, to take such action as might seem best as to the non-consumption of British manufactures and as to resisting the raising and collecting of British revenue in America, Robert Hawkins is named first in the official minutes of the convention or congress, as it was then called. Very little indeed can be ascertained about this man, who must have been for a time in a position of considerable influence here. Whence he came and whither he went are alike unknown. He built a good house on Pine lot No. 1, at the junction of the North Hoosac Road with the Simonds Road, a few rods north of the Moody bridge over the Hoosac. This house is still standing and has always been occupied by well-to-do families. It is herewith figured as it looked in

the decade of the eighties. Colonel Simonds owned it and lived in it during the last ten years of his life (he died in 1807), and used often in fine weather to sit in its front doorway in Continental costume greeting his acquaintances among the passers-by. The late Dr. B. F. Morgan of Bennington told the present writer many years ago, that when he was a small boy living with his father in Pownal, the latter had frequent occasion to drive to Williamstown, and that he himself had more than once seen the Colonel in full wig and regimentals courteously receiving and giving greetings thus and there. The doctor's mother was Abigail Thomas, who came when a child



THE HAWKINS HOUSE.

from New Hampshire to Bennington with her father, crossing the Connecticut River from Lyme into Thetford, and so over the Green Mountains. The father was a worker in iron, a "bloomer" so-called, and had a shop in the north part of Bennington. The daughter married Ezra Morgan of Pownal, who was a son of that Caleb Morgan already referred to as one of the famine-proof and pox-pitted veterans of the Kennebec and the St. Lawrence. Caleb Morgan was originally from Milford, the home of the Woodcocks. Dr. B. F. Morgan's son was Dr. E. N. S. Morgan, Williams College, 1844, and the latter's son Francis E. Morgan, Williams College, 1871.

This old Hawkins house became in 1825 the home of the Thomas family, a family which brought to Williamstown quite distinctive

features, and maintained them here more than fifty years in one locality. A little space will not be wasted on the ancestry of Dwight Thomas. William Thomas was probably the very earliest white settler in the town of Hardwick, Massachusetts, for he is known to have been living there in his own house in December, 1732. His great-grandson of the same name migrated to Hardwick, Vermont, where he became the first teacher, and where his son Dwight was born Sept. 17, 1800. This father and son moved to Pownal in 1819, and to Williamstown in 1821. The father died in 1857, aged eighty-two. The son, Dwight, died in the same house in 1878. Both maintained similar lines of characteristics; both were more intelligent than the average of their neighbors; both were church members, the father continuing in active church work till old age, always speaking his mind and feelings in the annual church meetings, while the son became somewhat alienated from his brethren before his death; both were very enterprising in adapting their business to changed and changing conditions; both were six feet high and very erect, and both served frequently and successfully as chosen arbiters in neighborhood disputes. Dwight, particularly, often balanced the books and accounts of the neighbors, when these had gotten more or less by the ears on account of mutual debts. Besides the "Seelye farm" so-called, bought by the father in 1825, Dwight purchased early for himself a sawmill and its appurtenances and lands attached. These joined his father's lands, and were by mutual consent merged with them into one property and management. Their lands included several of the original "Pine lots" of the town. They manufactured water-proof dry-goods boxes out of the abundant pine. These were sold to the neighboring factories for shipping calico by open conveyance to New York and Philadelphia. They also entered into the home carrying trade from North Adams to the Hudson and to New Haven. Thus the forest and the mill and the workshop and the road and the farm and the orchard all contributed to occupy and reward their industry and enterprise. They made a specialty of Baldwin-apples. They also kept bees. William B. Thomas, a younger brother of Dwight, born in 1804, learned the cabinetmaker's trade of Amasa Shattuck, and died in Williamstown in 1891. It is from him that the new street at the east end of the village is named "Thomas St." It is noteworthy that this Thomas happened to be the last person to stand upon the "Table Rock" at Niagara before it fell in 1863. He kept a small store on the Canada side at some distance below the falls, and had passed Table Rock scores of times without feeling any impulse to go upon

it. This day, however, as he passed it, he experienced a strong desire to do as others did, as a family party were doing at the moment. As they stepped off upon the highway, he took their place, and remained for some time alone at his leisure examining the Horseshoe Fall from the best point to observe it, and looking down into the depths below the rock. He passed off and took his way to the north towards his place of business, when he heard a sort of rush and swash, and turning instantly round he saw a cloud of dust rising up and filling the air where the Table Rock had been.

5. Jacob Meack. More than the usual mystery clouds the name and memory of the first settled physician in Williamstown. Clear tradition has it, that his contemporaries pronounced his name as if it had been "Mick." This makes it seem probable that he was a German, and that the vowel of his name bore in that shrift the umlaut above it. But he may have been a Hollander, and have crept up the Hoosac like scores of others from Albany or its neighborhood. At any rate, he was no Yankee. He came very soon after the town was incorporated in 1765. There is the official record of five daughters born to him and his wife Betsey during the years 1768–1776. His wife survived him, for she is called "relict of Doct. Jacob Meack," on her tombstone. She died in 1797. All of the daughters lived to be married in town, and three of them, Mrs. Hannah Kilborn, Mrs. Currence Young, Mrs. Sally Young, spent their lives here. Whatever may have been the nationality of the father, it is plain that neither he nor his family were regarded in the light of "cussed furriners" after the pattern of a hundred years later in New England. In February, 1774, Jacob Meack was the moderator of an important Proprietors' meeting held (as usual) in the meeting-house, and in July of the same year he was chosen by the town as one of their three representatives in the county congress at Stockbridge. He was evidently much trusted in the civil concerns of the town, as well as in the families to which his patients belonged. Even the brook that flowed past his "regulation house" on house-lot No. 12, was commonly called "Doctor's Brook" down to a time within the memory of many still living. And the house which he certainly occupied, even if he did not build it, is still standing intact by the brookside, as his daughter and granddaughter owned and dwelled in it as an inheritance from him. Hannah Meack Kilborn united with the church in the year 1800; her sisters Currence and Sally in 1826, and her daughter Marcia in 1808, and son Frederick in 1817. The last named was a *non compos mentis* with certain religious tendencies and impulses, so that it was

thought proper to admit him into the church at his own desire. Naturally enough he did not prove to be a particularly exemplary member. He heard of course a good deal of swearing in the street, the significance of which he did not understand, and he sometimes indulged himself in such language, which brought on him such reproofs as the following: "Fred, you mustn't swear so, — the minister will be after you; and you never can get into heaven." "*Well, then, I'll bear it, and stay out!*" Marcia Hilborn, the last descendant here of Dr. Jacob Meack, and the last representative of the several Kilborn families from Litchfield, who purchased lots here very early, — John, James, Jonathan, — lived poor and unmarried and partially supported by the church till past the middle of the century.

6. Isaac Stratton. It may perhaps be reasonably questioned whether the civil services of Isaac Stratton to his time and locality surpassed in importance his strictly military service to the same; both were more than respectable, for both were entirely adequate to the exigencies of the situation, but the writer is constrained in his own judgment to reckon what may be fairly called the civil and social merits of this admirable pioneer as first and foremost. Accordingly he is treated in the present list and connection. The judgment of his family and contemporaries, when he died in April, 1789, aged fifty years, was consonant with our own; for we may still read on a substantial headstone at the South Part, "Isaac Stratton, *Esq.*" He was the eldest son of Richard Stratton of Western (now Warren), and was coming of twenty-one when the entire family moved to West Hoosac in 1760. Very shortly after his coming the father bought three or four house-lots on the Hoosac level, in the northeast quarter of the village plat, on one of which (No. 56) he proceeded after a little to build for himself a home in the first two-story house erected in the town, which is still standing in good shape essentially as he built it, and in which he died a few years later. He also bought at about the same time two fifty-acre lots of the second division, lying at the junction of the Hancock and Ashford brooks in the present hamlet of South Williamstown. These lots, Nos. 53 and 55, Richard Stratton in September, 1766, both sells and gives to Isaac, "both husbandmen," "for £7, together with that parental love and affection which I have and do bair to him the said Isaac Stratton, my well-beloved son." The son was twenty-six years old when he thus took title to the first settled farm in South Williamstown, but he had been there for three or four years, making himself a home on the north side of the brook at a spot which has

been ever since the only tavern-stand in the hamlet. For about two years he was entirely alone there, so far as neighbors were concerned; but he soon thought best to sell that place to Samuel Sloan, and to cross the brook and to put his house nearer to the bulk of his land. Twenty years later, that is, in 1785, he built there the large house herewith figured and still standing, in which he lived but four years till his death. That house stands on No. 54.

During the last twenty-five years of his life, at first for his neighbors at the South Part, now growing steadily in numbers and needs for such services, and later for citizens of the whole town, more or less, he drew their deeds of land and also certified them as a Justice

ISAAC STRATTON'S HOUSE.
Built 1785.

of the Peace; he drew wills also, and other papers of various kinds, and acted as arbiter in case of disputes; he was in 1771 the chosen moderator of the May Proprietors' meeting, held, as usual at that time, in the meeting-house; he was the town clerk most of the time from the incorporation of the town in 1765 until his death; he was the clerk of the Committee of Safety, and therefore its most important member, throughout the trying Revolutionary years preceding the battle of Bennington; and he certified, as Justice of the Peace, many of the Revolutionary muster-rolls comprising the men of his town and sometimes of neighboring towns also. These rolls were usually made out in the first instance by the captains of the companies, and sworn to by them before the justice; but corrections and additions often needed to be made in them, and Mr. Justice

Stratton, with his relatively facile pen, seems to have been ready to help everybody out in every good cause.

In the meantime, he was rising in rank, step by step, in the militia of the town and county. In 1777 he was the major in Colonel Simonds's regiment, and as such immortalized himself in the battle of Bennington. Nevertheless, such side-occupations as those of Stratton, and many more like him, during the Revolutionary period, were not favorable to the accumulation of property. They came to interfere decidedly with the profitable tilling of their farms. War took the officers and men away from their homes in the seasons of seed-time and harvest. The Continental currency, like all irredeemable money, was impoverishing to all who were compelled to use it. The so-called "Shays's Rebellion" of 1787, in Massachusetts, itself the direct consequence of the points just made, found a good many adherents in Berkshire and some in Williamstown, of whom the most conspicuous was Deacon James Meacham, who passed the old Smedley house of a Sunday morning, gun on his shoulder, horseback, to join Shays's men to the eastward, to the great scandal of young Levi Smedley, destined to become one of Meacham's successors in the deaconate, and whose views of the movement of Shays were exactly the opposite to Meacham's. How Major Stratton felt on these matters has not been recorded; it is altogether likely that he sympathized with the government side. It is nevertheless somewhat painful to read in the old book of Berkshire Registry of Deeds a plain proof that in the years before his death he fell into financial straits. He finished his large new house, as the chimney-top testifies to this day, in 1785. The registry record states that Isaac Stratton sold, on the 7th of June, 1788, for £105, "to Robert Kinney and Robert Kinney, Jr., Merchants of Albany, State of New York, a part of second division 50-acre lot No. 54." Now, 54 was Stratton's home-lot that held his house. Albany was the market for Williamstown buyers. The Kinneys were merchants who held many claims on Williamstown farms. Stratton would not have sold a part of his home-lot except under pinch and duress. Never mind. His final discharge from the earthly army came in about six months. Whether he left any property or not is of little consequence. He left an unstained reputation and a splendid record of good deeds done. His widow, Mary Fox Stratton, both of them members of the church here from the beginning, married Rev. Clark Rogers, an itinerant Baptist minister. When she died in 1812, her remains were brought hither and interred by the side of those of her first husband.

We must now go back a little in point of time, in order to see the

military part played by Williamstown as a town, and by its alert and patriotic citizens, in the campaign of 1776. The attack on Quebec, the nub of the previous campaign, had totally failed, although Colonel Arnold on his side and General Montgomery on his had done all that mortal men could do to make it a success. About a month before the Declaration of Independence, the Continental Congress called on Massachusetts for five thousand of its militia to coöperate with the Continental troops in Canada and at New York; and nine days before the Declaration the colony of Massachusetts passed a resolve to raise the men immediately, and to apportion their quotas among the several towns. To carry out the terms of this resolve in the county of Berkshire, "Mr. Azariah Root, Major Caleb Hyde, and Captain Isaac Stratton" were appointed a committee by the General Court, which itself at the same time made the apportionment of quotas to the several towns. A century and a quarter has made great changes in the relative strength and population of these towns. There had been then no census in the colony; the quotas were estimated from the reported numbers in the trainbands of the respective towns, of which twenty-four are enumerated. Sheffield stands at the head of the list with 27, Lanesboro next with 19, Pittsfield with 17, Great Barrington with 16, New Marlborough with 15, Stockbridge and Richmond and Sandisfield each 14, and Williamstown with 13. According to this rude count of 1776, Williamstown was the ninth in rank of the county of Berkshire. The nine towns were to furnish 149 of the 249 men demanded, while the remaining 15 small towns were to furnish the remaining 100 soldiers. Williamstown has already exceeded in population all of the towns then above her, except Pittsfield; and as the nineteenth century goes out, she reckons herself the fourth in the county in point of population. East Hoosac was then called upon to furnish nine men, but it has since been divided into two towns, North Adams and Adams, each of which is now considerably more populous than is Williamstown. This is on account of factories, early established and a good deal extended along the two branches of the Hoosac River which flow through those two towns. The excavation of the Hoosac Tunnel also, done by the State of Massachusetts directly, the headquarters for which operation were in North Adams, gave to that town an immense impulse both in property and in population. But the remarkable topographical position of Williamstown, as the narrow pass through which the upper Hudson and Lake Champlain can best (or only) be reached in a military way from New England, gave to that an importance, as well in the old French wars as also during

the Revolution, altogether out of proportion to its population and other material resources.

More than a month before the Declaration of Independence, the subjoined letter to General Schuyler, then in command on the North River, written by Mark Hopkins as clerk of a meeting of the combined committees of safety of the several Berkshire towns, gathered at Richmond, which was pretty centrally located for the county convenience and a much more important town relatively than now, and already the home of David Rossiter, marks the prompt patriotism of those towns.

RICHMONT, May 20: 1776.

SIR: We have just now (by some soldiers returned) heard that our Army at Quebeck have obliged to decamp from before that city, that they are in want of Provisions, and perhaps of other assistance. Therefore we a number of the Committees of the County of Berkshire, and those parts of the Government of New York adjacent have sent the bearer hereof Capt. Charles Dibble, an express to yourself to know whether you do not want assistance which we can furnish, by Waggons, Teams Provisions or men being willing to contribute all in our Power for the Relief of our army aforesaid. We are Sir your

Humble Servants

To by order of sd Committees,

The Hon: ble MARK HOPKINS, *Clerk.*

[outside] GENERAL SCHUYLER.

A resolve of the General Court of Massachusetts passed Sept. 14, 1776, will confirm what has just been said, and serve also to explain the great prominence of Colonel Simonds during this campaign and the next, particularly the fact, that General Schuyler and General Gates commanding in the Northern Department send their orders directly to him, and not through any superior officer, and he likewise communicates directly with them. The movements of the militia in Berkshire County are not, as a rule, ordered from Boston, owing doubtless in part to the immense barrier of the Hoosac Mountain, and in part also to the universal confidence felt in Simonds as their natural and efficient head throughout the Revolution by the colony and by the heads of the northern army.

Whereas it has been represented to this Court that there is now no Brigadier in the County of *Berkshire*, to put in execution a late resolve of this Assembly for raising and sending to *New York* a fifth part of the militia; and as the first Colonel of the Militia there [Paterson] is now in the service of the United States, and the other chief Colonel [Fellows] is sick, and one Lieutenant-Colonel of the Militia there [probably Rossiter] is also in the said service. Therefore,

Resolved, That Colonel *Simonds* of *Williamstown*, Colonel *Root* of *Sheffield*, and Deacon *Curtis* of *Stockbridge*, &c, and they hereby are empowered and di-

rected to execute the late resolve of this Court above referred to, within the County of Berkshire, in the same manner and observing the same directions that are given to the Brigadiers or commanding officers in the several counties by the said resolve.

The following letter from General Gates to Colonel Simonds will probably interest general readers, and certainly the numerous descendants of the Colonel, now scattered widely over the United States.

TYONDEROGA, Sept. 15, 1776.

SIR: I this moment received your letter, dated *Williamstown*, 12th instant. As I did not send the orders for your march to camp, I could not take measures more early to stop your proceeding. The last account from General *Arnold* convinces me that there is no immediate necessity for the Militia coming forward at this time. A copy of his last letter to me I send you enclosed. The alarm was occasioned by some firing from our enemy on the shores opposite *Isle aux Tetes;* and I believe a great number of small arms and cannon fired that and the succeeding days by brigades of the enemy at exercise at their post below, all which deceived the Commanding Officer at *Crown Point.*

A good road will be finished by this day sennight, from *Rutland* through *Castletown* to the east foot of *Mount Independence*, and an excellent bridge over *Otter Creek* at *Rutland* will be finished in three days. For the future, any body of men intended for our succor should march that way.

The *United States* are, in general, obliged to you for your alertness to succor their army, and particularly, Sir,

Your &c. &c.

HO. GATES.

TO COLONEL BENJAMIN SIMONDS.

The letter to which General Gates refers is given herewith entire, and may serve as a sample of many more passing from the same party to his military superiors to the northwestward, especially to General Schuyler.

WILLIAMSTOWN, Sept. 12, 1776.

SIR: Agreeable to an express from his Honour Major General *Schuyler*, I have caused the Militia under my command to be on their march to *Tyonderoga*. I thought proper to send this by express, so that in case the men should not be wanted, they may have early orders for their return, that so expense of their march further than necessary may be prevented.

I am your Honour's most obedient servant,

BENJ. SIMONDS,
Colonel.

TO GENERAL GATES.

One month later than the above letter from Gates to Simonds, General Schuyler, the real organizer and administrator of the Northern Department, and who deserves with Arnold almost the entire

credit of the defeat and destruction of Burgoyne the next year, wrote as follows to the Berkshire Committee of Safety. The reader will notice that he dates his letter "Saratoga," but must not suppose the place to be the modern watering-place of that name. The place where Schuyler was encamped in 1776, and where Burgoyne surrendered in 1777, was a good way to the north of the "Springs," and on both sides of Fish Creek, a noisy brook tumbling into the Hudson at right angles on its west side. The land belonged to the General, and he had a good house there and mills on the creek. The place is now very properly called Schuylerville. On the other side of the river, nearly a mile north of the mouth of Fish Creek, another much larger stream, called the Batten Kill, falls into the Hudson. On a piece of high ground something over an acre in extent not far from opposite the mouth of Fish Creek, there was built in 1709, during the course of Queen Anne's War, by Colonel Schuyler, great-uncle of the General, a stockaded fort, which came to be called Fort Saratoga. The name soon extended itself to the Batten Kill, which is repeatedly denominated "Saratoga River" in the documents of the time even in its middle reaches. Chaplain Norton, who crossed it in 1746 with the other captives from Fort Massachusetts, calls it in his journal "Sarratogo River." The next year, in November, Governor Clinton ordered the abandonment of the fort that had been taken and burned by the French in June; and the name "Saratoga," gradually crept to the west side of the Hudson, and was lost to the east.[1] The Schuyler family had long had six or seven farms on Fish Creek, where the northern army was encamped in 1776, and whence the General sent his letter to Berkshire.

SARATOGA, October 16, 1776.

GENTLEMEN: Our fleet, which suffered severely in an engagement on the 12th instant with the enemy, has been still more severely handled in a subsequent one, in so much that the enemy are left masters of the lake, and are now coming on to attack our army at *Ticonderoga*.

In this situation of our affairs, it is of the utmost importance that the Militia of your State should immediately march to sustain the army; and such as can march expediously, come by way of *Albany*, should do so, and the others take the route to *Skenesborough*. Each man should come provided with as much provision and ammunition as possible. The commanding officer should send me information of his numbers, and the progress in his march from time to time. I shall be either at *Fort George* or at *Skenesborough*, but as I can not determine which, it will be proper to send expresses to both places, and to forward copies of this to Governour *Trumbull*, and to every Committee in your State in a situation of affording assistance, as also to the neighboring counties in the State of

[1] See for a full account of these changes *Origins in Williamstown*, pp. 160-166.

Connecticut. I must repeat, gentlemen, that it is of the utmost importance that I should be duly furnished with an account of the movements and numbers of the Militia.

From, gentlemen, your most obedient, humble servant,

PH. SCHUYLER.

To the Committee of the County of *Berkshire.*

As one result of this pressing letter from Schuyler, the county of Berkshire was thoroughly rallied; and the Committee of Safety in Stockbridge thought it was incumbent on them to rally the adjoining county of Hampshire, as appears by the following note hurried on to the eastward: —

STOCKBRIDGE, October 19, 1776.

GENTLEMEN: The Militia of this County are rallied and on their march, and we think it of the utmost importance that you comply with the General's request immediately.

ERASTUS SERGEANT,
SAMUEL BROWN, JUN.,
ASA BEMENT,
Committee of Stockbridge.

To the Committees in *Hampshire* County.

So intimately are the two first names on this Stockbridge Committee connected with Williamstown, and even with the military events whose current story we are now trying to tell, that it is scarcely a digression to say something of each of them in the present connection. Erastus Sergeant was the elder son of John Sergeant, the justly famous missionary to the Indians in Stockbridge, who was a native of Newark, New Jersey, a graduate of Yale College in 1729, and a tutor there for four years, from 1731 to 1735, when he took up his residence and missionary labors in Stockbridge, not to intermit them till his death, in 1749. His wife was Abagail Williams, eldest daughter of Ephraim Williams, who brought his family to Stockbridge in 1737, one of four families coming at the instance of the General Court to be examples to the Indians in Christian living, and helpmates to the missionary and missionary teacher, Timothy Woodbridge. Two years after Ephraim Williams came to Stockbridge, he made the first survey of the two towns on the upper Hoosac, afterwards called East and West Hoosac, and much later Adams and Williamstown; and so became the first white man known to perambulate these our hills and valleys. Although this first survey of 1739 did not meet the views of the General Court, and was laid aside till superseded by the survey of 1749, it is probable that the interest in the two townships of both the father and his eldest son of the same name was deepened and continued so long as

they lived by this original survey of them. Ephraim Williams was grandfather to Erastus Sergeant. The latter studied medicine in Deerfield with his uncle, Dr. Thomas Williams, only uterine brother to Ephraim Williams, Jr., the founder of the college. He commenced to practice medicine and surgery in Stockbridge in 1768. While the Revolution was drawing on and continued, he felt within him the military impulse common in his family connections; he went through all the ranks till he became major in Colonel Simonds's regiment in the campaign of 1777, at the same time acting as surgeon in the same regiment, both at Ticonderoga and until the surrender of Burgoyne. He was reputed a skilful surgeon and physician. More than twenty young men were fitted for practice under his instructions. He became the principal surgical operator within a radius of thirty miles of Stockbridge, disputing in critical cases with Dr. Samuel Porter of Williamstown. The latter, however, long survived Sergeant, and known cases in surgery were brought from Stockbridge to Williamstown after Sergeant's death in 1814. He was also a deacon in the Church, and a magistrate in the town of Stockbridge.

Samuel Brown represented another of the four families coming from the east to Stockbridge at the instance of the General Court, to help in the Christianization of the Indians there. Josiah Jones of Weston, and Joseph Woodbridge of West Springfield, brother of the schoolmaster, were the heads of the other two of the four families. Before the Williamstown village lots (laid out in 1750) were offered for sale in Stockbridge, Ephraim Williams, the father, had fallen into much disfavor there, and in 1752 sold out all his property to his son Ephraim Williams, the founder, and moved to Deerfield, where he died in 1754. Lieutenant Brown showed his interest in the new "Propriety" on the Hoosac by purchasing three of the original lots at the time of the drawing in Stockbridge. His sons, Samuel Brown, Jr., and Elijah Brown, at the same time and in the same way purchased each one of the lots, which made five lots going to one family. Twelve other original buyers took two lots each, one of the twelve being Captain Ephraim Williams. The remaining thirty-one lots offered for sale by the colony went to scattered individual proprietors, nine of them being private soldiers in Fort Massachusetts. Lieutenant Isaac Wyman, Sergeant William Chidester, and Corporal Samuel Calhoun, of the Fort, took each two lots. Thus the Brown family of Stockbridge purchased at the outset one-twelfth of the entire area of Williamstown through the purchase of five of the sixty house-lots. In one of the family deeds of

land, dated in May, 1751, Samuel Brown the father, is put down as "Gentleman," and Samuel Brown the son as "Husbandman." Elijah Brown did not become so distinguished as his father and brother. No one of the three ever came to Williamstown to live, but each of the three took a very considerable interest in the new settlement. As luck would have it, Samuel Jr. drew lot No. 1, the most conspicuous and valuable of all the lots, inasmuch as it fronted directly on the "Square" and stretched along the original and present South Street for one hundred and twenty rods. Brown sold the lot within a year to Ezekiel Hinds of Stockbridge and Fort Massachusetts; and Hinds sold it to Samuel Smedley of Litchfield, October 31, 1752, for £27, husbandman to husbandman. Esther Smedley, the widow of Samuel, and John, his eldest son, deeded this lot over to Nehemiah Smedley, son and brother, March 21, 1758, for £27. This lot was one of the earliest in the hamlet to be cleared up and built upon, and the very earliest to receive an apple orchard, in 1754, which came into good bearing in 1765, when the new town was incorporated. It is but fair to say that Stockbridge from first to last has exerted a wider and deeper and more wholesome influence over Williamstown and the college than any other town in the county. Ephraim Williams, father and son; Rev. John Sergeant and Deacon Samuel Brown; Rev. Dr. Stephen West and Theodore Sedgwick; David Dudley Field, father and son; all four of the first graduates of the College, in 1795, were from Stockbridge; Mark and Albert Hopkins, great-grandsons of John Sergeant and great-great-grandsons of Ephraim Williams, — all these, and many more, have united the two places by powerful and lasting ties.

The general position of Williamstown as a narrow neck of land early uniting south with north and east with west, is vividly illustrated by the following contemporary documents, which are interesting on several other grounds as well: —

WILLIAMSTOWN, August 4, 1776.

At a meeting of the Committee of Safety, etc., of this Town,

Resolved, That whereas we are informed that Captain *Eddy*, from *Providence*, in the Colony of *Rhode Island*, with thirty-nine of his men, now in the Continental service, having been exposed to the small-pox, and having since then taken it by inoculation, without our knowledge, and said men appearing to us to be under necessity of immediate care taken, and provision made for their sickness, we do hereby give orders that the house belonging to *Ephraim Seelye*, which stands near said *Seelye's* sawmill, shall be repaired and made convenient for their reception; and that *David Noble* be appointed to put said house in order, and to make provision and provide suitable diet for said company, from the time they go into said house till they each of them obtain certificates from

their Doctors of their being sufficiently cleansed from said disorder. And said company to depart to said pest house next *Wednesday* morning, and not to return into the town till after cleansing.

And for the further preventing all inconveniences which may arise,

It is Resolved, That Mr. *Samuel Kellogg*, and *William Horsford*, and *Daniel Stratton*, be a Committee to give their attendance at the time of each man's cleansing, and be fully satisfied that they are fully and well cured and cleaned, and may safely depart. And this Committee strictly enjoin and order that no one of the said infected persons shall come or go within thirty rods of any dwelling-house, or town or country road.

Given under our hands, this 4th day of *August*, A.D. 1776.

Per order: ISAAC STRATTON, *Committee's Clerk.*

This house then belonged to Ephraim Seelye, and this and his sawmill near by it, were the original house and mill of John Smedley, situated near the junction of Broad Brook and the Hoosac River. By a special vote of the Proprietors passed in 1763, Smedley was allowed to take the raceway for his mill from Broad Brook at the north end of the present bridge over the brook, along by the public road and then across that road around the foot of the hill to his millsite on the Hoosac, some rods below the mouth of the brook. Persons are still living in that neighborhood who remember to have seen in place the timbers of that old sawmill. The present writer has himself seen and examined the old house, which stood part way up the hill toward the public road, and had been for a long time unoccupied, when it was pulled down to make way for an excavation along the roadbed of the Fitchburg Railroad. The most striking thing about the house, which was then a century old, was its exterior sheathing, constructed of extremely wide pine boards free from knots. Smedley sawed his own boards for his own house at his own mill, fed with logs long and large off his own homestead, Pine Lots Nos. 7 and 8. Until he ran across the above order of the Committee of Safety, the writer did not know the reason why some of the oldest inhabitants applied the term "pest-house" to this old building. John Smedley was a "joiner" by trade. He began operations on Broad Brook by buying lands there as early as 1762. Ephraim Seelye, who came here from "Amenia Precinct," Duchess County, New York, about 1763, and who is always denominated "Gentleman" in the old deeds, evidently became the owner of John Smedley's lands, and of many more in that neighborhood, as the Revolution drew on. His son of the same name, both dwelling more or less at intervals in Pownal next below, became later a very large landowner in town, and incurred justly or unjustly the epithet of "land-grabber." It was of him that his neighbors said, that if he had been shown "all

the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them," his instant reply would have been, "*I'll take it, I will!*"

The following letter from Williamstown to General Gates, written at the dictation of Captain Eddy of the Rhode Island men detained there, Dr. William Page being the amanuensis, the second in point of time of the settled physicians in Williamstown, will explain itself. It was written two weeks after the men were ordered to the "pest-house": —

WILLIAMSTOWN, August 17, 1776.

SIR: I am requested by Captain *Eddy*, commander of a company of ship carpenters from *Rhode-Island*, to inform that said captain and company having been exposed to take the small-pox on their march from *Rhode-Island* (as the General will see by the enclosed), have since been inoculated, and are now sick with said disorder in said *Williamstown*, and that he (Captain *Eddy*) being taken with a violent dysentery, despairs of life; but still anxious for the welfare of his soldiers, desires the General to do something for them. They having received but one month's advance pay, have not money sufficient for their march to *Skenesborough*, in case the General, upon information, should give orders for said march; neither a sufficiency to return to *Rhode-Island* when discounted with their doctoring and nursing. Said carpenters' utensils, being their own property, are now at *Skenesborough*, they will be out of business in case of return. Ten of said company, having formerly had the small-pox, are gone forward; the remainder may safely march in eight days. I send enclosed the resolve of the Committee of Safety of *Williamstown*, as also a line Captain *Eddy* received from Brigadier-General *Waterbury*. General Gates's orders for the express, Mr. *Joseph Skinner* will lay a particular obligation on Captain *Eddy* and company, and much oblige your humble servant,

WM. PAGE,
Per order Captain *Eddy*.

N.B. The General will please inquire of the bearer for particulars.

The line referred to above as having been received by Captain Eddy from General Waterbury, and enclosed, follows herewith: —

SKENESBOROUGH, August 12, 1776.

I have received a line from General *Gates* concerning you who have been inoculated, which I will communicate to you: "The companies of ship carpenters from *Rhode-Island*, who have been inoculated at *Williamstown*, should be discharged and not suffered to come forward." The foregoing are the words of the General. I think as much as to say you are not to come in the service; we don't intend to let any one come into this place that has lately had the small-pox, (for you know it has been the bane of our Northern Army), and we have got it out of this place and Ticonderoga, and we are determined to use every precaution to keep it clear; and for men to go and inoculate, and presume to come here among fresh troops, we think it monstrous.

DAVID WATERBURY, JR.,
Brigadier-General.

To the Captain and Company of Carpenters at *Williamstown*.

There is one other public document of the time relating to this business of the inoculation here, which is a letter of Colonel Samuel Brewer to General Gates, for whose insertion entire no apology will be demanded by the intelligent reader.

BENNINGTON, August 23, 1776.

HONOURED SIR: I am now on my march from this place with part of my regiment or battalion. The Council of this State, or the Committee appointed to provide my regiment with camp utensils, have not yet sent them, by reason of which my men are entirely destitute. My marching orders are urgent from them; likewise I find the same from you to the Commission here. I am determined to push as far as I can find any kind of a pot or kettle to look in. Have sent my adjutant with this to your Honour, begging your advice and instruction in that matter; also where you would have me repair with my regiment. The other part of my regiment will be on their march next week; by them I expect the camp utensils will come, as I have sent two expresses to *Number Four*, and one to *Watertown*, now after them. Upon seeing a letter from you to Major *Hawley* relative to the conduct of inoculation at *Number Four*, I find that a damn'd puppy of a quack has carried on the diabolical practice at *Williamstown*, about twelve miles from this. I have made bold to send your sentiment in that matter to the Committee of that town this morning, and make no doubt they will either do him justice, or send him to you to receive his reward.

I am, sir, your Honour's most obedient and very humble servant,

SAML. BREWER, *Colonel.*

TO GENERAL GATES.

There are two or three relevant considerations in connection with these Revolutionary documents in their intimate relations to men and things here at that time, — of which the first is the single gleam of light thrown on Dr. William Page, always known to have been a settled physician in town in the decade of the seventeen-seventies, but of whom almost nothing more has ever been heretofore ascertained. The name of William Page stands second (Jacob Meack alone preceding it) upon a list of Williamstown physicians first published in 1824, in Field's "Berkshire County." The contribution to this volume under the head of "Williamstown," made by Professor Ebenezer Kellogg of the College, holds the only other old-time reference to Dr. Page. Kellogg obtained most of his historical information from Deacon Levi Smedley, born here in 1764. Speaking of the old Smedley home on house-lot No. 1, Kellogg says of Nehemiah Smedley: "Exchanging this place with Dr. Page, for a lot purchased [by Page] of the Rev. Mr. Welch, he built upon it in 1772, the next oldest [two-story] house now remaining in town, occupied by his oldest son [Deacon Levi], just across Green river." Now at length, we may take one substantial glance of the old-time

doctor. He believed in inoculation at a time when public opinion, as voiced both by the medical profession in general and by the clergy universally, was virulently opposed to it. He wrote from this town a very well-expressed letter to General Gates in behalf of Captain Eddy of Providence, who then supposed himself to be dying, the letter breathing strongly sympathetic feelings of both captain and surgeon toward the thirty-nine men then sequestered here in a well-known house for small-pox. In all human probability, Dr. Page had inoculated these men himself; at any rate, he was in medical attendance upon them, and ready to render them any service in his power. It is probable also that he had an associate in all this business, and that this associate was Dr. Samuel Porter, who, just a year later, certainly attended here upon large numbers of wounded brought hither from the battle-field of Bennington; for, it is quite noticeable, that the Committee of Safety in giving orders for the sequestration of these men, insist that "*each of them obtain certificates from their Doctors of their being sufficiently cleansed from said disorder.*" It is remarkable, too, that this local Committee wash their hands of all responsibility for this inoculation by saying that it was done "*without our knowledge.*" The fact that inoculation was practised at about the same time on some soldiers at Number Four, now Charlestown, New Hampshire, as well as at Williamstown, all gathering for Ticonderoga, roused the fury of the northern army, which had had the disease all the way of its retreat from Quebec to Skenesborough, and had at last gotten rid of it both there and at Ticonderoga. The emphatic prohibition against the inoculated men coming forward into the service, and even the demand for the condign punishment of "*that damned puppy of a quack at Williamstown,*" seem natural enough under the circumstances; for the fact seems to have been established, that while inoculation was invaluable for the inoculated, it did not lessen in the least the liability of contagion to others from them while the artificial disease was still current. Whether the enmity excited by these events both local and general had anything to do with the falling of Dr. Page's practice into "innocuous desuetude," and his memory into an oblivion unusual to such a man, the present deponent saith not.

In Dr. Page's letter to General Gates, there is another personal reference very interesting at this late day, when taken in connection with the prodigious influence which that then obscure person came to exert for twenty years at least in the State of Massachusetts. "General Gates's orders per the express, Mr. Joseph Skinner, will lay a particular obligation on Captain Eddy and company." Who

was this so-called Joseph Skinner? The annals of Williamstown contain his name for the first time in this letter; but these annals are not vacant of his name for a single year thereafter, till his death in Boston, January, 1809. During some of the intervening years, the references to him in the annals of the State are profuse. His name both in good and evil, both in prosperity and adversity, is cut in the record in a more indelible and significant way than that of any other citizen of the town ever has been. He wrote his own name Tompson J. Skinner. He wrote it long very high, and at last very low, on the scroll. In this place we will only just indicate the beginnings of his career; later pages will unfold it to the full and bitter end.

Tompson Joseph Skinner, born May 24, 1752, and Benjamin Skinner, born July 11, 1754, were both sons of Rev. Thomas Skinner, 1712–1762, pastor of a church in Colchester, and both came to Williamstown in 1775, the latter just turned of one and twenty, and both having served their apprenticeship with a carpenter and joiner. Thus the elder brother, when sent express in August, 1776, to the headquarters of General Gates on Lake Champlain, was twenty-four years old. This was obviously his first public employment. That they who sent him had confidence in his intelligence and capacity is evident from their *Nota bene:* "The General will please inquire of the bearer for particulars." He was scarcely out of public employment, either military or civil, from that day till the day of his death. He was eager, tireless, capable, quick-witted, ambitious, a good speaker, able alike to do things and to get them done by others.

The Continental military campaign of 1776, which was a desperate struggle on both sides to gain and hold possession of the Hudson River and its approaches, with the city of New York on the south and Ticonderoga to the north for its principal centres, resulted in the loss of New York to the Americans through the disastrous battles of Long Island and White Plains, and ended with the strong occupation of Ticonderoga for the winter under General Gates, and the retreat of the British General Carleton from Crown Point to Canada. The Berkshire militia would more naturally in such a campaign operate to the northward, though there were Berkshire men in the battle of White Plains, and Colonel Mark Hopkins of Barrington, in military service and command there, died two days before the battle. While Carleton was still at Crown Point, Arnold's flotilla after the bravest kind of fighting having been twice beaten on the lower lake, Colonel Simonds's regiment was summoned in October to Ticonderoga. Of

the Williamstown company, Nehemiah Smedley was captain, Judah Williams was first lieutenant, Timothy Bigelow second lieutenant, and Israel Harris orderly sergeant. When the roster was made out in November at Ticonderoga, there were six other companies in Simonds's regiment with an aggregate of 333 officers and men. The regiment wintered there. With three other regiments from Massachusetts, they constituted General Lincoln's brigade, aggregating 1472 officers and men. The major of Simonds's regiment at this time was Caleb Hyde of Lenox, afterward a prominent magistrate there; the adjutant was Daniel Horsford of Williamstown; the surgeon and also captain of one of the companies was Erastus Seargent of Stockbridge, brother-in-law of Colonel Mark Hopkins; and the surgeon's mate was Eldad Lewis of Lenox, afterward the principal founder of the Berkshire Medical Society, in 1787, and its first formal orator the same year.

At old Fort Ti at this time Benjamin Simonds probably came into renewed association with Isaac Wyman, his messmate in old Fort Massachusetts, and his fellow-proprietor and near neighbor from the first in West Hoosac. Wyman was Simonds's superior officer throughout the whole period of the old French and Indian wars on the upper Hoosac. The story entire may be found in the pages of the "Origins in Williamstown." Simonds was one of the captives of Fort Massachusetts, in 1746, and as such spent a year in Quebec. Wyman was lieutenant at the fort under Captain Ephraim Williams till the death of the latter in battle in 1755, and continued to command there with the overcommand at the West Hoosac fort so long as either maintained a military attitude. Simonds served in either fort according to contingencies. Wyman was naturally a stickler for the precedence of the older and larger fort, and Simonds sympathized with his fellow-soldiers and fellow-cultivators in the west town; but there is no evidence of any personal rupture between them, though there is proof in plenty of Wyman's unpopularity in the west hamlet, in which he was an original proprietor and a constant landowner. At last he sold out all his lots in West Hoosac (1761) and migrated to Keene, New Hampshire, and when the first Revolutionary regiment of New Hampshire was organized in 1775, we read that John Stark was appointed colonel and Isaac Wyman lieutenant-colonel. July 11, 1776, the New Hampshire Committee of Safety sent the following missive to him: —

Sir: I send you by the bearer, your commission as Colonel of a Regiment of our Militia in the Service; also, thirty pounds, as two months' advance wages. As the troops will be along in a few days, it is expected that you will go along

with them to *Crown-Point*, and join the Army there. The Captains *Drew*, *Chandler*, *Shepard*, *Dearborn*, *Blanchard*, *Harper*, *Parker*, and *Weatherbee*, with their companies, are to make your regiment. As it is of great consequence that the men are forwarded with speed, therefore expect you will do what is in your power that they make no delay at *No. 4*. You will also receive thirty-two pounds, advance wages, for your Surgeon, Adjutant, and Quartermaster, with this, and blank commissions for those officers to be appointed by you. Imploring the divine assistance on your endeavors to serve your country, and that you may return in safety, with laurels of victory, is the sincere desire of him who, in behalf of the Committee, subscribes himself your very humble servant.

To Colonel Wyman

Colonel Wyman reached Ticonderoga with his regiment in good time; but it was not written in the Book of the Fates, that he should get on well in a Continental fortress who had long been chief in authority in a sequestered valley. He fell into difficulties almost at once, the nature of which we are not permitted to divine; but we read in General Orders as follows: —

Head-Quarters, September 1, 1776.

A General Court-Martial to sit to-morrow morning, at ten o'clock, at the President's tent, upon Mount Independence, for the trial of Colonel Wyman, and such prisoners as shall be brought before them; all evidences and persons concerned to attend the Court.

Nor a single word further of public record have we been able to glean concerning our old crony of Fort Massachusetts and of the West Hoosac Propriety. That Isaac Wyman deserves well of the two towns on the upper Hoosac to this day no one can doubt who weighs well the ancient record; but no degree of service at one period, under one set of circumstances, seems to become much more than a hindrance in these short lives of ours, when we transfer ourselves over, in mature life, into widely different sets of circumstances. Young men are plastic, mature men are rigid; and happy is he who may sing throughout his life the song of which his youth took the initiatory pitch!

So far as the northern army was concerned, the close of the campaign of 1776 was marked by the withdrawal of General and Governor Carleton from his post at Crown Point into his province of Canada for the winter, leaving a large force of American regulars and militia in the fortress at Ticonderoga. It seems to have been expected that this single fort at the junction of Lake George and Lake Champlain would effectually stop the progress of any invading army from Canada. At the same time the outlying Heights that commanded the fort itself were not fortified, nor even occupied; and

General Burgoyne found no difficulty at the opening of the next campaign, which he confidently expected would be the last, in driving the Americans helter-skelter out of their so-thought impregnable fortress, by throwing artillery upon Mount Hope, which commanded Ticonderoga, and on Mount Defiance, which commanded the whole point of the peninsula. Extraordinary pains had been taken in fitting out Burgoyne's formidable invading force of 7902, rank and file, all men seasoned in war, — 4135 British veterans, 3116 hired Germans, 148 Canadian militia, and 503 Indians. The artillery corps and train were of the most serviceable character, "probably the finest and most excellently supplied as to officers and private men that had ever been allotted to second the operations of any army."

Burgoyne's plan of campaign had been made out for him in England, and it was an admirable one on paper. A march of two hundred miles straight down the Hudson River would bring him to Albany, where a junction was to be made with General Howe, whose fleet was in the harbor of New York, and to whose ships the Hudson was open, loaded as they were to be with British soldiers. It was also prescribed to Burgoyne from the English war office, that he send out a strong detachment from his right flank by the St. Lawrence and Lake Ontario to Fort Stanwix on the very upper waters of the Mohawk River, occupying the site of the present Rome, New York, and designed to hold the Indians of the Six Nations firm in their somewhat wavering British allegiance. Fort Stanwix had been built in 1758. It stood on the carrying-place of the Mohawk at about equal distances from what is now Watertown by means of the Black River and Oswego by the river of that name, both points on Lake Ontario, and both on easy water communication with Montreal. Barry St. Leger, though only lieutenant-colonel under Burgoyne, was made nominally brigadier-general for this purpose, and with a strong detachment of over 1000 men was ordered to Oswego and Fort Stanwix, and from the latter to pass down the Mohawk to Albany, there to make junction with Howe and with Burgoyne himself. But in April, so soon as Burgoyne's general plan of invasion became known to General Schuyler in command of the Northern Department with headquarters near Albany, Schuyler ordered Colonel Peter Gansevoort to take possession of Fort Stanwix, and to defend it at all hazards against attacks or a siege on the part of St. Leger. In May, Colonel Marinas Willett, another brave and competent New York citizen and soldier, was ordered to Fort Stanwix as second in command to Gansevoort. Both of these made a splendid record for themselves in and near that post that summer. Their

regular garrison was 550 men; but on the 2d day of August, the very day St. Leger arrived to invest the fort, a reënforcement of 200 men, convoying ample supplies, was taken into the fort, which had been partially repaired during the summer. Two days later, August 4, St. Leger completely invested the fort and began the siege. Instead of the unfinished work which he says he had been led to expect, he found it "a respectable fortress, strongly garrisoned with 700 men, and demanding for its speedy reduction a train of artillery of which he was not master."

In the meantime a body of militia from along the lower Mohawk responded to the call of General Herkimer (pronounced Harkimer), who slowly found himself at the head of about 700 men, among them a small body of Oneida Indians; and on the 4th of August, the very day Fort Stanwix was invested, Herkimer moved his men from German Flats up the river, and before night of the next day encamped near Oriskany, only two or three miles from St. Leger's line. Herkimer sent notice of his approach to the besieged, and asked for a signal so soon as they should get his message; but his messengers did not succeed in getting into Fort Stanwix until nearly noon on the 6th, when the signal guns were fired; but in the interval of time Herkimer's impatient militia were unwilling to wait for the signal to advance, and he could not restrain them, and rather than lose their confidence allowed them to attack that segment of St. Leger's circle nearest to them. Thus was brought on what is usually called the battle of Oriskany. It was desultory and yet deadly on both sides. The militia fell into an ambush but imperfectly formed between them and the fort, and their rear regiment fled before they had fairly gotten into the fatal circle made up mostly of the Canada Indians, and left their advanced companions to their fate. These "took tree" and fought bravely. Several of the American officers were killed, and General Herkimer was mortally wounded. The saddle was removed from his horse and placed at the foot of a tree, and on this the disabled general was seated by his men, and continued cool and observant for several hours, indifferent alike to present suffering and future danger. The battle, such as it was, temporarily interrupted by a heavy shower during which both sides were rearranged and reënforced, was renewed for a little when the Indians, having lost thirty-three killed and about as many wounded, quitted the field, closely followed by the English troops. At nearly the same time Colonel Willett made a sally from Fort Stanwix at the head of 250 men, taking out with them a three-pound carronade, penetrated the English camp, secured a large quantity of stores and

munitions of war of all kinds, captured nearly all the books and papers of the expedition, and safely effected his return to the fort without losing a man. The Indians were enormously discouraged by this loss of their blankets, tents, and camp utensils. Herkimer had indeed been defeated and killed, and his relieving force been dispersed, and the fort was still besieged, and St. Leger demanded capitulations from Gansevoort; but all that had been heard from Albany by secret messengers from besieged and besiegers discouraged the latter the most, and these suddenly abandoned their camp on the 23d, and rapidly retreated to Canada by the route they had come.

Thus was Burgoyne's much-vaunted right wing completely clipped within the same August days of 1777 that witnessed the entangling and encountering and discomfiture of his but slightly less important left wing by the Green Mountain Boys on the head waters of the Walloomsac. It was on the 12th, six days after the battle of Oriskany, that Burgoyne detached from his army, then stationed at what is now called Schuylerville on the upper Hudson, the Hessian officer, Colonel Baum, in command of about five hundred regular German troops, with perhaps one hundred and fifty irregulars, mostly Indians, and with two light pieces of artillery, to his left, with their objective at Bennington. To facilitate the operations of this corps, and to take advantage of their expected success, they were supported by another body of British advanced to the east bank of the Hudson and posted on or near the site of old Fort Saratoga, and also by another movable column constituted like Baum's and about as large, pitched for the present on the middle Batten Kill, at a point now termed Battenville, ready to act as a reserve and second line to Baum, and, of course, placed under his orders. Colonel Breimann commanded this second line. This good military disposition having been made on the part of the British, Baum started on the morning of the 12th of August, and arrived that day at Cambridge, or North White Creek, since so called, which is about twelve miles northwest from Bennington. This now considerable village lies on both sides of Owl Kill, a tributary of the Hoosac, dropping into it from almost straight north at Eagle Bridge. It is perhaps worth notice in passing, that precisely at that point of the Owl Kill now spanned by the bridge in the village of Cambridge, the path of both these Hessian columns on their way to the battle of Bennington crossed the weary path of the captive soldiers from Fort Massachusetts, in 1746, on their way up the Owl Kill to their far distant objective at Quebec.[1] Curiously enough, one of those captive soldiers, then twenty years

[1] See *Origin: in Williamstown*, pp. 152 *et seq.*

old, so weak in body as to stir the pity of the savages that guarded him and to call out their practical help, lived to return from Quebec to West Hoosac, and to rise to the rank of colonel in the Berkshire militia, and on the day when Baum crossed the Owl Kill headed toward Bennington, was in council at that place in the Catamount Tavern with the Council of Safety, and two days later with portions of his regiment was in fierce battle with Baum and Briemann. This was Benjamin Simonds.

The general plan of our present story now requires a brief transference of local scene from the region northwest of Bennington to another about as far to the southeast of that now memorable place. As soon as Burgoyne's movements in the spring and early summer of 1777 had fairly developed his plan of campaign, which was to completely cut off New England from military coöperation with New York and the other middle colonies, the interest of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire, and the then so-called "New Hampshire Grants" (now Vermont), was fully roused to operate on Burgoyne's left flank and rear as he slowly descended the Hudson. Benjamin Lincoln, of Massachusetts, who was a major-general of militia at the opening of the war, and appointed by Congress a major-general in the regular army, Feb. 19, 1777, was sent in July to join Schuyler in opposing Burgoyne. He rallied the New England militia in large numbers; and Williamstown comes back again under our close observation in this connection. Captain Samuel Clark of South Williamstown, with his company of forty men attached to the Berkshire regiment of Colonel John Brown, operated under General Lincoln at Fort Ann from the latter part of June till the last of July. Captain Nehemiah Smedley, of Colonel Simonds's regiment, with a pretty full company of North Williamstown men, went with a number of other companies belonging to the same regiment and made up from nearly all the Berkshire towns, to Pawlet, to be used against Burgoyne's flank or not at the discretion of Schuyler, who lay in Burgoyne's front, and of Lincoln and Gates, who hung on his left. The military cue of the Americans was not only to allow, but also in a sense to entice, the whole British army as far away as possible from its base of supplies in Canada, and not to fight the main body until it reached ground of Schuyler's own choosing, well down the Hudson, wearied with a long march and impoverished as to supplies. Accordingly, it was not good strategy to make any considerable attack on the enemy's flank in motion down the river; and, therefore, bodies of New England militia in very considerable numbers were dismissed the last of July to their

homes, and more of them again about two weeks later. We have already given, a few pages back, a letter entire from General Gates to Colonel Simonds, implying the military grounds of their temporary dismissal. Food was also very scarce in the American camps as well as in the British camps to the west of the river, and most of the militia were farmers, and their harvests at home needed their strong hands; so that the general dismissal of the militiamen on the one hand, and the sending out of Burgoyne's strong columns to his left ordered to gather food wherever they could find it, and aiming at supposed large "*stores*" at Bennington, were, to a considerable degree, brought about by the selfsame cause, — a scarcity of supplies in both armies. Moreover, Burgoyne had been made to believe that a majority of the people on the New Hampshire Grants and in that quarter generally were friendly to the royal cause, and were ready to join it whenever an opportunity should be given. There was a good deal of basis in fact for this supposition of the British commander.

General Stark with about eight hundred New Hampshire troops had united at Manchester with the Vermont militia under the command of Colonel Seth Warner, to the number of about six hundred; and on the 9th of August had moved forward to Bennington with his full force, excepting Warner's own regiment. On the 13th Stark received express intelligence that a large party of the enemy, with some artillery and Indians, had just left Cambridge and were advancing toward Bennington. He immediately rallied what forces he had, sent orders back to Manchester for Warner's regiment, and united with the Committee of Safety then in session at the Catamount Tavern in an animated call upon the neighboring Berkshire militia. As most if not all of the companies of his regiment had recently been dismissed from the front to their homes, Colonel Simonds had remained in Bennington in constant counsel with General Stark and with the Committee of Safety. Fortunately we possess the contemporary and official evidence of all these facts.

The military call of Stark and Simonds was so emphatic and effective as to bring within forty-eight hours into the former's camp, now moved forward about five miles to the west of the Bennington meeting-house, at least five hundred fighting men from the Berkshire towns, of whom one hundred and sixty certainly were from Williamstown, sixty-five of them under Captain Samuel Clark of South Williamstown, and the rest under Captain Nehemiah Smedley of the North Part. For militia purposes the town had been for some time divided into two sections by a line running east and west over Stone

Hill, placing about two-fifths of the then population south of the line. None of Captain Clark's men, as the names appear on the official muster-roll still extant in the archives at Boston, seemed to have lived north of this line. Captain Smedley's men, all of whom probably had their homes north of the line, sent in no claim for pay for their services at Bennington; and consequently there is no muster-roll of their names, as there is of all the rest of the companies from Berkshire; but the proof is conclusive on other grounds and from tradition, that there were at least one hundred of them. The lack most felt, at Bennington, was of lead from which to mould bullets for the impending battle. The official Journal of the Committee of Safety commences on the 15th of August, the day before the fighting took place; and its very first entries, which will be quoted verbally in a moment, relate to a pressing message sent to Williamstown and to Lanesboro by a mounted express to obtain lead, and to a personal order sent through the same messenger by Colonel Simonds to his wife at their tavern-stand in Williamstown, for the same purpose of securing lead to melt up into bullets.

STATE OF VERMONT.

Bennington. In Council of Safety, August 15, 1777.

SIR: You are hereby desired to forward to this place, by express, all the lead you can possibly collect in your vicinity; as it is expected, every minute, an action will commence between our troops and the enemies, within four or five miles of this place, and the lead will be positively wanted.

By order of Council,

PAUL SPOONER,
D. Sec'y.

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE OF SAFETY, WILLIAMSTOWN.

The same request sent to the Chairman of the Committee, Lanesboro, the same date, sent by Jedediah Reed, Pawlet.

MADAM: Please to send by the bearer, Jedediah Reed, 6 or 7 pounds of lead, by Col. Simonds' order.

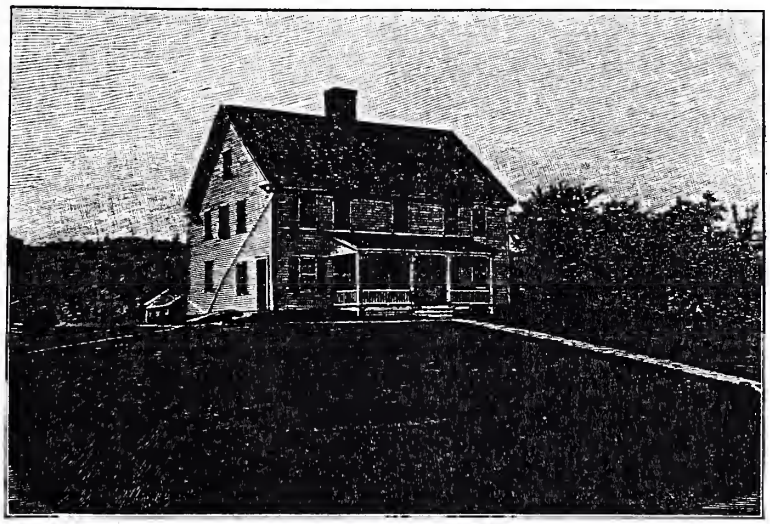
By order of Council,

PAUL SPOONER,
D. Sec'y.

MRS. SIMONDS.

Whether this formal messenger got back to Bennington with bits of unmolten lead in time to have them made into missiles before the two fights on the Walloomsac, the afternoon of the next day, may well be questioned; but something much better than these from Lanesboro and Williamstown certainly reached that point of conflict in ample season. These towns, as such, had their own

stocks of powder and lead, to tap which this messenger rode forth, and with which their own militia men were furnished in time. Captain Daniel Brown took up from Lanesboro a fine company of forty-six men, mustered in on the 14th and six days in service, of which the two lieutenants, Isaac Nash and Abel Prindle, were killed in battle, and these two names are inscribed in the town records as those of patriots and martyrs, while the General Court afterwards reimbursed the town of Lanesboro in 160 pounds of powder and 580 pounds of lead and 240 flints, expended at Bennington from their own stock. The small and hilly town of New Ashford, through



SIMONDS TAVERN-STAND IN 1777,
PRINDLE FARMHOUSE IN 1897.

which both special messenger Reed and the Lanesboro militia company passed twice, sent Captain Amariah Babbitt and nineteen men, sworn to before Jedediah Hubbell, chairman of the Committee of Safety in Lanesboro. New Ashford has since become almost depopulated; but here are twenty names — Captain Babbitt and company — on its contemporary muster-roll who are likely to remain known citizens of that little borough till the end of Time! Hancock, though there were many Tories there and some in Lanesboro also, responded to Stark's call in Captain William Douglas and forty-six rank and file, whose names are on the pay-roll in Boston; and besides, the same captain, son to Asa Douglas, the first settler in that region and ancestor to Stephen A. Douglas, took the same company in less than

a month after the battle to Pawlet, Vermont, — seventy-six miles. Captain Samuel Low took forty-four soldiers from Cheshire to the Bennington battle, not indeed going over the whole distance in a day or two before, for the same captain and company had been doing duty from the last day of June to the 14th day of August at a place called "Sancoik" [St. Croix], on the Walloomsac, on which last date they were summoned to Bennington, over the very road along which fell the fighting but two days later. An independent company of volunteers from New Providence, then a new settlement of Rhode Island men on the northwestern edge of Cheshire, now called "Stafford's Hill," though it is bare of people, rallied to the number of forty-one under Colonel Joab Stafford, consisting also of some men from Lanesboro and East Hoosac (now Adams) and Gageborough (now Windsor), on the 14th of August, and did their share in the battle of the 16th, where Colonel Stafford was severely wounded in the foot while helping to storm the Tory breastwork; and it was this same Joab Stafford of New Providence and Stephen Davis of Williamstown who conjointly petitioned the General Court for reimbursement for powder and balls and flints expended from the stocks of the several towns, and in response there was voted to New Providence 40 lbs. of powder and 120 lbs. of lead and 72 flints, in addition to the respective amounts voted to Lanesboro and Williamstown. Though Colonel Stafford picked up some volunteers for his company in those parts of East Hoosac nearest to his "Hill," Captain Enos Parker's regular company of Colonel Simonds's regiment, fifty-one men, marched from East Hoosac to Bennington, August 14–19, as that roll says, twenty miles from home. Jericho, baptized only the year before into the patriotic name of Hancock, besides Captain Douglas's company of twenty-six, sent also to Bennington, August 14–20, Captain Stephen Smith's company of thirty-one militiamen of Colonel Simonds's regiment; and we must remember that, if Williamstown had in 1777 two separate companies of its militia, Hancock was more likely to have them; because Hancock is still sixteen miles long, and was then much wider than now, for the final New York boundary line sheared off in 1787 a considerable part of Hancock into that State. All these companies, except Stafford's, are enrolled as belonging to Colonel Benj. Simonds's regiment. These men amount in round numbers to four hundred and forty.

But this was not the whole of Berkshire's contribution to the battle of Bennington. There were two other organized regiments in the county at that time, Colonel Brown's and Colonel Ashley's. From Pittsfield marched in haste Lieutenant William Ford of

Brown's regiment with twenty-two men, but there were individuals in that number who counted for ten in the fight that followed. Parson Allen, the chaplain of that little detachment, is the most picturesque figure in the whole movement to and on the Walloomsac on either side. It was raining furiously when these men reached Stark's camp some time in the evening or night of the 15th, and it continued to rain during most of the next forenoon. Allen was sore, as was many another Berkshire officer, over the recent dismissals and return from the front of so many companies, in conjunction with this sudden and most urgent call on them to double on their tracks. In his first interview with Stark he let fly the common discontent, and added the threat that, if they were not given fight this time, they would never turn out again! The story goes, that the general asked the parson if he wanted to turn out then in the dark and in the rain; and promised that, if daylight and fair weather should ever come again, the Berkshire men should have the fighting to their hearts' content. Parson Allen did brave duty as a common soldier with his musket at the Tory breastworks that afternoon. What is even better than that, he left on record as an eye-witness three or four of its most telling incidents. From Richmond marched Captain Aaron Rowley with twenty-six men, also of Colonel Brown's regiment, and with them went Lieutenant-Colonel David Rossiter of Richmond, — no common man. He fought on the Walloomsac like a born soldier as he was. A single line of Parson Allen's hasty sketch has immortalized him. Captain Enoch Noble of Colonel Ashley's regiment was in service twenty days, August 1–20, at Bennington, "at request of General Stark, and order of General Fellows and ye Committee of Safety, forty miles from home." These were Stockbridge men. There is another roll from Colonel Ashley's regiment, — Lieutenant Samuel Warner, twenty-nine men, August 15–24, ten days. There may be other rolls extant of Berkshire men in the battle of Bennington, but at any rate these were found in a single search among the archives, which, in such matters, is rarely exhaustive. No reference is here made to Captain Solomon and his Stockbridge Indians, who are known to have been there, nor to volunteers from Lenox, who are believed to have been there. Linus Parker of Lenox, a sharp-shooter in war-time and a hunter in time of peace, was certainly there, and used to tell of one phase of the fight, vivid but horrible, not mentioned by any other eye-witness. Besides the militiamen from New Providence under Colonel Stafford, Sepp Ives of that precinct was killed in the battle from out of Colonel Warner's Continental regiment. Isaac Cummings of Wil-

liamstown was also in that regiment at the time of the battle. The evidence, accordingly, is direct and irrefragable, that something over five hundred armed men from Berkshire County were in the two fights on the Walloomsac on the 16th of August.

On the other hand, Colonel Baum with his Hessians and Tories, and with Indians in his front, advanced on the morning of the 14th along the road, which ran then just as it runs now, toward what is now called the village of North Hoosac, where Colonel Gregg with two hundred New Hampshire men, sent by Stark the day before, stood guard over a grist-mill which then contained considerable supplies of grain and flour. As Gregg had been sent out only to reconnoitre and report, he of course retreated before the enemy, who were only one mile in his rear, until he met Stark advancing also with his whole force, which he immediately drew up in order of battle. Baum, who had stopped long enough at the grist-mill to write back to General Burgoyne — using a flour-barrel as a desk — a buoyant despatch announcing Gregg's retreat as a sort of victory, soon perceived the Americans to be too strong to be attacked with his present force in their position, halted, and commenced to intrench himself on a commanding hill to his left on the north of the road, and close up to the bridge over the Walloomsac, which here runs nearly due south. He also sent back an express to Colonel Breimann to hasten to his support. Naturally failing to draw them from their strong position, Stark fell back about a mile on the road toward Bennington to or just over the line bounding New York and Vermont with his main force, but leaving a small party to watch the enemy and skirmish with them. The next day and night and the following morning were too rainy for a general engagement with firelocks, and this unavoidable delay not only permitted the enemy to strengthen their fortifications on the hill north of the road and west of the bridge, but also to throw up a pretty strong breastwork on the side-hill east of the stream and south of the road. This has always been called the "Tory Breastwork." Baum's choice of ground for a defensive battle was not so bad as it would seem to be, if we did not remember that the Walloomsac here was small and fordable at all places, and that the two works were in plain sight of each other. The grist-mill at North Hoosac, from which Gregg had hastened, and which Baum too had left about three miles behind him to take up his defensive positions near the bridge, at which mill it may fairly be said the battle began on Thursday, and near which it certainly ended on Saturday, remained a long time an object of much curiosity. It was built the year before the battle, and the

writer himself has seen on different parts of the old frame two scratch-awl marks—"1776"—such as carpenters in those days used to leave behind them in their building. A tumbling stream, called Little White Creek, falling from the north into the Walloomsac at right angles, carried and still carries the mill-wheel. In some sense the ground from this point to that where the Walloomsac itself drops into the Hoosac also at right angles is holy ground. At any rate it has borne more or less for a couple of centuries a holy name, St. Croix—blessed cross. Written proof, even clear tradition, is wanting to the writer's firm belief, that some Jesuit priest or priests from Canada, such as those who founded mission stations among the Indians all along the St. Lawrence and its tributaries, from the Kennebec to the waters of the upper Mississippi,—like Father Jogues himself, who named our Lake George "St. Sacrament" in 1646,—may have at some time visited the region of the Walloomsac with a missionary intent, and have left upon it a sweet name corresponding to its own natural beauty, which two centuries have not yet effaced. French missionaries from Canada discovered and described Lake George long before Father Jogues christened it so well. How otherwise came that name to attach itself, and to attach itself so as to stick, to that particular strip of territory? The term was sometimes loosely applied to land as far west as Tyashoke or Buskirk's bridge; but it showed its most persistent grip on the valley soil between the Egyptian cross at what is now Hoosac Junction and that other similar cross at North Hoosac. More than half of the contemporary references to the battle of Bennington, whether these be British or German or Yankee, bring in as a local designation some corruption or other of St. Croix,—Sancoik being perhaps the most common form.

The old grist-mill burned down on the 24th of October, 1896, and so excellent was its construction and so large were the timbers that the building burned fully two hours before it fell. It served as a grist-mill just 120 years, 1776–1896. The following is an exact copy of Colonel Baum's despatch to General Burgoyne, written in the mill during his brief occupancy of it. The mill was then owned by one Van Schaick, and the story goes that he turned over to the British side in the hope of getting his pay for the contents of his mill. Two days later the British were defeated, and Baum was killed, and the quandam owner had to flee, leaving the mill and all it contained behind him.

SANCROICK, 14 Aug. 1777.
9 o'clock.

Col. Baum to General Burgoyne

Sir: —

I have the honor to inform your excellency that I arrived here at eight in the morning.

Having had intelligence of a party of the enemy being in possession of a mill which they abandoned, but in their usual way fired from the bushes, and took their road to Bennington, a savage was slightly wounded: they broke down the bridge which retarded our march above an hour.

They left in the mill 1000 bushels of wheat, 20 bbl of salt and about 78 bbls of very fine flour and £1000 worth of pearl and potash. I have ordered 30 provincials and an officer to gard the provisions and the pass of the bridge.

By five prisoners taken there that agree that 1500 to 1800 men are in Bennington but are supposed to leave it on our approach.

I will proceed as far today as to fall on the enemy tomorrow early, and make such disposition as I think necessary from the intelligence I receive.

The people are flocking in hourly but want to be armed. The savages cannot be controlled they ruin and take everything they please.

I am your excellency's most obedient humble servant.

F. BAUM.

Beg your excellency to pardon the hurry of this letter it is wrote on the head of a barrel.

GEN. BURGOYNE.

The 16th of August was a Saturday, and it was hot. So far as the American militiamen were concerned, the battle was fought for the most part in their shirt-sleeves. The long rain was over. The contrast between dark and bright was strong and exhilarating, as was also the contrast a few hours later between the dusk of evening and the glow of victory. The central authority for the actual battle on the Walloomsac is the copious letter of General Stark to General Gates, written from Bennington six days after. In the intervening time Stark had been sick and unable to write, but General Lincoln had hurried down from the rear of Burgoyne to Bennington, as it were, at the sound of the Hessian cannon, and he, though not an eye-witness, had written to Gates, "and I," says Stark, "joined with him in opinion on the subject of his letter." Stark's own letter of the 22d is a military letter from subordinate to superior, and lacks of course all picturesque details, many of which have been supplied, however, from equally well-authenticated sources. General Gates had written to General Stark a congratulatory letter on the 19th, "which," writes Stark on the 22d, "gave me great pleasure." The plan of the battle, as it was actually fought, had been matured in a council of war, to which Stark refers in his letter, at which Colonel

Seth Warner, whose residence was in Bennington and who knew all the ground thoroughly in the region round about, was the chief councillor. On him Stark relied implicitly both in council and in action. "Colonel Warner's superior skill in the action was of extraordinary service to me." The plan was to deceive Baum by sending two detachments on a pretty wide circuit round his right and left to unite in his rear, and to attack at a given signal, while there was "sent one hundred men in their front to draw away their attention that way." The Tory breastwork east of the river was to be surrounded and attacked at the same time, while the small reserve under Stark himself was to act in front of Baum and to the left of the breastwork, though on lower ground. "I pursued my plan, detached Colonel Nichols with two hundred men to attack them in the rear; I also sent Colonel Herrick with three hundred men in the rear of their right, both to join, and when joined to attack" Baum's intrenchment. Colonels Hubbard and Stickney in command of two of the three New Hampshire regiments, with Colonel Simonds and his Berkshire men, were designated to surround and to attack the Tory breastwork, in command of which was Francis Pfister, a retired British officer of the last French war, who resided at what is now known as the "Tibbetts place," about half a mile west of Hoosac Four Corners. In the fight that followed, Pfister was mortally wounded, and among his effects was found his commission on parchment as "Lieutenant in His Majesty's Sixtieth or Royal American Regiment of Foot," dated Sept. 18, 1760, and signed by Sir Jeffrey Amherst. He was commonly called by his neighbors Colonel Pfister. It was to be noted, however, that this commission was signed a year after General Wolfe's final battle at Quebec.

"About three o'clock we got all ready for the attack. Colonel Nichols begun the same which was followed by all the rest. The remainder of my little army I pushed up in the front, and in a few minutes the action begun in general, it lasted two hours, the hottest I ever saw in my life [Stark was in the thick of the battle of Bunker Hill]; it represented one continual clap of thunder, however, the enemy was obliged to give way, and leave their field pieces and all their baggage behind them. They were all environed with two breast works with their artillery, but our martial courage proved too hard for them." The Tory breastwork was three-quarters of a mile southeast of Baum's hill intrenchment, and the bridge over the river was halfway between the two, and the two brass field-pieces were placed on the brow of Baum's hill, high enough to command the road and the bridge and the plain to the east of the bridge,

which Stark in his letter twice calls "the front." The two intrenchments seem to have given way at just about the same time; nevertheless, Linus Parker of Lenox, who was an eye-witness, used to tell the tale of Tories trying to escape from their breastwork and to clamber up the opposite hill toward Baum's men, being shot in numbers by the Americans and their bodies rolling down the steep into the Walloomsac. Captain Ebenezer Webster of Salisbury, New Hampshire, father of the great orator and statesman, is said to have been the first to leap over the barrier of earth and logs at the Tory breastwork. Stories have been rife in Berkshire for a century of the handy way in which Parson Allen of Pittsfield handled his musket that afternoon at the same post. Joab Stafford of Stafford's Hill carried away from that place a lame foot, to become to him for life, and to others as well, a reminder of that struggle between opposing countrymen. It is probable that most of the Berkshire soldiers killed that day in battle were killed there; and here is a partial explanation of the greater bitterness felt toward the Tories, and the far worse treatment accorded to them as prisoners of war, than fell to the lot of the hired Hessians. Baum's men were driven down the hill toward the northeast, and easily fell as prisoners of war into the clutches of the Americans. Dr. Oliver Partridge of Stockbridge, the surgeon of Berkshire, professionally examined the wound of Colonel Baum, and pronounced it mortal, as it proved to be in a few hours; Colonel Pfister also died at about the same time and in the same house, to which they were separately brought, a mile and a half east of the battle-ground, and both were buried together, — the German and the Briton, — on the bank of the little river a few rods below where stood, in 1861, the paper-mill of Hunter & Co., but no man knoweth the *exact* place of their sepulture unto this day. The sword that Baum wore in the battle is well preserved in the Robinson family at Bennington; and the commission and other relics of Pfister have been preserved in the Armstrong family at Dorset, Jonathan Armstrong of that place being one of the two captors of the wounded man.

Very wisely indeed, as only fully appeared in connection with the building of the battle monument at Bennington a century afterward, the militiamen from the three States concerned were much intermixed in the several detachments as they fought in the field. No one part of the two fights could be truthfully exalted at the expense of the others, and no one of the three States could at any time boast itself over either of the other two. Colonel Herrick, with his three hundred men, mentioned by Stark as having been sent to

the rear of Baum's right, was a Vermonter and so were his men. Colonel Nichols and his two hundred men sent to the rear of Baum's left were from New Hampshire. The two parties when united were to coöperate under Nichols in chief command at that point. Two full companies from the single town of Bennington, one under Captain Samuel Robinson and the other under Captain Elijah Dewey, the original muster-rolls of both companies being extant to this day, — Robinson's holding seventy-seven names and Dewey's eighty names, — made up about half of Colonel Herrick's soldiers that day, the rest being Herrick's own volunteer Rangers and a portion of Colonel Brush's Vermont regiment (a part of these being also from Bennington). So at the Tory breastwork. Colonels Hubbard and Stickney with their two hundred men were from New Hampshire, but Colonel Simonds and most of his Berkshire companies certainly were there too. Who constituted the one hundred men used as a feint in Baum's "front to draw away their attention that way" will never be known to a certainty. They may well have been Berkshire men in part. Stark kept a small reserve besides these one hundred men, who in all probability fell back to him when the fighting began in earnest, for they were of no use any longer as a feint, or it may be that it was to them as a nucleus, that Stark "pushed up the remainder of my little army in the front." It is almost certain that Stark's reserve, both before and after it was thus pushed up to the front, held forces from all three of the States. Where is boasting then? It is excluded. Colonel Seth Warner of Vermont, holding a Continental commission, the only national officer on the ground, was personally with Stark in this first action, and rendered, as Stark says, "extraordinary service to me." The nature of this extraordinary service, or at least the most essential parts of it, we shall shortly see.

When Baum and his troops were crowded off the hill and were taken prisoners, and Pfister and his Tories were driven out of their breastwork into a similar welcome, Stark and all hands supposed that the battle was over. The men largely broke ranks and dispersed to gather their plunder, "*as I promised in my order that the soldiers should have all the plunder taken in the enemy's camp*"; which included, of course, several casks of inspiring liquids, without which German officers and troops would not have gone off on such a campaign as this was; there were shown at the centennial of the battle some staves of one of these supposed casks; Stark himself would not have come so far without a full supply of what was then regarded in New Hampshire as "the needful"; and tradition has

always been firm in asserting, that the victorious officers and troops were more or less demoralized in these ways very shortly after the hostile camps had surrendered. The prisoners, however, were now collected together and sent off under a strong guard to the meeting-house in Bennington. The late Governor Hiland Hall, the historian of Vermont, writes of these critical moments, "and Stark, unsuspicious of danger, suffered his men to scatter in search of refreshments and plunder." Just then word came to headquarters that Baum's second line, under Colonel Breimann, was rapidly approaching, and only two miles off. Parson Allen, an eye-witness, says, "Even Stark was confused at the news of Breimann's approach with six hundred and fifty fresh troops after he supposed the battle was all over." There is evidence, that Stark thought it best to pull his men back in the presence of this new danger from the scene of the recent action, and reorganize them in a better battle order; but Warner was his good angel and the wiser military leader, and rendered now that "extraordinary service" of which Stark speaks in his letter to Gates; the substance of his counsel and action was, *Let's hold the ground here and now.* On came Breimann with two brass field-pieces, quite similar to those of Baum, just captured, and opened a sharp fire from these and from small arms, so that after a little the relatively few Americans that had been rallied with difficulty to meet this new attack began slowly to fall back. Just at this time, when the Germans had begun to exult in the prospect of an easy victory, the remnant of Warner's Continental regiment, consisting of scarcely more than one hundred men, but fresh and strong, and seeing their chance to gain a good share yet in the glories of the day, marched down the Walloomsac and through the more or less disorganized masses of the militia to the front, and helped to bring the Germans to a stand. Stark writes: "I pushed forward as many of the men as I could to their assistance. The battle continued obstinate on both sides till sunset; the enemy was obliged to retreat; we pursued them till dark, but had daylight lasted one hour longer we should have taken the whole body of them."

This was the Second Fight, commonly so called, lasting nearly two hours, a running fight extending over about four miles along the Walloomsac road and ending at the grist-mill on the Little White Creek, whence Baum had sent back his despatch to Burgoyne, written on the head of a flour-barrel. It is only just to say that Berkshire comes in for a full share of the honors of the Second Fight also. Parson Allen's hasty and imperfect, but yet most interesting, sketch of that fight, written for his neighbors and parishioners in

Pittsfield, has immortalized the names of two Berkshire men, and indeed the whole regiment, in connection with that onset that turned back the Hessian tide into defeat and rout. He says: "And being collected and directed by Col. Rossiter, and reënforced by Major Stratton, renewed the fight with redoubled fury." It is plain that the younger men came into prominence at the close of the day. Warner was sixteen years younger than Stark, and Rossiter was eleven years younger than Simonds. Rossiter was but lieutenant-colonel, a well-to-do farmer of Richmond, and Stratton was but major, the first settler of the small hamlet of South Williamstown, but these two with their brave followers bore off the last honors for Berkshire. Historical truth is always consistent with itself. Nearly sixty years after the battle one of the New Hampshire participants in this final push for victory, a veteran of between eighty and ninety years, then dwelling on the upper Connecticut, in telling over his recollections of it to an ear that listened, ascribed a chief efficiency in it to "*a major riding on a black horse.*" Here it comes out again. That major, beyond a reasonable question, was Isaac Stratton; and local tradition, though its whispers are now faint and few, has busied itself in one way or another with a horse that Major Stratton rode in the battle of Bennington.

The children of Isaac Stratton and Mary Fox, his wife, all born in South Williamstown where the parents lie buried, were as follows: —

PHEBE, born April 9, 1762.
MOSES, born June 18, 1764; died Oct. 7, 1767.
MARY, born April 6, 1769.
HULDAH, born March 14, 1772.
RACHEL, born Sept. 1, 1775.

Phebe, the eldest child of Isaac Stratton, married at eighteen years James Sloan, possibly a son, probably a brother, of General Samuel Sloan, and the pair had born to them at South Williamstown: —

CLARA, Oct. 8, 1780.
OLIVE, Feb. 3, 1784.
ISAAC STRATTON, Dec. 6, 1785.

A remarkably noteworthy posterity sprung from these two marriages; and the writer's friend, George M. Elwood of Rochester, New York, himself by no means least noteworthy among them, has gathered memorials of many of them, covering the century now ending.

In finally dismissing from these pages the picturesque Parson Allen of Pittsfield, the reader may be indulged with the following

verses by Wallace Bruce, read by him at the centennial celebration of the battle in 1877.

The "Catamount Tavern" is lively to-night;
The "boys" of Vermont and New Hampshire are here,
Drawn up in line in the gloaming light
To greet Parson Allen with shout and with cheer.

Over mountain and valley from Pittsfield Green,
Through the driving rain of that August day,
The "flock" marched on with martial mien,
And the Parson rode in his "one-horse shay."

"Three cheers for old Berkshire!" the Gen'ral said,
As the boys of New England drew up face to face,
"Baum bids us a dinner to-morrow to spread,
And the Parson is here to say us the grace."

"The lads who are with me have come here to fight,
And we know of no grace," was the Parson's reply,
"Save the name of Jehovah, our Country and right,
Which your own Ethan Allen pronounced at Fort Ti."

"To-morrow," said Stark, "there'll be fighting to do,
If you think you can wait till the morning's light,
And, Parson, I'll conquer the British with you,
Or my Molly will be a widow to-night."

What the Parson dreamed in that Bennington camp,
Neither Yankee nor Prophet would dare to guess;
A vision, perhaps, of the David stamp,
With a mixture of Cromwell and good Queen Bess.

But we know the result of that glorious day,
And the victory won ere the night came down,
How Warner charged in the bitter fray,
With Simonds and Hobart and old John Brown.

And how in a lull of the three hours' fight
The Parson harangued the Tory line,
As he stood on a stump with his musket bright,
And sprinkled his text with the powder fine.

"The sword of the Lord is our battle-cry!—
A refuge sure in the hour of need,—
And Freedom and Faith can never die,
Is article first of the Puritan creed!"

"Perhaps the occasion was rather rash,"
He said to his comrades after the rout,
"For behind a bush I saw a flash,
But 'I fired that way and put it out.'"

And many the sayings, eccentric and queer,
That were handed about the country side,
Quoted in Berkshire for many a year,
Of the Pittsfield march and the Parson's ride.

Honor to Stark and his resolute men —
To the mountain boys all honor and praise, —
And with shout and cheer we welcome again
The Parson who came in his one-horse chaise.

Colonel Breimann's dismounted dragoons left the grist-mill behind them, headed toward the Hudson, in greater haste than Colonel Gregg had left it, headed the other way, in the forenoon of the 14th. They could not even get away with their two brass field-pieces. The traces attaching the horses to the guns were cut by rapid sabre-strokes, the horses were mounted, and the two cannon left in the road. Stark writes: "We recovered [in the two actions] four pieces of brass cannon, seven hundred stand of arms, and brass-barrelled drums, several Hessian swords, about seven hundred prisoners, two hundred and seven dead on the spot, the number of wounded is yet unknown. That part of the enemy that made their escape marched all night and we returned to our camp." The flour and grain captured by Baum in the then new but late very old grist-mill of course fell back into American hands on Breimann's sudden retreat. But they did not think it safe to leave those provisions there in the mill. Two heavy detachments, and the second one quite unexpectedly, had already come over the good road through Cambridge from Burgoyne's camp on the Hudson River, hardly more than twenty miles away; what was there to hinder another and a larger corps out of the same army from thundering over the same road to retrieve the losses of Baum and Breimann? There is proof in plenty that this query was in the minds of the Yankees, and continued there for a number of days. In the first place, the grain and flour in the mill must be removed to Pittsfield. We learn this solely from the heading on the muster-roll of the company from South Williamstown. This heading reads as follows: "A pay roll of Capt. Sam. Clark's Co. in Col. B. Simonds Reg. Militia County Berkshire, who were in the battle of Walloomsack near Bennington on 16th August, who marched by order of Col. Simonds including time to return home after they were dismissed from guarding provisions to Pittsfield being 20 miles from home. Aug. 14–21 8 days." These provisions guarded to Pittsfield by the South Williamstown men can have been no other than those in the grist-mill. There were indeed certain public "Stores" in Bennington, or at least Burgoyne sup-

posed there were, and his original orders to Baum imply their existence and importance; but Bennington is on a high and easily defended hill, is fully ten miles farther into the country than the grist-mill was, and there would have been rationally no thought of removing "stores" from such a stronghold to Pittsfield. The "Pay-roll" referred to will now be given in full, as carefully copied from the original one in the archives at Boston: —

Sam. Clark	Capt.	Elias Wright
David Johnson	1st Lt.	Justice Wright
Timothy Johnson	2d Lt.	Elijah Lamb
Will Spencer	Serg.	Daniel Brewster
Joshua Smedley	Serg.	John Stratton
Nathan Wood	Serg.	Abner Eaton
Jonathan Hull		Jacob Galusha
Jonathan Sherwood		Joseph Thayer
James McMaster		Mark Crofoot
Ezekiel Porter		Ard Roberts
Stephen Sherwood		Lemuel Lewis
Samuel Dunning		Matthew Dunning
Jason Wood		David Dunning
Zadock Clark		Seth Holmes
Ez. Hawes		Saml Holmes
Dudley Hamilton		Capt. Samuel Sloan
John Murphy		Lt. Elijah Thomas
Jesse Saxton		Lt. David Johnson
John Raymond		Lt. Daniel Burbank
William Young		Joseph Crofoot
Andrew Young		Isaac Meacham
Charles Sabin		Charles Hamilton
Josiah Williams		Elijah Rich
John McMaster		Eli Cowles
Thomas Rowe		Bartholomew Woodcock
Aaron Deming		Jonathan Giles
Timothy Sherwood		Hezekiah Brown
John Torrey		Ichabod Tuttle
Samuel Mills		Aaron Wood
Thomas Morrison		Silas Hamilton
Daniel Foot		Isaac Holmes
Jonth Hall (*or* Hull)		Isaac Sexton
Daniel Brewster		

Here are sixty-five names. Nothing is known to throw suspicion on the correctness of this roll. Nevertheless, certain regrets will start that it was not made up and sworn to in the ways then usual. The list seems to have been made out from memory nearly four months after the service was rendered, as appears from the following

note at the end, which is unusual in that class of papers at that time: "Williamstown, 6 Dec. 1777. This may certify that the men named in this pay-roll continued in service till discharged by the general. per Isaac Stratton, Major." These men were all neighbors of Stratton at South Williamstown. He had long been accustomed, as one of the chief men there, to draw their deeds and make out other papers for them, and they naturally desired him to certify their identity and fidelity, especially as they had been under his eye in the last rush of the second fight on the Walloomsac. The roll, however, was not sworn to till nearly three months later; for it bears a second addendum dated March 23, 1778, "Sworn to by Capt. Clark before Charles Goodrich, J. P., Pittsfield."

This old muster-roll with its two postscripts yields several interesting items of information. (1) They left South Williamstown Thursday the 14th, and got back home again from Pittsfield, after guarding the provisions thither, on the next Friday, the 21st,—eight days. Good, and even great, service rendered in a short time. (2) Major Stratton says that they "continued in service till discharged by the general." This can mean no other than General John Stark, unless General Benj. Lincoln had gotten down to Bennington from the rear of Burgoyne as early as Wednesday, the 19th. This is more likely than the other supposition; for Stark, as a general of New Hampshire militia only, would hardly have felt competent to dismiss to their homes Massachusetts militia. On the other hand, Lincoln was a Massachusetts major-general at the opening of the war, and was appointed by Congress a Continental major-general in February, 1777. In September he joined General Gates in front of Burgoyne as second in command. (3) We may note in this muster-roll, and in many later ones, that militia officers of considerable rank had no objection to serving as privates in companies commanded by their juniors. Captain Sloan, Lieutenant Johnson, Lieutenant Thomas, Lieutenant Burbank, are down in the list as privates. Lieutenant Johnson and Charles Sabin of this roll were among the "famine-proof veterans" that went up the Kennebec with Arnold a year and a half before. (4) This roll does not contain the name of a single man who is now known to have lived north of a military line dividing the town for militia purposes into two nearly equal parts. There had been, accordingly, two militia companies in the town for a good while. Of course the north part, as the first settled and as containing more arable land, was more densely populated in 1777. If the south part sent sixty-five men to Bennington battle in Captain Clark's militia company, the north part, where the colonel

lived and where the only meeting-house stood, and which lay right along the old military road down the Hoosac, would naturally have sent certainly a hundred in Captain Smedley's larger company. Probably there were one-quarter more than that number. The tradition is firm and explicit, that there were not men enough left at home that day "to put out a fire." There were no known Tories here then, nor at any other time. Elisha Baker, from whom our "Baker Bridge" on the edge of Blackinton is named, was surely in the fight, together with four of his own sons. (5) This list is called in its heading a "pay-roll." It was made out and certified and sworn to for the sake of drawing pay for the men from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Similar pay-rolls were made out and sent to Boston in behalf of all of the other Berkshire companies engaged, excepting only the company from Williamstown North Part. Why did not *they* send down such a roll for the same purpose? To the writer's knowledge, the answer to this question is not anywhere on contemporary or other record. Yet he ventures to think the true answer is not far to seek. Williamstown and Bennington were almost one during the last third of the eighteenth century, in their hopes and in their hazards and in their social life. There were many intermarriages and other relationships. Ten years before the battle, from Bennington men are known to have come to Williamstown to a house-raising. The two towns seemed, then, to each other to be very near together. Going to Bennington to fight in 1777 seemed to the Williamstown people to be fighting for their own firesides a little farther off. They knew that Burgoyne's toplofty orders to Baum, if successful at Bennington, were to push on east as far as the Connecticut River, either going or returning through Williamstown. It did not seem the right thing to those neighbors and friends to send in a claim for pay for doing just what the two Bennington militia companies had done without a thought or chance, either then or afterward, of any pecuniary reward. There was then no State government in Vermont, such as existed in Massachusetts. These men from North Williamstown went because they wanted to go. They went in the direct interest of their farms and families. Probably one-half of them were pure volunteers, not being at that time enrolled in the militia company as too young or too old. Other proofs of this oneness of feeling and interest will meet us as we go on.

The men of South Williamstown whose names adorn the muster-roll but just now copied, were for the most part men of substance and of good position. As to the majority of them, the present writer knows where they lived, the boundaries of their farms, and the

towns in Connecticut or in the central and eastern parts of the Bay State whence they came hither. The houses that some of them dwelt in then are standing substantially intact now as the nineteenth century is going out, and the original cellars of still more of them can be certainly pointed out. A peculiar interest attaches to one name of the list, that of Jonathan Giles. He had been a sea-captain. He had lived in Danvers with his wife Elisabeth, where four of his nine children were born. The remaining five were born in Williamstown, 1771–84. He lived in — perhaps he built — the gambrel-roofed house on the Sloan road, which was long occupied by Dr. Young. He was well thought of by his neighbors, who often noticed for themselves and transmitted to their children by a lively tradition how restless he became when a brisk wind started up in a new quarter, how he paced the road back and forth at such times from his house past the store to the tavern, —

> In that habitual restlessness of foot
> That haunts the sailor measuring o'er and o'er
> His short domain upon the vessel's deck
> While she pursues her course through the dreary sea.

Captain Giles died Oct. 18, 1805, aged 67, and left a large posterity at the South Part. One of his daughters married Joseph Torrey, son to that sturdy John Torrey who jogged along to the Bennington battle in the same company with Jonathan Giles. The late Giles Torrey of excellent memory as farmer and citizen was grandson to them both. The name Giles as a surname did not tarry long in Williamstown after the death of the good Captain. His son Daniel, born here in 1774, became a hard drinker, and migrated with his family into St. Lawrence County, New York. Benjamin F. Mills, himself a grandson to Samuel Mills, another prominent name upon this same muster-roll, relates this incident of Daniel Giles, while the latter was still a denizen at the South Part. The question of temperance, or rather of total abstinence, thoroughly agitated every part of New England in the decade of 1820–30. In Williamstown the cider-brandy stills had wrought a work of desolation in many families, and Professor Chester Dewey of the college became from the best of motives an eloquent lecturer in the cause of total abstinence from all intoxicating drinks. In that capacity he lectured one evening in the meeting-house at the South Part. Daniel Giles and Reuben Young occupied a pew together, while Professor Dewey among other firm strokes described the feelings of a drunkard when he was recovering from the effects of a drunken debauch. When

the lecture was over, Young asked Giles, in the hearing of Mills, what he thought of it. "*I swear he has been there!*"

A sonnet in memory of Jonathan Giles was written by Bliss Perry, the writer's eldest son, and is herewith printed from the original copy: —

JONATHAN GILES.

Our Berkshire hills were able to beguile
An old sea-captain to desert the main
And settle down upon a farm again.
The sheltered peaceful vales could reconcile
His wandering mood to quiet for a while,
But when the west wind rustled in his grain,
He grew distraught, and eyed the weather-vane,
And paced his yard and made the neighbors smile.

We live in peace the narrow life of sense,
With common tasks content, but lest we grow
Too wedded to our fields, the free winds fall
Upon our foreheads, — blown we know not whence, —
Horizons fade, life widens, and we know
The narrow world around us is not all.

Statements of possible interest to posterity might still be made in relation to a majority of these sixty-five names individually; but it is best to pass on to more general matters, after calling attention to some distinctions between the two men, both of whom are placed exactly alike on this list as "Lt. David Johnson." The only way their contemporary townsmen could distinguish between them was to call the one already characterized in these pages as one of the party going up the Kennebec with Arnold in 1775 "Black David," and the other, whose large farm lay on the southern half of Stone Hill, "White David." The name of the Johnson Pass, which lifts itself up over the Taconics in the rear of his home, will perhaps long commemorate the former; the memory of the latter may be pleasantly perpetuated by the fact, that his marriage with Phebe Cole from Canaan, Connecticut, was the first celebrated here by the Rev. Mr. Welch, the first pastor, and presumably the first in town. White David was the first to begin to clear up in 1764 what has long been known as the "Bulkley Farm." Both Johnsons left a large posterity both here and elsewhere. Black David lived till 1836, when he was eighty-nine years old. "In memory of Mr. Uriah Johnson, who died August the 1st A.D. 1787 in the 77th year of his age." This is the epitaph on the tombstone at the South Part, of

Black David's father. Barachiah Johnson, a brother of David, whose farm lay near the south end of the Potter road, and Daniel Johnson, another brother, who studied medicine here with Dr. Samuel Porter, both removed to Otsego County, New York, where William Eaton Johnson, a grandson of David, saw them in their old age. White David Johnson became a very portly man in his old age, and moved with many more from Williamstown to Granville, New York. A son of his second wife, Mary Brewster, was Harry Johnson, who was a member of the Massachusetts Legislature from Williamstown in 1839 and in 1840, was a hatter by trade, but abandoned it, as did many others here, for example the Bulkleys, when machinery came to be applied to felting. He was lively, jocose, and popular, but not prosperous. He became a clerk in the store of Julius Porter at South Williamstown, in that of B. F. Mather at the North Part, and for many years in that of General Potter in Pownal. Thence he removed to Albany and later to western New York. His son, W. H. Johnson, was in 1889 Deputy Collector of Internal Revenue in Louisville, Kentucky; and the next year, in passing through Williamstown on his way to the Encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic at Boston, he got out of the car for a moment to look around on what had been the home of his ancestors for several generations. His son, Sidney E. Johnson, then a lad of eighteen years in the high school at Louisville, wrote a pleasant letter to Deacon James Smedley of Williamstown on the occasion of his reading in the *New York Tribune* an account of the latter's celebration of the sixtieth anniversary of his marriage.

As further illustrating the proximity in point of place, and the kindly fellowship in point of feeling, as between Williamstown and Bennington on the great battle-day of the latter, the direct testimony of two of the grandsons of Captain Israel Harris, who fought in the battle, may here be adduced, to the effect that they had often heard their grandmother say, that a prayer-meeting at which she was present was held by the women of Williamstown in the log schoolhouse (till 1768 the first meeting-house in the hamlet), on that Saturday afternoon when their husbands and fathers and sons were fighting in behalf of homes and families. There was no pastor in the town from the death of Mr. Welch near Quebec in 1776, till the ordination of Mr. Swift in 1779; but the women assembled for prayer in as much accord as the men shouldered their muskets. Their meeting continued until after the going down of the sun, when a swift horseman from the north, who must have started at the close of the first fight, in passing the open door of the assemblage an-

nounced a great victory, — whereupon supplication was turned into thanksgiving. It appears from the "Rudd letter," which will be shortly quoted at large, and from other evidence independent of that, that many groups of women and children from Bennington and its neighborhood made their way to Williamstown during the two days preceding the battle, as to a temporary place of refuge. A considerable number are known to have lodged in the old Smedley barn near Green River, and to have left behind them on their hasty return at good news many little articles of no great value, but which they had deemed precious enough to take along with them, such as copies of the Assembly's Catechism and other trinkets long preserved in the old house. Levi Smedley, then fifteen years old, carried to Bennington on Sunday, to his father and company, loaves of bread baked in the old oven while the battle was still raging on Saturday. He lived till 1849; and used to tell to ears that still hear, the home experiences of those August days. More than that: many of those on the patriot side, wounded in the battle, reckoned in all at forty-five in number, were brought down on Sunday to Williamstown to be treated by Dr. Samuel Porter, already come into considerable vogue as a surgeon. Among other women from the northward known to be in Williamstown as fugitives on the day after the battle was Mrs. John Williams of White Creek, now Salem, one of a party of women coming hither on horseback from the line of road over which Baum and Breimann had passed to their defeats. There is still extant among the papers of Dr. and Colonel John Williams, her husband, the following receipt: —

WILLIAMSTOWN, August ye 17, 1777.

Received of Mrs. Williams the whole of Doct Williams Amputating instruments.

I say received by me.

SAML. PORTER.

By the recent discovery in Bennington of the original muster-roll of Captain Elijah Dewey's company engaged in the battle, it is made certain that Joseph Rudd was lieutenant in that company, which makes doubly interesting the following letter written by him to his father just ten days after the battle.

Bennington August the 26 AD 1777 Honoured father after my Duty I take this opertunity to Rite to you Hoping these lines will find you well as through the goodness of god they leave me and my family we meat a great Deal of trouble on the 16 instant my self and Brother John was preserved through a very hot battel we kild and took according to the best account we can git about one

thousand of the Enemy our loss was about thirty or forty we marcht Rite against there brest work with our Small armes where they fired with there field peases when they fired upon us every half a minut yet they never tought a man with them we drove them out of there brest work and took there field peases and presed and kild great numbers of them we lost four or five of my Neighbors two Sniders and two hornbeck the bigger part of Dutch Hosack was in the battel against us they went to the Reglers a Day or two before the fight Samuel Anderson a Captain amonst the Reglers and was in the battel against us while I was gon my wife and children went of and got Down to williamstown after I got home I went after them and found them to landlord Simons I have got them home again my wife was very much wrred out she had four children with her and Selinday was forst to Run on foot we som Exspect the Enemy will com upon us again and what I shall Dew with my family I know not I would inform you that I Received your letter dated August 18 which you tell me you was well which I am glad to hear of it I want to com and see you very much but when I shall I no not if the enemy dont com upon us again this fall I intend to com down and see you we remember our love to all brothers and sisters Respects to all inquiring friend so no more at preasent but I remain your Dutyful son until Death

JOSEPH RUDD

John Remembers his Duty to you And has laid out All your Money and Baught About 40 acres of land with A log hous and has a dead of it Joining the seventeen acres Cleared the Rest is wild land I have Indorsed forty shilling upon the Note If you have the Rest you May send it if you Pleas.

[Superscribed]

Mr To
JOSEPH RUDD
att
Norwich.

Four men of Bennington's most respected citizens fell on the field of battle. They were John Fay, Henry Walbridge, Daniel Warner (a cousin of Colonel Seth Warner), and Nathan Clark. "They were all in the prime of life, and all heads of families, leaving widows and children to mourn their sudden bereavement:" thus writes Governor Hiland Hall. Three men out of the two Williamstown companies were also killed in the battle; but they were not so prominent as citizens and soldiers as were the four Bennington men, nor as were most of those killed in the battle from Lanesboro and Hancock. Daniel Bacon, son of Daniel Bacon, blacksmith, from Middletown, Connecticut, and brother-in-law of Samuel Kellogg, whose first wife was Chloe Bacon, perhaps standing by the side of that brother-in-law and by the side of his own nearest neighbor also, Absalom Blair, was one of the three victims. Austin Hickcox was another, a member of that family which has been prominent on Bee Hill for

more than a century. Captain Stephen Hickcox, originally from Durham, Connecticut, and later from Bedford, Massachusetts, settled in Williamstown in 1781, when his son Stephen was three years old. The Captain's wife, Rebekah, died Oct. 8, 1807, aged sixty-one. Other sons besides Stephen were Henry and John. All three were harmed in the prevalence of the cider-brandy habit during the first quarter of the century, but all reformed, and all left reputable posterity. Sarah Northam from Bedford, the wife of Stephen Hickcox, an admirable woman, died in 1854, aged seventy-two. "If you will give up your tea, I'll give up my cider and cider-brandy." "I'll do it," said the good wife, and both started in in good faith along the path of abstinence. The original Hickcox acres on Bee Hill are still in the hands of the family. Little is known of Johnson, not even his Christian name, the third man from Williamstown killed on the Walloomsac; but his name has come down in firm tradition associated with the two others; and so far as these words of the writer can reach, his and theirs shall be perpetuated together. The old cellar of Daniel Bacon, dug in all probability in 1768, on the first division fifty-acre lot 63, was identified by the writer in 1893, after all knowledge of its location had passed out of the minds of this generation. A little spring bubbles up out of the ground close by, which was doubtless the original inducement to locate the house in that precise spot, and a few stunted and superannuated cherry trees are the only other tokens present, that human life and human love, ardent patriotism, and mournings as for an only son, once marked the now distant and desolate spot.

"The Heart of the Commonwealth," as the city of Worcester and its close surrounding country is now proud to call itself, was not unresponsive to the call of General Lincoln for militiamen to operate on the eastern flank of Burgoyne's army in August, 1777. Captain Nathaniel Carter's company of Colonel Abijah Stearns's regiment, forty-five men, came as far as Williamstown, and learning there that there was no probability of Burgoyne's sending out any more detachments to his left, returned to Worcester, having been out twelve days, and calling the distance (one way) 111 miles. Williamstown heard the last echoes of the battle of Bennington *as such* from the eastward. General Lincoln perceived that all danger of offensive operations from the British left was now over, and commenced immediately those vigorous operations upon Burgoyne's rear that cut off his retreat toward Canada, penned him in, and shortly flung him as prisoner into the hands of Schuyler's army in front.

The following is the caption to a muster-roll of Williamstown militiamen called into further service in less than a month after that upon the Walloomsac. This roll was sworn to before Charles Goodrich, J. P., of Pittsfield, its form having been made out and the names written by Major Isaac Stratton.

Capt. Samuel Clark's Company, Col. Simond's Regiment, marched to Pawlet by order of Gen. Lincoln, 24 days in service, Sept. 7–30, 1777, 60 miles from home.

Samuel Clark,	Capt.	Israel Harris, Lt.
Timothy Johnson,	Lt.	Nehemiah Woodcock, Serg.
Joseph Tallmadge,	Serg.	James McMaster, Serg. Maj.
Eliakim Sheldon,	Serg.	Jeremiah Foster, Serg.
Joshua Perry,	Corp.	John Torrey, Corp.
Jonathan Sherwood,	Corp.	Elisha Higgins, Corp.
William Foster,	Drummer	John Stratton
John Smedley		David Stratton
Eli Baker		Elijah Thomas
Elihu Ketcham		Ezekiel Porter
Gideon Wright		David Cutter
Elias Newhre		Starling Daniels
John Foot		Simeon Allen
Rufus Cole		Stephen Olmstead
Moses Jefferds		Uriah Messenger
Jonathan Wright		Almond Harrison
Isaac Holmes		Levi Smith
Charles Sabin		Thomas Standish
Rhoderick Messenger		Elnathan Holmes
David Southwick		William P. Meacham
Matthew Dunning		David Tuttle
John Murphy		John Crofoot
Elisha Baker, Jr.		Lemuel Lewis
Simeon Hines		John Hoke
David Deming		Capt. Neh. Smedley
Jesse Sexton		[51 men]

These names hail about equally from the two divisions of the town. Captain Clark is the same who led the South Part company to Bennington in August, while Captain Smedley, who then commanded the North Part company, serves now as a private. Military matters were daily thickening in the Northern Department. Before these Williamstown men reached their homes, September 30, Burgoyne's army was completely surrounded on the North River. He could not stir right or left, backward or forward. Sixteen days later he capitulated with his whole army, Hessians and all. The

campaign of 1777 was over in the north. Everybody then saw the vital connection between the two successive defeats of his left wing and the total collapse of the entire army. Bennington and Schuylerville reached each other their hands. From one or both of these, over the same roads traversed in part by Baum and Breimann, came Hessian prisoners *en route* for Boston. The best view had of them in their march from any one house in Williamstown was that offered by Nehemiah Williams's house near the big rock on the northern slope of North West Hill, as they filed up and filed down what is now the "middle road" from Pownal Center to the Hoosac bridge near "Landlord Simonds's." We are not told, and shall not know, whether these weary pedestrians in their soiled regimentals of a foreign cut received any refreshments of any sort as they passed by the door of the dignified colonel and landlord, who had contributed so much to their downfall; but that day must have been a sort of holiday in Williamstown, especially if it were known beforehand that the Hessians were coming through. It is probable, but not certain, that they crossed the bridge over the Hoosac near the colonel's, and passed up the county road, opened in 1765, through South Williamstown to Pittsfield. Otherwise, they must have kept along the old Mohawk trail north of the Hoosac through what is now North Adams, and so on over the Hoosac Mountain, under which now passes the tunnel, to the valleys of the Deerfield and the Connecticut. There were three old roads from the North River through Berkshire to Boston, — the northern one just described, the middle one through Kinderhook to Pittsfield, and the southern one through Sheffield to Westfield. All three appear to have been used in conducting parts of Burgoyne's surrendered army to Boston. As prisoners of war, the Hessians were not guarded very carefully on the march by their captors, particularly as a dead or strayed German was to cost the British government in payments to the petty principalities much more than a returned one. Accordingly, some one or more of these foreigners fell out of the ranks in many of the towns through which they passed toward the seaboard. Johann Hintersass, or John Henderson, as he came to be called, and perhaps others also, tarried in Williamstown and became a well-known denizen under that designation, and his descendants of the same name are with us to this day. He built a log cabin for himself on the east side of what was then a wood road running north from the river to the roots of Mount Hazen, and is now named in memory of him the "Henderson Road." The chimney of his hut was built of stones and sticks, and it and everything in it was rude and poor. But he had

been a gardener in the "Fatherland," and those who remembered his own garden as it was about 1812, have told the writer that it was an unusually good garden for the times, having flowers as well as vegetables. The garden extended from the cabin down to the North Hoosac road, and is to-day a smooth piece of meadow-land about a quarter of an acre in extent. Here he lived and died. He married a woman by the name of Wright from Pownal, and had one son, George, and four daughters. George lived all his life on the same road but farther north, where the present writer officiated at his funeral in 1860. John Henderson had, as was natural, a bad German brogue, but was not for those times a hard drinker. He used to take care of his garden for President Fitch, and worked a good deal for the Smedleys and for others in the street. This story is told of him in connection with the first president of the college. One day while working for him, John came stealthily out of the cellar with a large piece of side-pork in his hand, and, looking around cautiously, lifted up a half hogshead that stood bottom upward near the house, and dropped the pork under it. The president chanced to see him do it, and, after mulling over the method to be pursued with the best moral results, he called John and told him to take away that hogshead to the cellar. John obeyed, the president standing by, and the pork was at once disclosed. "What is that?" asked the master. Very slowly answered the man, "*It is pork!*" "Where did it come from?" "From your pork-barrel." "Who put it there?" "I did." "How could you do such a thing, John?" "I needed it, my folks needed it, *but you have been so very good to me always, I could not bear to ask you for it!*"

The incidents connected with the battle of Bennington and with the surrender of Burgoyne, together with the feelings and prospects ministered unto by those incidents, constitute the heroic age of Williamstown. Thereby came in to the rugged settlers on their scattered farms a new consciousness of a vital connection with other communities, in place of the old sense of isolation. If the Hoosac Mountain still barred much intercourse with the rest of their own commonwealth, the Hoosac River certainly opened up substantial communications with the new State of Vermont, baptized in the battle of Bennington, and with the broad and fertile regions to the east and northeast of the Hudson. There came an accession of self-consciousness, and a new sense of importance in the world. There were some leaders, as well as many rank and file, and the latter were proud of the former. Colonel Simonds figured handsomely in the correspondence of General Schuyler, General Gates,

and General Lincoln; Major Isaac Stratton was a well-known name in the council-chamber at Boston as the principal scribe, both civil and military, in northern Berkshire; and Captain Samuel Sloan, who had taken the minute-men to Boston in the summer of 1775, was constantly adding to his military and civil influence, as well as broadening his acres and increasing his pecuniary resources. More than this, in the light and zest of that glowing time several young officers and citizens were coming forward into experience and influence, some of whom were destined to eclipse altogether in political influence their honored predecessors. Tomson J. Skinner in particular, who only came to Williamstown in 1775, a young man of twenty-three, a mechanic fresh from his apprenticeship, rose to be captain of the North Williamstown company before the war was over, and went out with them into actual service in that capacity. Afterward he became a general in the Massachusetts militia, as did also Samuel Sloan. Skinner played also a truly remarkable part in the civil functions of his time. There were many others also, Israel Harris and Samuel Kellogg and Absalom Blair, who under the varied stimulus of 1777 came to be broader and more influential men than would otherwise have been possible for them. The events of that year were extremely picturesque, as well as consequential; they appealed to the imagination and led to inquiry and reading and to political reasoning, and tradition fastened upon the events themselves and the men who acted in them with a firmness not at all characteristic of the rest of the years of the war.

State of Massachusetts Bay
In the House of Represent^{ts} Feby 13th 1779

On the petition of Joab Stafford & Stephen Davis, representing to this Court the Expenditures of the several Towns Stocks of Powder Ball and Flints at the Battle at Bennington in the year 1777 — as set forth in their Petition praying for relief

Resolved, that the prayer of said Petition be granted and that the Board of War be and hereby are directed, to deliver to the Committee of New Providence or their Order, forty Pounds of Powder, one Hundred and twenty Pound of Lead, and Sixty Flints.

And to the Selectmen of the Town of Lanesborough or to their Order One Hundred and Sixty Pound of Powder, four Hundred and Eighty Pounds of Lead, and two Hundred and forty Flints. — Likewise to the Selectmen of East Hoosock or to their Order Fifty Pound of Powder, one Hundred and fifty Pounds of Lead, and seventy two Flints.

And to the Selectmen of the Town of Williamstown or to their Order One Hundred and Sixty Pounds of Powder, four Hundred and eighty Pounds of

Lead, and two Hundred and forty Flints, in full for what Powder Balls and Flints those Places Expended at the Battle at Bennington.

Sent up for Concurrence
JOHN PICKERING *Spkr*
In Council, February 15th 1779
Read and Concurred
JOHN AVERY *D Sy*

Consented to by the Major Part of the Council.

A true Copy
Attest
JOHN AVERY *D Secy*

delᵈ to Lanesbo
& New Providence
& Williamstown
& East Hoosack

(endorsed)
Resolve of Court to
deliver Ammunition to
Several Towns in lieu
of what they expended
in yᵉ Action at Benington.
Febʸ 13. 1779.

Williamstown men still went out to fight in large numbers both in the colony and in the Continental service, so long as there was any fighting to be done in the north; but only rare and single incidents in relation to these have come down to posterity clear and strong. For example, William Pratt, the first male child born in West Hoosac, was a drummer in the Revolution, and witnessed the execution of Major André, Oct. 2, 1780. He lived till 1846, and told his own story to numbers, who still live to remember and to repeat it. In a page or two we shall print the muster-roll of a large company of Williamstown militiamen, who were ordered out ten days after that execution, 1780, and were kept in service eleven days. For the most part, the last years of the war are relatively a blank in the annals of New England. Schuylerville was the pivot on which the Revolutionary War turned, very much as Gettysburg was the pivot on which turned the Civil War for the Union. Both fell very near the middle point of time in those wars, — 1777 and 1863. On the contrary, when the agitation began a century after the events for the building of the Bennington Battle Monument, and continued till its completion and celebration in 1891, there were comparatively few towns in New Hampshire and Vermont and in the county of Berkshire, that did not have their well-authenticated record or relic, or at least their reliable family tradition, in relation to those events. All this helped to make it comparatively easy to raise the money from individuals, and to secure the liberal appropriations from the

three States concerned, to erect the lofty and impressive monument. Facts long kept private became more or less public. Names and localities long forgotten in the minds of living men were resuscitated and given a new lease of living power. Genealogical records were sought out, and even societies formed to ascertain the facts and to hand down the word. Most of Stark's men were from southern New Hampshire, but many of them marched north as far as Lebanon to cross the Connecticut, and all of them traversed the well-wooded hills and forded the beautiful streams of Vermont. The war over, lively emigrations began both north and west. Both banks of the Connecticut to its upper reaches were gradually settled from "below." Some New Hampshire families crept over the Green Mountains. More from Massachusetts and Connecticut worked their way up from the south into the fresh and fertile valleys, that they had taken a glimpse of while serving under General Lincoln, for example, on the flank or in the rear of General Burgoyne.

Numerous illustrations of all this are at hand, two or three of which the reader will pardon even if he do not applaud. William Moore was a drummer or other musician in one of Stark's New Hampshire companies in the battle of Bennington. Later he moved into the "Coos country" on the upper Connecticut. One of his daughters there married a Mr. White. The White family moved in course of time to Beloit, Wisconsin; and Horace White, their son, was graduated at Beloit College. Becoming a journalist in connection with the *Chicago Tribune,* young White was fortunate enough to be sent by his paper to report the joint debates between Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas in the famous Illinois Senatorial contest, in which Douglas won. White showed such a judicial impartiality and penetrating ability in these reports, that they added directly to the public reputation of both the contestants, and indirectly made a reputation for himself. For many years at this present writing Horace White has been editor of the *New York Evening Post,* and is generally regarded as one of the most competent and comprehensive writers on economical and especially financial topics in the United States. The fate of Lieutenant Isaac Nash, who commanded the Lanesboro company in the battle of Bennington, and was mortally wounded, and died during the night following in a barn near the battle-field, was tenderly recorded in the old records of that town. The renovated interest of a century later has gathered that Reuben Nash, his son, was a citizen of Benson, Vermont, and married there Abigail Woodward. But the township of Benson was chartered to James Meacham and Ezekiel Blair of Wil-

liamstown, May 5, 1780. The name was given to the town by Meacham in honor of a certain Revolutionary officer for whom he had great personal respect, but who is not otherwise known to posterity. Doubtless because both were too well planted in Williamstown, where Meacham had one of the very best farms and was besides one of the original deacons of the church, neither Meacham nor Blair ever migrated to Benson; but other families went from here, particularly Jonathan Woodward and Delight Williams, his wife, both of whom united with the church here in 1780, and both removed to Benson in 1785. He was originally from Plainfield, Connecticut, and died in Benson in 1802 in the 76th year of his age. It has often been said that Woodward was a deacon in Williamstown, but this is a mistake. He became a deacon in Benson, and was an influential citizen of a town that became extraordinarily influential, particularly in religious matters. It lay on the shore of Lake Champlain where the lake was narrow, opposite to Putnam, New York, and not far from Champlain and Plattsburg, with all which New York towns commercial intercourse and intermarriages were frequent. Reuben Nash's family of Benson intermarried with that of Joseph Corbin of ~~Plattsburg~~; and here again we strike into the roots of two prominent Williamstown families. Clement Corbin, born in 1616, was the father of Lieutenant Jabez Corbin, and he the father of John Corbin, who became the first settler of Woodstock, Connecticut. John's three sons, Asa and Amasa and Joseph, were all in the Revolutionary service in the Eleventh Regiment of Connecticut during the campaign of 1776 in New York. Not long after, Joseph in 1778, all three came to Williamstown, as several of their neighbors in Connecticut had previously done, and all settled at the South Part near some of those neighbors, as David Johnson and Samuel Mills. Joseph Corbin had seven children born here in the years 1779–93, and moved to ~~Plattsburg~~, New York, in 1799, where some of his posterity still reside. William G. Bosworth, Williams College, 1889, is in the direct line of Joseph, son of John, born in Killingly in 1751 and moved to Williamstown in 1778. He is also in the direct line of Isaac Nash of Lanesboro, commissioned lieutenant May 3, 1776, and killed on the Walloomsac; and too of Deacon Jonathan Woodward, of Williamstown and Benson. Joseph Corbin's son, Josiah, born in Williamstown, 1791, died in Champlain in 1872. His daughter Eliza was married to Harvey Bosworth, a son of another early settler of Champlain. Under the heading "Intentions of marriage," in the old proprietor's book of Williamstown, is found the following entry: "William Corbin of Champlain New

York and Sally Mills, November 25, 1801." This William Corbin was an older brother of Josiah. Sally Mills was the eldest child of Samuel Mills (himself in the battle of Bennington), born September 24, 1782. Thus was woven still another tie between families starting from Woodstock and Killingly, tarrying for a time in South Williamstown, and then passing on to the battle-scarred regions of Lake Champlain, — battle-scarred in the old French wars and in the last war with Great Britain.

A pay-roll of Capt. Israel Harris Co. Col. B. Simonds Regiment, who marched to the northern frontier by order of Gen. Fellows Oct. 12–19, 11 days, 1780. Capt. £12 per month, Lt. £8, Sergts. £3, Musicians and Corporals £2..4..0, and Privates £2. Sworn to before Gideon Wheeler J.P.

Israel Harris	Capt.	Aaron Noble
Seth Luce	Lt.	Nathaniel Kellogg
Will. Wells	Sergt.	Asel Hurlburt
Abel Russel	Sergt.	Almond Harrison
Will Foster	Drum.	Stephen Stickling
Truman Harison	Fife	Elisha Baker
Theodore Boardman	Corp.	Timothy Hurlburt
Elias Newbre	Corp.	Ephraim Sanford
Noah Harison		Levi Smith
Nathaniel Wheeler		Ozias Johnson
Ezra Baker		Perley How
Enos Wells		Josiah Brown
Elisha Williams		Asaph Nichols
Elijah Lamb		Stephen Davis
Stephen Olmstead		Neh. Smedley
Reuben Hicock		Jonathan Meacham
Benedick Alford		Will. Harrington
William Dunton		James Meacham
Josiah Higgins		Nathan Wheeler
Joseph Morse		Joseph Fuller
Samuel Tyler		Caleb Calkins
Will. Foresids		Joel Baldwin
Thomas Hewston		Robert Williams
Solomon Morse		Edmond Lamb
Lemuel Steward		Lemuel Smith
Job Harrington		Joseph Levens
Ezekiel Blair		George Lamb
David Noble		Joshua Perry
William Horsford		Lewis Wilkeson
Nicolas Vanear		Amasa Morse

This Captain Israel Harris, when he was eighty-five years old, and then for twenty-five years a citizen of Hartford, Washington

County, New York, in his application for a pension, gives his recollections of the year before this in his own words: "About the middle of May, 1779, was appointed captain of the second company of militia, in Colonel Simonds's regiment, and commenced recruiting the next day, by order of Colonel Simonds, to supply deficiencies in the regular army. Was thus employed, with the rank of captain, and in actual service, with command upon the frontiers of Vermont, in the latter part of November, three months." Such a trifle as these eleven days of service the next autumn with sixty of the best men of North Williamstown, his own company, seems to have escaped the old man's memory entirely. The two first deacons of the church, of which he was a member, Nathan Wheeler and James Meacham, were both with him; David Noble, a Yale graduate and the first of the lawyers of the town in point of time; Nehemiah Smedley went too as a private, though he was the captain of this very company in the earlier years of the war; the name of Ezekiel Blair, co-grantee with Deacon Meacham of the new town of Benson, is on this list; so is the name of William Horsford, one of the first band of settlers; of Joshua Perry also, cousin of the writer's grandfather; Joel Baldwin, father of the settlement on North West Hill; and many more of the best established and most enterprising men of the place. The war was drawing to a close. The faith of the people of the North was established in the coming independence of the States. The whole length of Vermont was now open through its southern valleys. Williamstown became a gate through which emigration passed into the new land of promise. The population, steadily increasing up to this time, became more or less mobile from the influence of relatives and old neighbors, and even of strangers pressing through and onward toward a goal exaggerated by imaginations heated in the old French wars and in the recent successful conflicts with the mother country.

The Continental paper money, irredeemable and depreciated and soon worthless, brought along with it the usual and inevitable concomitants and sequels of such so-called money. Whenever the money of any country consists of nothing but promises-to-pay, all other forms of promises-to-pay are naturally multiplied in number and of course swelled in their terms. Such debts contracted in hope could not be paid in reality. Farms were mortgaged, and by and by foreclosures were either made or threatened. Society came to be more or less by the ears. Virtually free lands were offered at the northward. Grantees were urgent to fill up their towns with good and experienced settlers. Now that the contest between New Hampshire and New York was ended, good land titles could be

given, and the rush from all sides to the new State became remarkable, and a transient depletion of Williamstown considerable. Derick Webb, one of the earliest settlers in Williamstown, whose house stood on the west side of Green River near its junction with the Hoosac, was probably the very first citizen of the town to attempt a permanent settlement on the Vermont side of Lake Champlain. He went alone to what is now Charlotte, the southwest corner of Chittenden County, directly on the lake, and made a beginning in March, 1776, but soon went away, presumably back to Williamstown; he renewed his attempt the next March, and stayed but two months; and not until seven years later, 1784, after the definitive signature of peace, did he make the third and successful pitch. This time Elijah Woolcot was with him, and Williamstown then lost sight of him. The township of Williamstown in Vermont is own child and godchild of Williamstown in Massachusetts. This township is directly on the watershed of the Green Mountains. It lies also on the height of land between the Winooski and White rivers. It is said in Thompson's "Vermont," that "a brook which here runs down a steep hill toward the west, divides naturally, and while one part runs to the north, forming Stevens's branch of Winooski River, the other runs to the south, forming the second branch of White River." The Winooski drops into Lake Champlain at Burlington, fifty miles away, and the White strikes the Connecticut opposite to Lebanon, New Hampshire, at about the same distance.

Thomas Chittenden, Governor of Vermont, in August, 1781, granted in form following the new township to persons, a large majority of whom were then residents here. Besides the usual reservation of lots for ministerial and school purposes, this grant of mountain land, and presumably other grants of the early Vermont Governors, copies from the old charters of the king, the reservation of all the pine trees growing in the town "Suitable for a Navy."

THE GOVERNOR COUNCIL AND GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE FREEMEN OF VERMONT.

To all People to whom these Presents shall come.

GREETING.

Know ye that whereas Capt. Samuel Clark and Wm Absalom Baker and their assoiates our worthey friends have by petition requested a grant of a tract of unappropriated land within this State in order for setling a new plantation to be erected into a township. We have therefore thought fit for the due encouragement of their laudable designs and for other valuable considerations as thereunto moving. And do by these presents in the name and by the Authority of the freemen of Vermont give and grant the tract of land hereafter described

and bounded unto the said Samuel Clark, Absalom Baker and their associates, viz: —

Elisha Baker	Ebenezer Kellogg
William Wells	Josiah Gregory
Ruben Horseford	Ira Rude
Isaac Stratton	Daniel Burbank
Aaron Noble	Bildad Noble
Anthony Farr	Elisha Welch
Samuel Kellogg	Samuel Kellogg Jr.
Zadoch Clark	Stephen Davis
Joseph Dunham	Cornelus Lynes
John Winchester Dana	Judah Dana
Israel Dana	Daniel Davis
Judah Williams	Joseph Jones
Thomas Green	Israel Harris
Perley How	Elisha Baker Jr.
Ezra Baker	Ira Baker
John Tracy	Jonathan Woodward
Mathew Lyon	James Lyon
Peter Bewdish	John Tibbel
David Bixby	Martin Chittenden
Benjamin Sherwood	John Porter
Ethan Allen	Isaac Kellogg
Oliver Hungerfoot	David Johnson
The Heirs of Thos. Wheeler, deceased	Christopher Whitney
Moses Jeffords	Ruben Hurlbut
Elijah Thomas	Asa Burnham
Ruben Post	Simeon Hine
Jonas Galusha	Noble Everett
William Dure	Thomas Chittenden
John Fasset Jr.	Chester Darby
John Smith	Alexander Huling
Henry Green	Mary Lyon
Elijah Galusha	Stephan Dunning
Joseph Osborn	Samuel Sherman
David Johnson Jr.	Nathaniel Johnson
Thomas Roe	David Galusha
Eusebius Bushnel	Elizabeth Chittenden
Asa Farrend	

In consequence of this grant, and of the prominent position and influence of many of the grantees, there was a good deal of a movement, direct and indirect, from the old Williamstown to the new, the settlement of which was commenced in 1784. At its formal organization in 1787, it not only took the name of the borough on the Hoosac, but it also enrolled among its first citizens a considerable number of the former citizens of that borough, the most promi-

nent of whom was Lieutenant Sampson Howe, whose home here occupied the site of the old West Hoosac block-house fort. In his own qualities and personal influence, Lieutenant Howe was much more than a common man. He was a direct ancestor also of the late General Alfred H. Terry, who greatly distinguished himself in the Civil War. Perley Howe, a brother of the lieutenant, transferred his residence also from the one Williamstown to the other; and it is interesting to note, as an instance of the mobility of the men of those times and conditions, the name of Elijah Woolcot, the comrade of Derick Webb in the settlement of Charlotte, in the list of the citizens of the northern Williamstown in 1788.

These new interests to the northward and the consequent migrations thither, made it, of course, more difficult for the towns in Berkshire County to fully answer to the requisitions made on them for men to recruit the Continental army. They offered accordingly a bounty of "sixty pounds lawful money" for each three years' enlistment into that army. The number of men raised in Berkshire in 1781 was 221, leaving a deficit in the quota of 13. The following receipt for their bounty-money on the part of some of those three years' men received of Williamstown tells its own story.

WILLIAMSTOWN, March 15, 1781.

Received of the Town of Williamstown the sum of Sixty pounds lawful money Each at the Rate of Silver at Six shillings and eight pence per ounce as a bounty for Engaging in the service of the United States for three years agreeable to a Resolve of the Genl. Court of December last. Recd. severally by us.

Benjamin Davis	Thomas Gaige
Cyrus Hills	Joseph Bowles
Amos P. Sherman	James Sloan
Joel Begam	Jonathan Sweet
Ira Rood	Jonathan Morey
Barnabas Staines	Pardon Mack

A brief record of Captain Judah Williams may fitly close this branch of the current chapter. He was born Dec. 14, 1741, at Colchester, Connecticut, a son of Nathan and Elizabeth Lewis Williams. His wife was Mary Skinner, a daughter of the well-known pastor of that place, and an older sister of the two Skinner brothers, Tomson J. and Benjamin, of whom we have already heard something and shall hear much more, as prominent citizens of Williamstown. Judah Williams and his wife came here about 1770, five years before her brothers came. He located on House-lot 63, on Green River, at the easternmost edge of the village plat, and

became a large owner of some of the best lands in the valley and of the out lots beyond. He kept and dealt in cattle; and when the war broke out in those parts, he became a commissary with the rank of captain, and collected hundreds of cattle at his own place and elsewhere for the use of the army. His accounts of course were kept in the Continental money, which was constantly depreciating, and when his settlement was made with the Revolutionary government, he received stacks of this money, which shortly afterward became worthless. This ruined his fortune. In his prosperous time he had built a fine brick house of two stories on the front line of his house-lot, which is still standing erect and intact after a century and a quarter. It must have been when built the best house in the town. His farms must have been then the best within the hamlet proper. His money, though a plenty in quantity, was not such that he could pay his debts with it. His fine house and large farm were sold under the hammer in order to pay his debts; the whole estate passed into the hands of David Noble, who occupied the house so long as he lived; Captain Williams conspicuously destroyed his piles of Continental money, and in 1788 removed to Troy. Eight years after the family moved to Utica. The Captain was much broken down by his pecuniary misfortunes. Although remaining remarkably active in body, — always a great walker, — his disposition became melancholy, and he died in Utica, at the house of his son, Judge Nathan Williams, of whose family he formed a part, in March, 1807, aged sixty-five years.

It was during these times of financial trouble caused by the increasing depreciation of the Continental money, times of unrest and excitement caused by the incoming of many new settlers and the exit northward of many old ones, times also of religious declension and even of positive immoralities owing to the total lack of pastoral supervision and of regular preaching since the sudden departure of Rev. Whitman Welch for Quebec in 1775, that Rev. Seth Swift took up his labors as a pastor and preacher. He was a native of Kent, Connecticut, and a graduate of Yale College in 1774, twelve years after the graduation of Mr. Welch at the same institution. Mr. Welch was a native of Milford, but his family moved early to New Milford, whence he came hither, a township adjoining to Kent, which is another illustration of the much more intimate relations in the early times between Williamstown and Connecticut and Yale, than those with Massachusetts and Harvard. This was the result of the topography of the country. The Housatonic River, the water of whose head spring almost laps the southern

line of Williamstown, flows down through Kent and New Milford to find a home in the Sound at Milford, much as the people and the preachers from those older towns slowly passed up the stream to find a home in the beautiful region drained in opposite directions by the Hoosac and other streams. Indeed, we are told by J. H. Trumbull, the great master of the Indian languages of New England, that these names — Housac and Housatonic — originally belonged to the *territory*, and were later transferred to the *rivers:* both mean much the same, the first the "beyond-place," and the second the "beyond-mountain-place." Mr. Welch was much mourned in New Milford, whither his widow and two children returned after his death. How natural, then, that Mr. Swift, born and bred in the next town north, should have been willing to take up the fallen mantle of the young prophet departed!

We know but little about the second minister. He was ordained in May, 1779, three years after the death of his predecessor, and continued in his ministry till February, 1807, almost twenty-eight years. Rev. Daniel Collins of Lanesboro preached his funeral sermon. One of the professors in the college wrote of him some years after his death: "Mr. Swift was a little above the medium stature, with a strong frame and large features; not at all studious of the graces of dress, manners, or conversation, warm and open in his temper, serious in the general tone of his intercourse with his people, zealous in the labors of the ministry, decided in his opinions, and prudent and energetic in his measures." The following entry on the extant records of the church, which begin only at his ordination in 1779, testifies to the esteem and affection of the people for their long-time pastor. "At about 9 o'clock, A.M., the Rev. Seth Swift, our much esteemed, dearly beloved, and very faithful and laborious pastor, died, in the midst of great usefulness, while God was pouring out his Spirit here, and giving him many seals of his ministry." There were sixty-one members of the church when he came, and five more were added in 1779; and these sixty-six may be regarded as the founders of the Williamstown church, and their names should be perpetuated in that capacity.

Elisha Baker	Elisabeth Downs Downing
Phebe Nichols Baker	Thomas Dunton
Martha Young Blair	Mary Davis Dunton
Daniel Burbank	Elisabeth Egleston
Mary Marks Burbank	Nathan Foot
Samuel Burchard	Marianne Foot
Elisabeth Hamilton Burchard	Israel Harris

Sarah Luce Byam	Sarah Morse Harris
Hannah Davis	Rachel Baldwin Hawkins
Sampson Howe	Samuel Kellogg
Hannah Foot Howe	Chloe Bacon Kellogg
Daniel Horsford	Dea. James Meacham
David Johnson	Lucy Rugg Meacham
Phebe Cole Johnson	Jonathan Meacham
Henry Johnson	Thankful Rugg Meacham
Abiah Johnson	David Noble
Persis Johnson	Abigail Bennet Noble
Isaac Ovits	Esther Wilson Ovits
Moses Rich	Mary Roberts
Thomas Roe	Anna Dwight Sabin
Mary Wells Roe	Nathaniel Sanford
Catherine Davis Smith	David Southwick
Deborah Spencer	Thankful Davis Southwick
Isaac Stratton	Mary Dormer Stratton
Mary Fox Stratton	Martha Marks Tallmadge
Ruth Tyrrel Torrey	Marvin Gaylord Welch
Hannah Wheeler Torrey	William Wells
Hannah Torrey Hatfield	Rebecca Stoddard Wells
Elisabeth Lewis Williams	Mary Wilson
Dea. Nathan Wheeler	Hannah Brister Woodcock
Sarah Wheeler	Josiah Wright
Nathan Wheeler, Jr.	Abigail Wright
Gideon Wright	Sarah Wright

During the next year, 1780, twenty-three more persons united with the church, and during the following year the same number; then followed twenty-one years of relative dearth, only an average of five accessions a year; then for the two years preceding the pastor's death, fifty-four and fifty-two each, and thirty-five for that year, 1807. During the long ministry of Mr. Swift 273 were added to the original sixty-six; but during those years the population of the town was very changeful, and the number of admissions to the church by letter, and of dismissions with recommendation, was remarkably large, so that in 1803 the whole number was but eighty-four, while in 1807 it became 195. The first four ministers of the Williamstown church were all graduates of Yale. A little table will exhibit to the eye their names, the year of their graduation, and the year of their exit from service.

Whitman Welch	1762	1775
Seth Swift	1774	1807
Walter King	1782	1815
Ralph Wells Gridley	1814	1834

After the death of Mr. Swift, the church remained without a pastor more than six years, and the pulpit was partially supplied by the president of the college, while the visiting and other pastoral work was mostly performed by Deacon Ebenezer Stratton, who succeeded Deacon Wheeler in 1784, and who, though a farmer, gave up his time very largely to this work till his death in 1814, aged sixty-eight. This incidental reference to a president of the college, now brings both writer and reader naturally, and perhaps none too soon, to another chapter of our book and to a treatment of fresh topics.

CHAPTER II.

WILLIAMSTOWN FREE SCHOOL.

For backward as I cast my eyes,
I see what was, and is, and will abide;
Still glides the Stream, and shall forever glide;
The form remains, the function never dies;
While we, the brave, the mighty, and the wise,
We men, who in our morn of youth defied
The elements, must vanish; — be it so!
Enough, if something from our hands have power
To live, and act, and serve the future hour;
And if, as toward the silent tomb we go,
Through love, through hope, and faith's transcendent dower,
We feel that we are greater than we know.

— WORDSWORTH.

SELDOM or never has the early history and the line of development of a New England town turned so predominantly on the choices and actions of a single individual, as has proven to be the case with Williamstown. Ephraim Williams was a bachelor. For a considerable portion of his early manhood he followed the seas, having certainly visited in his voyages Holland, Spain, and England. Neither before nor after this seafaring portion of his life had he an agreeable and settled home of his own. He lost his mother when just turned of four years; and, with his uterine younger brother Thomas, found such a home and schooling as his grandfather Jackson could furnish in his native hamlet of Newton, on the Charles River. By his will Jackson left two hundred pounds each to these boys, saying in connection with that that he had already spent considerable sums upon their "education." So far as the older brother was concerned, it is evident from his letters and other papers still extant that this education was neither considerable in itself nor satisfactory to the recipient. Mr. Fitch, the first preceptor of the free school, had this to say on that point forty-five years after the Colonel's death: "He had a taste for books, and often lamented his want of a liberal education; he witnessed with humane and painful sensations the dangers and difficulties and hardships which

the first settlers had to encounter; and, to encourage them, he intimated his intention of doing something liberal and handsome for them."

During the last eleven years of his life, 1744–55, he was almost constantly in the military service of his native colony. He commanded the line of forts in the northwest quarter of the colony, at first in Fort Shirley and later in Fort Massachusetts. When the house-lots in West Hoosac were opened up for settlement, he encouraged the common soldiers then in the latter fort to buy lots and to settle on them, by purchasing himself two of the lots, Nos. 8 and 10, and further assisted fifteen of these soldiers at one time to pay for their lots by a negotiation in their behalf with the General Court at Boston. He was as much the father of the hamlet as he became the founder of the free school. He made temporary homes at different times during these years with his father at Stockbridge, with his cousin, Israel Williams, at Hatfield, and with his own brother Thomas at Deerfield. He was also a good deal in Boston, and acquired under the circumstances a remarkable influence over the General Court. The prevalent custom of the times, and the example of his father, led him into the buying and selling of lands in several of the towns of the colony; and thus and otherwise he came by the time he was forty years old to possess what was deemed in those days "a competence." The alternatives of marriage and no educational bequest, or an educational bequest and no marriage, were certainly before his mind that summer and particularly the next, when the Crown Point expedition was impending, in which he was to command a Massachusetts regiment. The issue of this mental and moral balancing, the incidents and determinants of which we are almost wholly ignorant of, was in the last degree fortunate to his memory, to his contemporaries, and to untold generations of succeeding men.

In passing through Albany on his way to the battle at Lake George, in which he was killed, Sept. 8, 1755, he caused his last will and testament to be drawn up by a scrivener of that city, and signed it in the presence of Noah Belding and Richard Cartwright, in which the vital clause ran as follows:—

> Item. It is my will and pleasure and desire that the remaining part of lands not yet disposed of shall be sold at the direction of my executors, within five years of an established peace, and the interest of the money, and also the interest of my money, arising by my bonds and notes, shall be appropriated towards the support and maintenance of a free school (in a township west of Fort Massachusetts, commonly called the West Township), forever, provided the said

township fall within the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts Bay, and provided also that the Governor and General Court give the said township the name of Williamstown.

The will nominated and appointed "my trusty and well-beloved friends," Israel Williams of Hatfield and John Worthington of Springfield, to be the executors; and in sending a copy of the will to the former the day on which it was drawn, the Colonel showed in a letter accompanying it on which of its clauses his own heart lay, — "*You will perceive I have given something for the benefit of those unborn, and for the sake of those poor creatures I am mostly concerned, for fear my will should be broke.*" This letter had also two postscripts, both of which are significant; the first: — "*In my will you will find I ordered some money for the benefit of the East town. I don't know that it will be enough for the will, but so far as it goes will pay well, and then some good will come out of it.*" And the second: — "*Let no one but yourself and John Worthington know what my will contains.*"

Those two "trusty and well-beloved friends," both of them prominent among the so-called "river-gods," as the most influential of the then political leaders on the Connecticut were styled in Boston circles, became faithful executors and patient administrators under the will of Colonel Williams. For thirty years from its date they nursed the little properties, such as they were, lands and notes and bonds; they paid off from time to time the numerous small bequests in money, distributed the books and other personal items as the will directed; and they cared sagaciously for the remainder of the property, adding interest to principal and reinvesting as occasion required. Early in 1785, four years previous to the death of Williams and while the odium that attached to both of them as Tories in the Revolution was still smouldering, they reported the condition of their trust to the General Court of Massachusetts, and applied for the passage of a legislative Act to enable them to fulfil, so far as they were concerned, the benevolent intention of the testator. Accordingly, on the 8th of March, 1785, an Act was passed by what we may call the State of Massachusetts creating a body politic, a non-terminable corporation, under the name of "The Trustees of the Donation of Ephraim Williams, Esq., for maintaining a Free School in Williamstown." The Act itself appointed the original nine trustees, empowered them to receive from the executors of the will the proceeds of their trust, which at that time amounted to $9157, and to go on and erect a building and to manage in all things the Free School

under the visitation and direction of the Supreme Judicial Court of the Commonwealth.

It is probably due to the reader, — at least to the reader of the twentieth century, — that the original charter of the Free School be printed in this place in full; as it will perhaps be due to the same character to print on a later page the original charter of the college granted eight years later. In connection with the charter of the Free School will also here be printed part of an "Act for granting a lottery for the purpose of erecting a suitable building for the use of the Free School in Williamstown."

An act for directing the use and appropriation of a charitable donation, made in a certain clause in the last will and testament of EPHRAIM WILLIAMS, ESQ., for the support and maintenance of a Free School in Williamstown, in the County of Berkshire; and for incorporating certain persons as trustees, in order more effectually to execute the intention of the testator, expressed in the same.

Whereas, Israel Williams, Esq., and John Worthington, Esq., executors of the last will and testament of Ephraim Williams, Esq., deceased, have represented to this court that the said Ephraim Williams, on the twenty-second day of July, Anno Domino one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five, made his last will and testament; in which, after divers bequests, devises and dispositions, is contained the following clause, viz.:

Item: "It is my will, desire and pleasure that the remaining part of the lands, not yet disposed of, shall be sold at the discretion of my executors, within five years after an established peace; and the interest of the money and also the interest arising from my bonds and notes, shall be appropriated towards the support and maintenance of a Free School, in a township west of Fort Massachusetts, commonly called the West Township, forever; provided, the said township shall fall within the jurisdiction of the province of Massachusetts Bay; and provided, also, the Governor and General Court give the said township the name of Williamstown; and it is my further will and desire, that if there should remain any monies of the above donation for the school, it be given towards the support of a school in the East Township, where the fort now stands; but in case the above provisos are not complied with, then it is my will and choice that the interest of the above-mentioned monies be appropriated to some pious and charitable uses, in manner and form as above directed in the former part of this my last will and testament."

And, whereas the said executors have further represented, that it may be a matter of doubt and uncertainty whether the township mentioned in the above recited clause (which is now incorporated by the name of Williamstown), has so far fallen within the jurisdiction of the province of Massachusetts, now Commonwealth of Massachusetts, in the sense of the testator, as that they might be justified in appropriating the said donation to the support and maintenance of a Free School in the same town; and have submitted their duty herein to the determination of this court praying that an act may be passed to declare their duty, and to indemnify them in the execution of the same.

SECTION 1. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives, in General Court assembled, and by authority of the same, that the donation made in the clause before recited, ought to be presently applied and appropriated to the use and maintenance of a Free School in the town of Williamstown, in the County of Berkshire, and that in case the said donation shall afford an annual interest more than sufficient for the supporting and maintaining such school in Williamstown, then the surplusage be appropriated to the use and maintenance of a Free School in the tract of land called by the testator the East Township, now incorporated by the name of Adams, with other lands adjoining, and that the said executors be, and hereby are indemnified in applying and appropriating the said donation to the uses above expressed, and shall be liable to no action or suit in law or equity, on account of such appropriations.

And, whereas the said executors have further prayed that for carrying into complete execution the intention of the testator, a corporation may be created and vested with such powers as may be necessary for that purpose.

SECTION 2. Be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, that William Williams of Dalton, Theodore Sedgwick, Woodbridge Little, John Bacon, Thomson Joseph Skinner, Esquires, the Reverend Seth Swift and Daniel Collins, Mr. Israel Jones and Mr. David Noble, and their successors, to be elected and appointed as hereinafter directed and provided, be, and hereby are incorporated, and shall be a corporation forever, by the name of "The Trustees of the donation of Ephraim Williams, Esq., for maintaining a Free School in Williamstown;" and that the said trustees and their successors be, and hereby are vested with all the powers, rights and immunities, which are by law incident to aggregate eleemosynary corporations.

SECTION 3. And be it further enacted, that the said corporation shall always consist of a number of not less than seven, nor more than nine persons, excepting only that whenever a vacancy shall happen by the death, removal, refusal or resignation of any member or members, so that the number be reduced to less than the aforesaid number of seven, then the remaining or surviving trustees shall have full power to perform all corporate acts until such vacancy be supplied; and the said trustees shall elect and appoint a clerk of the corporation, who shall fairly enter and record all votes, acts, orders and proceedings, made, done or passed by the trustees; and shall also elect a proper person to be their treasurer, who shall receive into his hands all monies belonging to the corporation, and pay out the same pursuant to the order of the trustees, and shall always keep a fair account of all receipts and payments.

SECTION 4. And be it further enacted, that the power of electing and appointing successors in case of the death, removal, refusal or resignation of any of the trustees, be, and hereby is vested solely in the Supreme Judicial Court of this Commonwealth; and whenever any of the above mentioned cases shall happen, the trustees shall, as soon as conveniently may be, certify the same to the Justices of the said court, that a successor may be appointed; and the Justices of the same court are hereby empowered to remove from office and trust any member of the corporation who shall, in their judgment, be unfit to hold the same, by reason of incapacity, misdemeanor, negligence, or breach of trust.

And to the intent that the said donation may not be wasted, mismanaged, or perverted from its original intention.

SECTION 5. Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the said

corporation, and the donation itself, shall always be under the visitation and direction of the Supreme Judicial Court, who are hereby empowered to visit the said corporation to rectify all abuses, to determine all matters of doubt or dispute touching the duty of the trustees, and the use, application or appropriation of monies or interests to the same donation belonging; and to make all such orders and regulations with respect to the use, management and appropriation of the same donation and every part thereof, as they shall judge necessary or useful in order to promote the best interest of the school, according to the true meaning and intention of the testator and such laws of this commonwealth as may be in force respecting the same; and the said court, whenever they shall judge necessary, shall cause the said trustees to come before them, either to render an account of expenditures and dispositions of monies, or to answer for any mismanagement or breach of trust; and the trustees shall appear and lay their accounts, papers, records and corporation books before the said court for inspection, whenever they shall be required thereto.

Section 6. And be it further enacted, that the said trustees and their successors forever, shall have the possession, management and disposition of the whole interest and estate, real and personal, which is contained in and given, bequeathed, devised or disposed of by the above recited clause in the will aforesaid; and they are hereby empowered and directed, as soon as conveniently may be, to erect and maintain a Free School within the said town of Williamstown, for the instruction of youth, in such manner as most effectually to answer the pious, generous and charitable intention of the testator, and agreeable to such orders and directions as they may, from time to time, receive from the Supreme Judicial Court; and they are hereby empowered to appoint and employ instructors, masters and officers as shall be necessary for that purpose.

And to the intent that the said trustees may be enabled, in the most easy and expeditious manner, to receive into their own possession and management the whole estate, property and interest contained in the aforesaid donation.

Section 7. Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the said executors shall, at the request of the trustees, make and execute to the said trustees a deed or deeds of conveyance of all such lands or real estate as belong to said donation, and yet remain unfold in which deed or deeds it shall be expressed that the executors do grant to the trustees the right, estate and interest of the testator, and of themselves, in and to the described lands or tenements to the trustees and their successors forever; and the said executors shall deliver over into the hands of the trustees, at their request, all such personal securities or mortgages as the executors now have in their own hands, and which are a part of the same donation; all which securities, whether bonds, promissory notes, mortgage, deeds, or of what name or description soever, being endorsed with the name of the said executors, or one of them, and delivered as aforesaid, shall become the property of the trustees to all intents and purposes; and they are hereby empowered, in the name of the corporation, to bring any action or actions against the obligors, promissors, mortgagors or tenants, for recovering the contents of the same securities or possession of mortgaged estates, which action or actions shall be holden to be good and valid in law for that purpose, as if the securities or mortgage deeds had been originally made to the trustees by their corporate names.

And, whereas the testator has directed, that in case his principal donation

should afford an interest more than sufficient for the support and maintenance of the school in Williamstown, the surplusage should be improved to the use of a school in the East Township, now called Adams, in the said County of Berkshire; and whereas questions and disputes may arise touching the meaning and extent of this part of the will, and when there may be said to be a surplusage beyond what should be necessary, according to the intent of the testator, for the support of the school in Williamstown.

SECTION 8. Be it further enacted, that in case of such surplusage, the said trustees are hereby empowered and directed to use and employ the same for erecting and supporting a Free School in the said town of Adams, in the same manner as has been in this act before provided in respect of the school in Williamstown; and that all questions and disputes that may arise concerning such surplusage, and the duty of the trustees in respect of the several schools, shall be determined by the Supreme Judicial Court; and the trustees shall always conform their conduct and administration herein, to such orders and determinations as shall, from time to time, be made by the same court.

SECTION 9. And be it further enacted, that the Supreme Judicial Court may, at their discretion, exercise all the powers vested in them by virtue of this act, at any of their sessions holden within the counties of Berkshire or Hampshire; and in all trials at law, the court ex-officio shall take notice of this act to all intents and purposes whatsoever, and the same shall be given in evidence under any general issue.

[This act passed March 8, 1785.]

Part of an "act for granting a lottery for the purpose of erecting a suitable building for the use of the Free School in Williamstown."

Whereas it appears that it would promote the education of youth to erect a suitable building for the accommodation of the Free School in Williamstown, and the trustees of said school have represented their inability to accomplish the same without the aid of the Legislature, and have requested that a lottery may be granted for that purpose:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, that there be, and hereby is granted a lottery, for raising a sum not exceeding twelve hundred pounds, the profits of which, after paying the necessary expenses of managing the same, shall be applied for the purpose of erecting the aforesaid building.

[This act passed February 11, 1789.]

Before entering upon the successive votes and action of this short-lived corporation as such, it will be well briefly to characterize the distinct individuals that composed it, especially as all of them, with four others, came to be the original trustees of Williams College, which was chartered June 22, 1793.

1. THEODORE SEDGWICK, of Sheffield and Stockbridge. He was in the straight line of descent from Robert Sedgwick, one of the major-generals in the army of Oliver Cromwell. He was born at Hartford in May, 1746; studied for a while at Yale College with

the class of 1765; pursued his legal studies with Colonel Mark Hopkins at Great Barrington, and was admitted to the bar in 1766, and in 1785 took up as a lawyer his permanent residence in Stockbridge, where he lived thereafter till his death in January, 1813. He was a monarchist in feeling throughout his life; but at the outbreak of the Revolution he took the side of his country, and served as aide-de-camp to General Thomas in the unfortunate Canada expedition in 1776. He became influential in suppressing what is called Shays's Rebellion in Massachusetts, — a worthy service indeed, but one that had much bearing on politics in Berkshire for many years thereafter. In the Convention called by the State of Massachusetts for the purpose of ratifying or rejecting the Constitution of the United States as framed at Philadelphia in the summer of 1787, Theodore Sedgwick was prominent and patriotic, while his influence was not felt by and over that portion of the delegates consisting of farmers and artisans in anything like the degree of that of Jonathan Smith of Lanesboro. Both favored the adoption of the Constitution; both debated warmly in its behalf; and the names of these two Berkshire delegates stand together in the list of 187 who voted Yea on the final question. But a list of 168, who voted Nay, exhibits not only the narrow majority in a time of crisis for a national Union, but also the great and recognized service of Smith in winning so many as he did from the less titled and more yeomanly part of the Convention.

The service by which Sedgwick will be longest remembered occurred in the ordinary practice of his profession in southern Berkshire. A neighbor of his, a very prominent man, Colonel John Ashley, one of the richest men in the county, held as a part of his property a number of negro slaves, one of whom, a woman of extraordinary character and intelligence, has become more famous and is likely to continue so than any other woman of her race in the country. She ran away from her master on the ground of alleged ill-treatment, and declared she would never return to him. Ashley sued to recover his property, and retained David Noble of Williamstown as his lawyer in the case. All the steps of the legal process are not a matter of record; but Sedgwick interested himself in her case particularly, and in that of another of Ashley's slaves named *Brom*. In August, 1781, the issue was joined in the Court of Common Pleas for Berkshire County, in the form of "*Brom and Bet versus Ashley.*" The defendant pleaded that the plaintiffs were his negro servants for life. Sedgwick was associated in the case with Tapping Reeve, the distinguished lawyer of Litchfield, and David Noble was assisted by John Canfield of Sharon. The case was tried

before a Berkshire jury, and a verdict was returned for the plaintiffs. The defendant appealed to the Supreme Judicial Court of the State, but the appeal was not prosecuted there, and the judgment of the court below was affirmed. If the arguments in this case *pro* and *con* had been preserved, they would have made most interesting reading to this day; but unfortunately they have not been preserved even in outline, and we do not know even the principles on which the case was decided, whether the court in its charge to the jury laid down certain legal principles derived from the Bill of Rights of the then recently adopted Constitution of Massachusetts (as it is believed that Sedgwick and Reeve argued), or whether the jury decided from the special circumstances of the case. It has often been claimed, that this single judgment of the Berkshire court, as affirmed by the court above, abolished slavery in Massachusetts. One thing is certain, that thereafter a number of slaves in various parts of the Commonwealth sued out their freedom, and were in every case successful.

The grateful *Bet*, which is only the shortening of Betsey, the common synonym in New England of Elizabeth, — her real name being Elizabeth Freeman, — became a lifelong inmate of Sedgwick's house, and lies buried with the family with appropriate headstone and epitaph in the beautiful Stockbridge cemetery. The other servants, out of respect to her character, called her *Madam* Bet, which soon degenerated into *Marm* Bet, and then the children of the family — to whom she was nurse — contracted it to *Mum* Bet. Just before she died she gave her necklace of gold beads to Catherine Sedgwick, the youngest daughter of the family, who valued it highly, and had the beads formed into a bracelet, as more convenient for her own wear. Before her death she gave the bracelet to her niece, Mrs. Minot, and she to her own daughter, at whose decease Mr. Minot presented the relic to the Massachusetts Historical Society, January, 1884, which thereupon passed the following resolution: —

> *Resolved*, That the thanks of this Society be returned to William Minot, Esq., for the very interesting relic which he has presented for our Cabinet, and that we shall gladly give it a place among our most precious memorials.

On whatever principle Sedgwick may have argued this case before the county court in 1781, after he was appointed a judge of the Supreme Judicial Court in 1802, he gave a judicial opinion in the case of Greenwood *vs.* Curtis, in which, maintaining the principles declared by Lord Mansfield in the case of the negro Somerset, Judge Sedgwick broadly argued, that by the law of Nature, which on this question remained the law of Massachusetts, one man cannot have a

legitimate property in another, and that any contract involving such property was therefore *malum in se* and void.

When the present Constitution of the United States went into practical operation in April, 1789, as between the eleven States that had then ratified it, and it became necessary for these States to choose their Representatives in Congress, Theodore Sedgwick was by much the most prominent political character in the western end of Massachusetts, which constituted one of the congressional districts. Shays's Rebellion of 1787 had left behind it a deal of ill feeling in Berkshire from Williamstown to Sheffield, and those who sympathized with Shays felt particularly aggrieved at Sedgwick, for he had openly scorned their political demands and been largely instrumental in putting them down in the field. The outbreak was occasioned by general popular dissatisfaction at the pressure of taxation, the burdensome salaries of state officials, and the scarcity of money after the universal collapse of the Continental bills. The usual effects had followed the protracted use of irredeemable paper money now become worthless. Debts had been incurred in the terms of a grossly depreciated money, and farms and homes had been mortgaged by many of the soldiers for the sustenance of their families while they were away fighting the battles of their country. With peace returned, the old courts were opened for the collection of debts and foreclosures of farms. The yeomanry in many places were maddened. Riotous action took place at several of the county-seats in Massachusetts in order to stop the sessions of the courts, particularly at Worcester and Springfield. Of 150 who were captured, 14 were tried and sentenced to death; but such was the state of public opinion and the general sympathy with Shays's men, that all the convicted were pardoned, and all the prisoners released, and no one was ever penally punished for any participation. Shays himself was also pardoned, and retired to Sparta, New York, where he died in 1825, with a pension from the United States for Revolutionary services of high character.

The odium always attaching to just beaten combinations of men, together with the feeling of many excellent citizens that Shays's men had sought to enforce their demands in a wrong way and at a wrong time, enabled Sedgwick to be chosen to the national House of Representatives to the first and second and third and fourth Congresses by the popular vote. He had previously been appointed by the Legislature to serve in the old Congress of the Confederation in 1785 and 1786, and had accepted the position both times. The general trend of his politics, however, during the last decade of the last

century, made him more popular in the Legislature at Boston than among his own constituents in Berkshire. A vacancy fell to the State in the national Senate in March, 1796, and Sedgwick was chosen to fill out the vacancy of three years, covering the last part of the fourth Congress and the whole of the fifth. This of course made a gap in the House from the Berkshire district, which was twice filled in the interval by popular election and by a man extremely different from Sedgwick in training and in political tendencies, and who will be pretty soon characterized at length. Nevertheless, Sedgwick was again chosen by the people of Berkshire a member of the House for the sixth Congress and was elected its speaker. This service completed, he was appointed a judge of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts in 1802, and died highly honored in that position in 1813. By temperament and political conviction he was a Federalist, in contradistinction to those both North and South who adhered to the principles of Jefferson, and who were called at first Republicans and afterward Democrats. While in Congress he was intimately associated with Alexander Hamilton, Fisher Ames, John Jay, Rufus King, Edward Rutledge, and the other leaders of the old Federal party. This was not a party destined to survive in a free country, because its corner-stone was privilege secured by law to the relatively few at the expense of the relatively many. After the accession of Jefferson to the presidency in 1801, the old Federal party disappeared, as every party of privilege, however prompt to put in an appearance from time to time, must disappear before equal rights and opportunities. The point to note here is that Theodore Sedgwick, one of the leading men of the country both privately and officially, was willing to give of his time and strength assiduously to the interests of a little free school in Williamstown; and when the school became a college, so called, he continued to give it the benefit of his attendance and counsel so long as he lived.

2. Tompson Joseph Skinner of Williamstown. This man, so prominent in state and nation as the eighteenth century went out into the next, is now almost everywhere forgotten as the nineteenth is passing into the twentieth century. But his is a name that will last as long as town records have interest and instruction for mortal men. No other citizen of Williamstown during its first three half centuries has ever had so remarkable a career as within the town; and it has been said by some, most likely to know the truth, that no other citizen of Massachusetts up to the present time has ever held the number and variety of high official positions as this man

held in the twenty-five years, 1781–1807. With his younger brother, Benjamin Skinner, Tompson J. came to Williamstown to settle in 1775. They were sons of Rev. Thomas Skinner, pastor in West Chester, one of the parishes of Colchester, from 1740 to 1762, the year of his death. Their mother was Mary Thomson, second wife of the minister. She had five children, — three daughters and these two sons, — of whom Tompson Joseph was born in May, 1752, and Benjamin in July, 1754. The elder was only ten years old when the father died, and the younger but eight, and at the proper time they were both put apprentice by their mother to a carpenter and builder. When the younger brother was just turned of twenty-one, both came to Williamstown together, and settled to their trade in commercial company, — "T. J. & B. Skinner." The Revolution was then just opening on the Hoosac, but there was a plenty of work to be done, though amid many interruptions. The brothers certainly operated in company, and appear to have prospered together. By the time Massachusetts had adopted her new constitution of 1780, Tompson J. had become a captain of the military company of North Williamstown, and gradually rose in rank to become a major-general of the militia of the State. During the four next winters, 1781–84 inclusive, he represented the town in the new popular branch of the Legislature at Boston; in 1785, '86, '87, he represented his county in the Senate of the State; in 1798, '99, and 1800, he went back into the popular branch, as well as served in the Massachusetts Convention called to adopt the Constitution of the United States; then for eight successive years, 1789–96, he served again in the Senate of his State, when he was elected to succeed Theodore Sedgwick in the national House of Representatives throughout the fifth Congress; he served again during the short session of the eighth Congress in the national House; he was chosen presidential elector in 1792; he was later appointed by Jefferson United States Marshal for the district of Massachusetts; he was a judge in the Court of Common Pleas for Berkshire County from 1788 to 1807, and presiding judge for the greater part of this time; he became treasurer of the college when it was chartered in 1793, but was succeeded in that capacity by Daniel Dewey in 1798, when Skinner was serving in the national Congress; and during the two years, 1806 and 1807, he was treasurer of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. What a record of public service! It was all the more remarkable because his home was in the extreme northwestern corner of the Commonwealth, separated from all the rest by a very considerable watershed on the south and by a lofty mountain wall on the east.

Professor Ebenezer Kellogg, of the college, in writing of General Skinner twenty years after his death, uses the following language: "*He bore a very active part in the political contentions of the period of his public life, and was much distinguished for his spirited and happy efforts in extemporaneous and interrupted debate.*" Party feeling ran very high at the opening of the nineteenth century throughout the country, and particularly in New England; and those young men, like Tompson Skinner in Massachusetts and Samuel Smedley in Connecticut, who saw their way clear and strong to those equalities of natural rights and civil opportunities which were best formulated in this country by Thomas Jefferson, had a great opening before them, as have had their genuine successors to this day. Political privileges to certain classes, in contradistinction to the normal equalities of opportunity, were native to New England, were also native to the South for other reasons, and these have always been the radical bone of contention as between the great successive political parties, howsoever designated; but those bright young men of every section and of every generation, who have seen clearly the beauty and power of democracy, who have played fair and square, who have claimed nothing for themselves or their "set" in the way of political privileges over all others like circumstanced, have had the real and lasting influence as statesmen and have governed the country for the most part. Theodore Sedgwick was of a type of men who have had great influence in many political conjunctures in this country, and have given great dignity to affairs from time to time; while men of the type of Tompson J. Skinner, both in the states and in the nation, have been, as a rule, the safer guides to the people, the more conformable to the universal doctrines of democracy, and have the longest kept their personal hold on the hearts of the governing masses. Neither type is complete of itself for political ends in a popular government. No individual of either kind was ever personally or politically perfect. These two men, Sedgwick and Skinner, were brought together into close juxtaposition in the governing boards of the Free School and of the College, in the courts of the county of Berkshire, in constitutional and political conventions, in both branches of the state legislatures, and in the halls of the national Congress; but they were politically the antipodes of each other. Sedgwick rested back more than is safe upon privilege and distrusted the masses of the people; Skinner distrusted himself too little as an imperfect individual, conscious of an abiding faith in all the rest, and his personal light accordingly grew dim and went out in darkness, as we shall later see and sorrow over,

while Sedgwick kept to the end his faith in himself as one of the better and privileged class, and his personal light grew brighter and brighter.

3. William Williams of Dalton. We strike back in this man, who was elected president of the Free School board at their first meeting held in Pittsfield in April, 1785, into the radical qualities and characteristics of the Williams family looked at in their entirety. (1) Strong political conservatism; (2) a pervasive personal and family ambition; and (3) a peculiar foresight and moral control penetrated and permeated by religious principle. Colonel Israel Williams of Hatfield, 1709–89, was perhaps as representative a man of his family in all these respects as ever presented himself. He was the son of Rev. William Williams of Hatfield, the minister there for fifty-six years, dying in 1741. Israel was half-cousin to Ephraim the Founder, and own cousin to Colonel John Stoddard, whom he succeeded in 1748 as the colonel of the Hampshire regiment. Later, he became "ye monarch of Hampshire," chief among the "river-gods." He continued irreconciled to the American Revolution till his death, and was roughly rabbled as a Tory by his Whig neighbors — a circumstance referred to in a couple of lines of the contemporary satirical poem, Trumbull's "McFingal." Deacon William Williams of Dalton was this Colonel Israel's son. He was just turned of twenty-one, and had just been graduated at Yale College, when the words of the Founder's will were penned at Albany, and among those words were these, "*in case my brother Elijah dies without issue, then his part to be given to my cousins, William and Israel Williams* [sons of Colonel Israel] *to be equally divided between them, and it is my will and desire further that my cousin William Williams, above mentioned, shall have the perusal of the books hereby given to my brothers, Thomas and Elijah, any reasonable time, upon his desire.*" This William Williams, commonly referred to as Deacon William Williams of Dalton, lived to become (perhaps) as efficient an agent in the carrying out of the central clause of his kinsman's will as any other individual, in that as one of the original trustees of the Free School, and the first and only president of that incorporated board, and also as one of the original trustees of the College from 1793 till his death in 1808, he was in position to know better than any other one of the governing board what the Founder's wishes had in reality been, and was in position and reputation to see those personal and family wishes practically carried out in action.

The way in which the people of Hatfield in general, and the Williams family in particular, became interested in the Berkshire town

of Dalton, so as to color it in its entire history, is to be explained as follows. A township of land on the Ashuelot River had been granted to Oliver Partridge and others of Hatfield, under the impression that it would fall in Massachusetts when the boundary line was settled between that colony and New Hampshire; but "Hazen's line," as determined on in 1741, threw the tract into the latter colony; and so the General Court of Massachusetts granted the Hatfield parties what was then called the "Ashuelot Equivalent," or what was named Dalton on the incorporation of the tract in March, 1784. The settlements began on it in 1755. Dr. Perez Marsh, surgeon's mate to Dr. Thomas Williams of the Founder's regiment in the battle of Lake George, a son-in-law of Colonel Israel Williams, a graduate of Yale in 1748, was the most prominent early settler in Dalton. He was appointed a justice of the Court of Common Pleas in 1765, and virtually retired from public life in 1774, because he did not sympathize with the popular party, and died in 1784. It was about the time of Dr. Marsh's death that his brother-in-law, Deacon William Williams, removed from Hatfield to Dalton. He had been for twenty years clerk of the Court of Hampshire County, and was a deacon in the Hatfield church when the Revolutionary War broke out, in the propriety of which he did not coincide with the majority of the people. He was left out of office in consequence, yet such was the general esteem in which he was held that he suffered but few other trials on account of his political views. In removing to Dalton he found himself in harmony politically with most of the people, and also in position to help to organize a strong Congregational church, which was formed in February, 1785. He was chosen one of its deacons. He used his influence successfully with his father and with Deacon Obadiah Dickinson to secure from them a donation of 285 acres of land in the south part of Dalton for the support of the Congregational ministry. By the permission of the Legislature, the land has been sold, and a part of the proceeds invested in a parsonage, convenient to their meeting-house. Deacon Williams gained the confidence of all associated with him in the administration and control of the Free School and of the College in a remarkable degree. He gained the confidence of the people of Berkshire County, as is evidenced by the unanimity with which they sent him to the Senate of the State in 1797, 1799, and 1800. His body lies interred in the beautiful cemetery in Pittsfield, with which town Dalton has been from the first socially, and in all other good ways, intimate. Colonel William Williams, the patriarch of Pittsfield, and Deacon William Williams, the father of Dalton, were kinsmen and friends. In a

commemorative sermon preached in Dalton by the Rev. Dr. West, one of his colleagues in the board of trustees, which was published, occur these words: "*He was a leader and guide to the people for many years, an ornament and glory to the town as a wise citizen and active Christian.*" In further illustration of that decidedly Christian character borne by the Williams family as such, it may be properly stated here, that Rev. William Williams preached a half-century sermon from his ordination at Hatfield, as did also his son Solomon at Lebanon, his grandson Eliphalet at Hartford, and his great-grandson Solomon at Northhampton.

4. Woodbridge Little of Pittsfield. He was born in Colchester in 1741, was graduated at Yale in 1760, did his theological reading and received his ministerial training with Rev. Dr. Bellamy, and at the latter's instance, as the result of correspondence between him and the little handful of settlers in what is now Lanesboro early in 1762, Little appeared there as a candidate for settlement in the ministry. Not long after an article in these words was exhibited in the warrant for a town-meeting, — "To see if the town will give Mr. Woodbridge Little a call to be our Gospel minister." What action, if any, was taken at that meeting on that article, does not now appear, but the same article was reviewed in the warrant for a meeting called for February, 1763, when, for some reasons, the article was reconsidered and negatived. As a probationer, he had shown much ability, talents even brilliant, and a character fitted to inspire confidence; but his own mind does not seem to have been fully made up. In purpose he abandoned the ministry, commenced the study of law, removed to Pittsfield, built in 1767 a house near the spot where the Boston and Albany railroad crosses the present Beaver Street, started in as the first lawyer of the town in 1770, and kept both dwelling and profession until his death in 1813.

He became one of the most public-spirited and ultimately honored of the early citizens of Pittsfield. He was very conservative in his political opinions and action, probably as much so as was Theodore Sedgwick, and became the recognized leader of the old Federal party in his town. He was naturally selected in 1785 as one of the nine trustees of the Free School in Williamstown. He interested himself practically and effectively from the beginning in the new enterprise on the Hoosac, and continued the manifestation of such interest even in his last will and testament. He interested himself also in all the civil and educational and religious welfare of Berkshire County. It so happened that, one morning in the college year of 1811, John Woods of the junior class went to President Fitch and requested a

dismission from College on the sole ground of pecuniary embarrassment. "Why," exclaimed the president, "I have this very morning received a letter from Mr. Woodbridge Little of Pittsfield pledging the College a donation of $2500 for the purpose of aiding indigent young men in their preparation for the ministry!" Young Woods did not leave College, but took the valedictory the next year, and became a useful minister for a lifetime in the State of New Hampshire. Woodbridge Little added $3200 in his will to the timely gift of two years before with the same intent.

5. Daniel Collins of Lanesboro. He was a native of Guilford in 1738, and so was three years older than his college classmate and personal friend and lifelong neighbor, Woodbridge Little. They were reading theology together with Dr. Bellamy at Bethlehem when the earnest request for a pastor came from the little hamlet of Lanesboro. It was perhaps one of the factors of Little's ultimate declination of the place, that he knew that Collins was ready and willing to become a candidate there. At any rate, as early as October, 1763, Collins was on the ground as a probationer, two months later was formally called, and in the following April was solemnly ordained by the laying on of hands. Samuel Hopkins was moderator of the local council, and Stephen West scribe. What was thus begun in unusual solemnity and interest was carried forward in the same place with dignity and moral power for fifty-six years. The young pastor came into a town but just organized, and into a church still inchoate with a large reputation as a classical scholar and as a well-trained theologian. He was impressive in his tall person, quick in his bodily and mental movements, dignified and exacting in his manners, particularly with children, Continental from the first to the last in the style of his garb, conservative in all of his political opinions, affable in counsel and sound in judgment, a peacemaker near and far in matters both social and churchly, hospitable in his household, benevolent in his temper, exemplary in his piety, he became and continued in all the relations of an extended pastorate at once beloved and honored. He was influential as a trustee in the Free School, and then in the College from the very beginning of each. He served on the important committees of both in succession, not sparing himself in time and travel and counsel and patience in their interest and upbuilding. He is believed to have influenced Woodbridge Little in both parts of his timely donation to the College. He is known to have looked (and naturally) to the College as a nursery for Christian ministers in a newly settled region of country.

During the entire life of the first pastor Lanesboro was more

populous and prominent relatively to the other towns in Berkshire County than it has been most of the time since. The pastor's house stood on the site of the elegant mansion built and occupied by Hon. Henry Shaw, which has always been and is now by much the finest house in the village. Henry Clay was entertained in this house by his friend Mr. Shaw, during his only political visit to New England; and in it also was spent a part of the boyhood of Henry W. Shaw, the humorous writer, who made his assumed name of "Josh. Billings" famous for comic originality and a deep insight into human nature. Gideon Wheeler, for fifty years a farmer and for long an innholder in Lanesboro at the north end of the village, and otherwise also an uncommonly influential man in town, was chosen deacon in 1809, and died the same year with his pastor, 1822. One of his daughters married Henry Shaw, Lanesboro's most distinguished citizen in civil life, and another of them married Hon. John Savage, chief justice of the State of New York. The grave of Rev. Daniel Collins is still visible, and the lines of its headstone legible, in the original and beautiful "God's acre" of the township he did so much to honor in his lifetime and to cause to be remembered with pleasure since his death.

6. Israel Jones of North Adams. Although the two new townships of East Hoosac and West Hoosac, later Adams and Williamstown, were laid out at the same time by a committee of the General Court in 1749, their subsequent fortunes in the way of settlement and development were very distinct and even diverse. West Hoosac, by much the better town agriculturally, began almost at once to be settled up by soldiers garrisoned at Fort Massachusetts and by parties from Connecticut and elsewhere, and had thereafter a slow but uninterrupted development; while East Hoosac, relatively late in starting at all, stopped, changed hands, altered the character of the population, allowed the original church to become extinct, and only by extremely zigzag paths did it reach at length a congruous and stable unfolding. In 1762 the General Court sold this township by auction, making no reservations (so far as appears) within its limits. It was purchased by Nathan Jones for £3200. He admitted shortly after Elisha Jones and John Murray as joint proprietors with himself. The father of Elisha Jones, an English immigrant, settled in 1665 at Weston, Middlesex County, Massachusetts. Elisha Jones held many public and responsible offices in Weston, and was eminent in the church there for his piety and enterprise. His pastor at Weston was the Rev. William Williams, eldest son of the Rev. William Williams of Hatfield. The

Weston Williams was born in Hatfield in 1688, was graduated at Harvard in 1705, and ordained at Weston in 1709. Colonel Israel Williams was his youngest brother, born in Hatfield the very year of this ordination in Weston. It was in this circuitous, though ultimately most effective, way that the Jones family of Middlesex became intimately associated in religious sympathies and in practical good works with the Williams family of Hampshire and Berkshire. Elisha Jones, who was a colonel in the militia of Middlesex and the father of fourteen sons, of whom the fourth was Israel Jones, born in 1738, purchased several lots in the centre of Pittsfield, about the same time he became one-third proprietor of the township of East Hoosac, or Adams. But Jones's minister, William Williams, whose wife was a sister of Colonel John Stoddard, who came to own in 1740 a third part of the promising town of Pittsfield, became interested in the westward through his wife and particularly through his eldest son, William Williams, born in 1713, who received from his uncle in 1743 a central lot of one hundred acres, and became from that time the foremost settler in Pittsfield. This was Colonel William Williams, a renowned soldier at Louisburg and at Ticonderoga, and on several other grounds also an extraordinary man. It was owing to him that the venerable elm, which has so long adorned the centre of the common in Pittsfield, was preserved. He owned the land on which it stands. His workmen were clearing the ground, and one of them was just raising his axe to cut the staddle down by a stroke, when the colonel rode up and halted him. His relations to the Stoddard family were remarkable. His mother was the eldest daughter of Rev. Solomon Stoddard of Northampton; his grandfather, Rev. William Williams of Hatfield, married for his second wife his mother's younger sister, and she became the mother of Colonel Israel Williams. Another of his mother's sisters became the mother of Jonathan Edwards; still another of his Stoddard aunts became the mother of the celebrated Joseph Hawley.

But where does our Israel Jones, the trustee of the Free School, come in amid these endless but interesting genealogies? We shall discover in a moment. Colonel Elisha Jones, according to a plan of Pittsfield lots dating from 1759, owned about one thousand acres of land there in four or five patches. He evidently did not wish himself to leave his old home and his own pastor in Weston. But he certainly sent his son Israel, who was twenty-one years old in 1759, and probably two or three more of his sons, to occupy or appropriate some or all of these noble Pittsfield lots. We have no special interest in them or their owners. More dominating by this time

had become the local interests of Colonel Jones in East Hoosac. Israel Jones removed thither from Pittsfield in 1766, was authorized by the three proprietors to survey a further number of lots of one hundred acres each in addition to the forty-eight of the same dimensions surveyed out in October, 1762, and to superintend their sale, admitting actual settlers to the number of sixty. A previous vote of the General Court had required the settlers, when their number amounted to sixty, to build a meeting-house and settle a learned protestant minister. Mr. Jones took up his own residence upon the tract of two hundred acres granted by the Court in 1750 to Colonel Ephraim Williams in consideration that he build and maintain for twenty years a grist-mill and a sawmill near the junction of the two branches of the Hoosac. The house site to this still memorable estate has never been changed to this day. It was and is on the higher ground a few rods to the north of the meadow site of Fort Massachusetts. The old Mohawk trail from the North River to the Deerfield ran between these two sites very near to the former, just where the present road north of the Hoosac has run for a century and a half. Colonel Ephraim Williams, the founder, built nothing upon this his grant in the way of a dwelling, though he built the stipulated mills on the South Branch in the centre of the present city of North Adams. The old fort, however, afforded shelter to some who partially cultivated the farm until its rude timbers had rotted away. The first to build a house on the present site overlooking the meadow was Charles Wright, a native of Northfield and later the most prominent settler in Pownal five miles lower down the river. We should not have known of his tarrying here by the fort, were it not for an application he made to the colony of Massachusetts for a license to open and maintain a public tavern at this place. From the epitaph on the headstone of his grave in the Lovat burial ground, we may learn that he was born Jan. 5, 1719; that "he was one of the first English settlers in this town;" and that he died Dec. 23, 1793. The adjoining stone yields the fact that his wife, Ruth Boltwood of Amherst, born in 1721, lived on in Pownal till April 15, 1806, in her eighty-fifth year. Both stones are declared to have been "erected by Hon. Solomon Wright," one of their sons. Charles Wright was of the same lineage as Governor Silas Wright of New York. His original tavern-stand in Pownal, where he has posterity still, is yet designated by his name.

When Israel Jones came to East Hoosac to organize settlements and civilization, he took up his dwelling on the "fort farm," where Charles Wright had transiently lived; and he occupied the house

and cultivated the farm, both as his own, till his death in 1828. From the Jones heirs the entire estate soon passed into the hands of Clement Harrison of Williamstown, by whose heirs it is still owned and occupied in this year of Grace 1895. The coming of the Jones family into Berkshire out of an impulse derived from the Williams and Stoddard families, which were practically one, proved to be of lasting significance and of Christian usefulness. The Weston minister, William Williams, although he did not preach his half-century-from-ordination sermon in Weston, as his father William did in Hatfield, as his brother Solomon did in Lebanon, as his nephew Eliphalet did in Hartford, and as his grand-nephew Solomon did in Northampton, yet he lived there fifty-one years from his ordination, and after his dismission was a peaceable parishioner, and treated his successor with kindness and respect, contrary to the too frequent practice of clergymen that are removed from office, and continue their residence in town. His influence over the Jones families in Weston was pervasive and persistent. Not only did Colonel Elisha and his son Israel feel this influence in their movements and migration to Berkshire, but long before this time Josiah Jones of Weston brought his family to Stockbridge in conjunction with that of Colonel Ephraim Williams, the father, at the instance of the General Court, in order that the missionary Indians there, under the direct instruction of John Sergeant and Timothy Woodbridge, might see the orderly life of Christian families exemplified before their eyes. The Williams and Jones families both settled on Stockbridge Hill in 1737. The sites of both these houses are still pointed out by residents of the "Hill," particularly by Henry M. Field, a native of Stockbridge and a graduate of Williams in 1838; the site of the Jones house was that occupied long into this century by his grandson, Deacon Josiah Jones.

The next year after he became a permanent resident of East Hoosac, Israel Jones married Alithea, a daughter of the Rev. Samuel Todd, and lived with her in the "fort house" just referred to for fifty-nine years. Mr. Todd was the first settled minister in East Hoosac, coming there to reside and preach at the same time Mr. Jones came, — namely, in 1766, — and as such received the lands to which he was entitled under the terms of the settlement of the town. But there was soon trouble with the minister, owing to marked changes in the population. Settlers from Rhode Island, many of them Quakers and many of them Baptists, bought up freely the farm-lots offered for sale by the Jones interest and by the earlier comers, and soon constituted a decided majority. A vote of the inhab-

itants was taken in January, 1778, the year the town was incorporated, proposing in form to the Rev. Mr. Todd to take his dismission from their ministry, and to relinquish his claim to the ministerial lands. The dismission followed of course, but not the relinquishment at all. Mr. Todd received his first degree from Yale College in 1734, at the early age of fifteen, and five years later was settled in the ministry in one of the villages of Woodbury. He removed from North Adams to Orford, New Hampshire, the second town above Hanover on the Connecticut River, where he and his wife were received as members of the church in June, 1782. He preached occasionally thereafter to that congregation until his death. His character and talents stand highly commended, and especially is recognized his fervent advocacy of the Whitefield revivals of 1740, which many pastors and churches opposed.

Todd's summary removal from his crude pulpit in North Adams resulted later in the entire extinction of the Congregational church. In 1803 Israel Jones and his wife removed their church relations to Williamstown, and continued their regular attendance there until 1827, when the present Congregational church in North Adams was instituted. "Esquire Jones," as he was uniformly called, was the most prominent and influential citizen in his township from 1766 to 1828, when he died near the opening of his ninety-first year. Indeed, no other citizen of that township has ever reached and maintained his well-deserved eminence. He did the landed and most of the other legal business for his fellow-citizens throughout his long and thoroughly trusted life. He was often a member of the General Court at Boston, and gained such a position in that connection that he was appointed by President John Adams a commissioner to aid in adjusting, if possible, the northeast boundary line between Britain and the United States — a controversy, however, which was not finally settled until the famous and fortunate Webster-Ashburton Treaty of 1842. As a trustee of the Free School and then continuously of the College until 1822, Israel Jones was interested and assiduous and influential. Owing to his personal training under Rev. William Williams of Weston, and to the intimate relations between the Jones and Williams families throughout, in an indirect though penetrative way he represented in the college board the feelings and tendencies of the Williams family, as did Deacon William Williams of Dalton in (perhaps) a more direct manner. In the *Berkshire American*, a county newspaper, there appeared a notice of Mr. Jones the week after his death, of which the following paragraph is the most significant: —

The character of Esquire Jones was formed by a vigorous intellect, ardent feelings, and religion. His mind was furnished with extensive intelligence from observation and reading, and his memory gave him a command of his knowledge which seldom accompanies extreme age. His bodily health and activity, preserved by temperance and wholesome exercise, were like the health and activity of youth. He was decidedly generous and kind, though possessed of a quick and ardent temperament. To those who were acquainted with his religious experience, he manifested the uniform spirit of a Christian. He cherished a constant sense of sin, and looked for salvation to the atonement of Christ. For a long time previous to his death, his hope of heaven sustained him above the fear of death, and rendered his expected dissolution an agreeable subject of contemplation. He often said that he dreaded nothing from death but the pain of dying, and he was spared even that.

7. David Noble of Williamstown. The attentive reader may have noticed in the foregoing chapter the statement that David Noble, a native of New Milford in 1744, a graduate of Yale in 1764, an incomer to Williamstown in 1770, came into some odium with his fellow-townsmen and under some discipline by the Committee of Safety on account of alleged infidelity to the Revolutionary cause in earlier stages. Whether it were further in the way of discipline that he was later put in charge of the "pest house," near the Pownal line by the same committee, does not clearly appear; at any rate he was out in the military service of the town more than once before the war was over, and he seems to have acquired in most respects the confidence of his fellow-citizens in his after life. He became a member of the church before 1779, as did also his wife, Abigail Bennet Noble. He was a lawyer, and had legal practice more or less in all parts of the county. It will always be remembered that he was the opposing counsel to Theodore Sedgwick in the justly celebrated case of the alleged slave woman, Mum Bet. But he gradually withdrew from legal practice, and engaged in mercantile pursuits, and acquired in this manner a handsome fortune for those times. His first home in town was on the Hoosac River, near to the present Noble bridge, so named after him. His first house stood on the site of the present large cotton mill near the railroad station. Access to it from the main street was at first by a road running north along the bank of the Green River to its junction with the Hoosac. Afterward Noble bought of Judah Williams, who had built it, the large two-story brick house on the main street near the Green River, which is still standing in good repair. As he then owned the whole of the broad meadow between the brick house and the Hoosac River, he closed up the old road (such as it was) down the Green River to the junction, on which Derrick Webb and Thomas Dunton of the original

householders had dwelt, and opened a new farm road from his first house on the river to the main street at right angles, which farm road became a public highway in 1854, and has recently been named by the town as "Cole Avenue."

The Revolutionary times in New England were hostile in many respects to the good morals of the people, and particularly to their fidelity in marital relations. Nothing is gained, and something good may be lost, in the delineation of prominent characters in the past by the suppression of well-founded evidence that such persons were delinquent in moral behavior. As, — "Lawyers excel in the perception rather than in the practice of virtue." A young man born in Williamstown was graduated at Williams College in 1799. His name was William Boardman. Some of the best people in town at that time believed and said that he was the son of David Noble, although always reckoned and recorded among the other children of Theodore Boardman, a near neighbor of the Nobles. Sixty years afterward two or three among the best people of Williamstown believed and said the same thing. On their direct and specific authority the statement is repeated here. There is nothing covered that shall not be revealed. This world is constructed on the principle of exposure, and it is a part of the punishment of wrong-doing that lapse of time is often powerless to wipe out the record that once stood against the wrong-doer. In 1797 David Noble was appointed a judge of the Court of Common Pleas for the county of Berkshire as the Court was then constituted, and he continued to sit in it till his death in 1803. He was the first trustee of the School and of the College to drop out of the earthly ranks at the inexorable call. He displayed a steady interest in the welfare of the incipient, yet growing, institution, — personally donating the bell in 1793 that first hung in the belfry of the Free School building, now the old but still well-preserved West College, and he gave also to the College a fine strip of land on Main Street as a site for the first president's house, a site now occupied by the Hopkins Memorial Hall, while the original house removed is still standing a few rods to the north and has been tenanted for many years by Professor T. H. Safford. A portrait of Judge David Noble, presented to the college by one of his grandsons, Charles Noble of Detroit, is now hanging among other portraits in the Alumni Hall.

An eccentric and in some respects memorable settler and citizen of Williamstown, Jared Leet, a grandson of old Governor Leet of Connecticut, had early squatted and made a home for himself on the lower slope of what is now called in his memory "Leet Hill."

Parts of Leet Hill were on the "Gore," which did not legally become a part of Williamstown till 1838; but the original Leet clearing and house seem to be upon one of the 60-acre lots of the town. Four or five poor families further south, where the Gore became much wider, paid of course no taxes to the town, for they had no legal title to their lands. The Leet lands seem to have been in dispute and controversy of some sort, whether as to titles or taxes does not now appear, and David Noble in some legal or representative capacity excited the bitter enmity of Jared Leet, the verse-maker. The latter's lines on the former are not quoted in this place because it is supposed that they present a candid or any way truthful phase of the lawyer's character; but they doubtless present a very truthful phase of the poetaster's moral makeup. Jared Leet had degenerated in many ways from his grandfather, good old William Leet, Governor of Connecticut and the hospitable friend of the English regicides when they came to Connecticut in 1661. Jared was too poor to have an annual almanac of his own, but he used to go often to his near neighbors, the Torreys or Fosters, to find out from their almanac who was the Governor of Connecticut for that year. He early planted an orchard on his southern-sloped side-hill, where now is standing a better and larger one; but his own cider and that of his neighbors far and near (for he wandered a good deal in his old age, and was generally welcomed) befogged rather than clarified his intellectuals. A pleasant picture of the old gentleman, however, was given to the writer many years ago by one whose childhood's recollection of him thus was distinct, as standing sometimes for an hour at dusk of a springtime day near a frog-pond, listening to the then usual sounds from thence, "*which make me think of old Connecticut, when I was a boy in Guilford.*" The following are the lines: —

There was an old man lived in a brick house,
He had no more conscience than a louse,
Seventy dollars he did cheat
Out of poor old Jared Leet.

Now he's dead I wish him well,
No other than the gates of hell,
There to roast and burn and fry
With devils to etarnity.

8. John Bacon of Stockbridge. Here we have a man of very remarkable characteristics, a man who brought to the body of his colleagues, the trustees of the Free School, all of them remarkable men, qualities unique and distinguishing him from them all.

He was born in Canterbury, Connecticut, and was graduated at Princeton College in 1765, at an age considerably advanced beyond that of the average graduate of those times, namely, twenty-eight years. During the six years subsequent to his graduation he studied theology, and preached for some time to two vacant churches in Somerset County, Maryland. In 1771 he was called to the Old South Church in Boston, and was settled there in September. In the absence of contemporary evidence two points may be assumed as certain: (1) that he would not at that time have been called to the Old South if he had not had conspicuous talents and a very considerable reputation; and (2) that he would not have been there broken up after a four years' settlement had there not been developed uncommon grounds of difference between him and his people. He went almost directly to Stockbridge in 1775, bought him a farm, practically abandoned the ministry, and entered upon civil life at once, although he occasionally preached thereafter. What could have caused such a turn in the life of such a man? The date of the turn throws the only accessible light on the nature of the hinge. The minds of the people of Boston in 1775 were very much absorbed in thoughts and movements hostile to the Crown or at least to the ministers of Great Britain. But men trained when and where and how John Bacon had been, were extremely likely to take the conservative and *status quo* view of political matters, as we historically know that many such men actually did. Upon this general supposition it was as natural for John Bacon to leave Boston for Stockbridge as it was for Deacon William Williams to leave Hatfield for Dalton. Berkshire was a hospitable refuge for such men from the eastward at that time, because the tone of things here had already been given a Toryish key by the Williams family and others like-minded with them. On this supposition also, as well as on general grounds of character and eminence, it was natural that he should be selected as one of the original trustees of the Williamstown Free School.

The rise of John Bacon in civil life after he moved to Stockbridge was steady and rapid. He first became a justice of the peace, an office then of much higher consideration than now, and soon a representative to the General Court; later, he was elected a state senator in ten different years and the president of that body at least one year; he was appointed a justice of the Court of Common Pleas in 1779, but it does not appear that he ever undertook to perform any of the duties of that office, for the reason that during the Revolution, that is, from 1774 to 1781, practically no courts were holden

in Berkshire; in 1789 and onward, however, he sat as a justice in the reorganized Court, and in 1807 he was expressly appointed chief judge of it and presided till the abolition of the Court in 1811, when a Circuit Court of Common Pleas was established, and his son, Ezekiel Bacon, then of Pittsfield, was seated as chief judge of the new Court till 1814. Ezekiel Bacon was previously for some time a citizen and lawyer of Williamstown, and a full characterization of him will perhaps be in order upon a later page of this book. Both John Bacon and his son were prominent in the politics of the county in the opening years of the new century. Both were Democrats. Both became members of Congress, the father in 1801–03, and the son in 1807–13. Ezekiel Bacon was very influential in Washington; he was chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, and he was instrumental in securing the nomination and confirmation of Joseph Story, later our most distinguished jurist, as a justice of the Supreme Court of the United States in 1811, before the latter was even aware that he was a candidate. Rev. Dr. Field, in his "Stockbridge," says of John Bacon, "He had a strong mind, was fond of debate and tenacious of his opinions, but decided in prosecuting what he esteemed his duty." He, with all his colleague trustees of the Free School, petitioned the Legislature in 1793 for the College charter, and was with all of them continued as trustees of the College. He resigned this position, however, in 1804, the second in the file of nine to fall out, David Noble having died the previous year. Bacon died in 1820 in his eighty-third year.

9. Seth Swift of Williamstown was a native of Kent, and a graduate of Yale in 1774. Kent, with its neighboring towns of Canaan and Cornwall and Litchfield, had already sent to Williamstown many of its early settlers and church-members; and it was but natural for the young graduate to look northward up the Housatonic toward its sources for a settlement. He read his theology in part with Rev. Dr. West in Stockbridge, and was ordained in Williamstown in May, 1779. The church had become considerably demoralized during the four years after Rev. Whitman Welch, its first pastor, had left it, never to return, in order to accompany Colonel Benedict Arnold from Boston to Quebec in the winter of 1775–76. But sixty-one members welcomed Mr. Swift in 1779, while two hundred and seventy-three were added in the twenty-eight years of his faithful ministry. No list of Mr. Welch's members has ever been found; but it is more than probable that they were the same as greeted the new pastor four years later, and the following are the names: —

Elisha Baker
Phebe *Nichols* Baker
Martha *Young* Blair
Daniel Burbank
Mary *Marks* Burbank
Samuel Burchard
Elisabeth *Hamilton* Burchard
Sarah *Luce* Byam
Hannah Davis
Elisabeth *Downs* Downing
Thomas Dunton
Mary *Davis* Dunton
Nathan Foot
Mariann —— Foot
Israel Harris
Sarah Morse Harris
Hannah *Torrey* Hatfield
Rachel *Baldwin* Hawkins
Sampson Howe
Hannah *Foot* Howe
Henry Johnson
Abiah —— Johnson
Persis —— Johnson
Samuel Kellogg
Chloe *Bacon* Kellogg
Dea. James Meacham
Lucy *Rugg* Meacham
Jonathan Meacham
Thankful *Rugg* Meacham
David Noble
Abigail *Bennet* Noble
Isaac Ovits
Esther *Wilson* Ovits
Moses Rich
Mary Roberts
Thomas Roe
Mary *Wells* Roe
Anna Dwight Sabin
Nathaniel Sanford
Catherine *Davis* Smith
David Southwick
Thankful *Davis* Southwick
Deborah Spencer
Isaac Stratton
Mary *Fox* Stratton
Mary *Dormer* Stratton
Ruth *Tyrrel* Torrey
Hannah *Wheeler* Torrey
Marvin *Gaylord* Welch
William Wells
Rebecca *Stoddard* Wells
Elisabeth *Lewis* Williams
Mary —— Wilson
Dea. Nathan Wheeler
Sarah —— Wheeler
Nathan Wheeler, Jr.
Hannah *Brister* Woodcock
Josiah Wright
Abigail —— Wright
Gideon Wright
Sarah —— Wright

Forty-two of these sixty-one persons were husbands and wives; thirteen of them were wives without their husbands, two of whom, Mrs. Welch and Mrs. Sabin, were widows of victims in the expedition to Quebec; three of them were husbands without their wives; and the remaining three were apparently unmarried women. In the course of this year, 1779, five additional members were received; namely, Daniel Horsford, Martha *Marks* Talmadge, Elisabeth Egleston, David Johnson, and Phebe *Cole* Johnson, the last two being also the first couple married by Mr. Swift, and the first *known* to be married in Williamstown. In each of the two following years twenty-three persons were admitted to the church, most of them from the families of the more prominent local settlers. After this for twenty-one years the yearly additions to membership averaged but five; then in 1805 there was an accession of fifty-four persons; in 1806 an addition of fifty-two persons; and in 1807, the pastor

dying in February, the additions amounted to thirty-five persons. The following entry on the records of the church testifies to the affection and esteem of the people for their pastor: —

> At about 9 o'clock A.M. [Feb. 15, 1807] the Rev. Seth Swift, our much esteemed, dearly beloved and very faithful and laborious pastor, died, in the midst of great usefulness, while God was pouring out his Spirit here, and giving him many seals of his ministry.

Professor Ebenezer Kellogg of the College, though not strictly contemporary with Mr. Swift, wrote of him as follows in the "History of the County of Berkshire": "He was warm and open in his temper, evangelical in his religious views, serious in the general tone of his intercourse with his people, zealous in the labors of the ministry, decided in his opinions, and prudent and energetic in his measures."

As the Free School was to be established in Williamstown, as its teachers and pupils would, as a matter of course, attend upon the preaching and other religious services of the pastor there, it was almost a matter of course that Mr. Swift should be included in the charter as one of the original trustees of the school. He was in no sense an eminent man, as was each of his eight colleagues. He left nothing in print save an ordination sermon, preached in Rupert, Vermont. But he was a good man; and what was more, he was on the ground. All the rest of the trustees were, indeed, from within the limits of Berkshire County; but Williamstown was to be the seat of their operations and the centre of supervision and counsel. Accordingly there were three trustees from Williamstown, and only one from any other place in the county. At the first meeting of the trustees, held at Pittsfield, April 24, 1785, William Williams of Dalton was chosen the president of the body, and Seth Swift of Williamstown treasurer. On the organization of the College eight years later, and at the first meeting of the new and enlarged board of trustees, four new members having been added to the original nine of the Free School, it was resolved that Messrs. Swift and Skinner and Noble (all of Williamstown) be a committee to counsel the president.

No personal likeness of Seth Swift is believed to be extant; but it is known that he was of uncouth features and of powerful frame. Credible traditions concerning him have come down to the present time. The two successive houses which he occupied during his long pastorate are still standing near each other on the Green River Road about one mile south of the village. Tradition has it that the

two evergreen trees standing for three quarters of a century in front of the southernmost of these two houses were set in succession by his two sons, Ephraim Griswold, who was graduated from College in 1804, and Elisha Pope, likewise graduated in 1813. The other house of two stories, a few rods to the north and on the other side of the road, is said to have been built by the pastor for the sake of more commodious quarters. The older house, which has gone by the name of the "Stevens house" for fifty years, is by much the more interesting of the two. What now follows, though not of much consequence to posterity, does not depend on the uncertain cord of tradition, but has all the evidence that can be given to facts by eye and ear witnesses of the highest credibility. In the summer of 1852 these two sons of the early pastor, both graduates of the College, both clergymen and one of them a doctor of divinity, both large in person and uncomely in features, and the elder one with extremely prominent eyes and an uncommonly loud voice, came back to revisit the scenes of their childhood and of their college life. It so happened that they were to spend a Sunday. Rev. Dr. Absalom Peters, then pastor of the Congregational church, an old man, was much interested in antiquarian matters relating to the town, and was never averse to being relieved from pulpit duties in the general interest of his "barrel" of old sermons, not only secured the two visiting clergymen to preach for him that Sunday, — the elder in the morning and the younger in the afternoon, — but also at the opening of the morning service made effusive reference to the interesting fact of their presence (both of them in the pulpit), and announced with very considerable unction that the one would preach the morning sermon and the other the sermon of the afternoon. At that time, and for many years before and afterward, the college students worshipped on Sundays with the people of the town, the seniors and freshmen occupying the gallery on the south side of the meeting-house and the juniors and sophomores the corresponding gallery on the north. All went tolerably well until the elder Swift began to warm up with his theme, whatever it was, when his loud voice became thunderous, and his bulging eyes still more brilliant and protuberant. The tittering at intervals ran round the entire gallery, and became more pronounced among the seniors, of whom the present writer was one, mainly because they were nearer and could see better! All above, below, and around could hear equally well! As the "application" approached the peroration, what was designed to be ponderable and solemn became to the auditors and beholders irresistibly ludicrous. The close of each hortatory sentence was greeted with a guffaw, in

which the most serious student could not help but join. At last the preacher in sheer despair turned full round to the right where the seniors sat, and rolling his blazing orbits in that direction, rebuked them for their irreverence in the house of God in tones that were sonorous if not wrathful. It is scarcely needful to add that the Rev. Dr. Swift, the younger brother, did *not* preach that afternoon, and that neither of the two venerable men worshipped with the students, and that Dr. Peters commenced the afternoon service himself in a noticeably more subdued manner than he had used in the morning. Some wicked seniors thought in their hearts that the pastor's humbleness of manner was due to the unwelcome reflections (1) that he had promised in the morning more than he was able to fulfil, and (2) that he had one less sermon in his barrel in hopeful reserve as a consequence of the fiasco of the morning!

These nine, then, were the original trustees of the Free School, and no other person ever served in that capacity, because these all lived to petition the General Court in a body to transform the school into a college, which took place in 1793; and all these became then trustees of the College with four other men added, and with a provision that thereafter the trustees might be seventeen and must be at least eleven. Let us here and now tabulate these men, and take a good look at them. No other nine trustees taken together at any one time during the full century now past can equal these original nine in individual and moral power, in position and reputation in their day.

Seth Swift	Williamstown	Yale 1774
John Bacon	Stockbridge	Princeton 1765
David Noble	Williamstown	Yale 1764
Israel Jones	North Adams	Not graduated
Daniel Collins	Lanesboro	Yale 1760
Tompson Joseph Skinner	Williamstown	Not graduated
William Williams	Dalton	Yale 1755
Woodbridge Little	Pittsfield	Yale 1760
Theodore Sedgwick	Sheffield	Not graduated

Besides organizing at their first meeting in Pittsfield, 1785, under Williams as president and Swift as treasurer, the board appointed what might have been called a financial committee, consisting of Noble and Jones and Skinner. The trustees found that the funds now transferred to their care from the executors of Colonel Williams's will, $9157, were insufficient even to erect a suitable building for the school, to say nothing of other impending expenses. This committee was appointed primarily to procure such assistance in mate-

rials and funds as they might be able to obtain from the people of Williamstown and elsewhere for the erection of the building. Furthermore, at this first meeting the board passed four resolutions as follows: —

That as the present fund of the Corporation will be insufficient to effect an object of extensive usefulness in instructing the rising generation, and as it is probable that many persons may be disposed generously to contribute to the execution of the intention of the donor, it is therefore ordered that the Said Committee receive such contributions as may be made for that purpose, and that they prepare and circulate subscriptions therefor.

That it is the sense of this Committee that the intention of Ephraim Williams, Esq., in that clause of his last will and testament which respects the maintenance of a Free School in Williamstown, and the trust reposed in them by the Legislature, will be most fully and properly executed by employing the whole donation in that town.

That it is the sense of the Corporation that the Free School in Williamstown be open and free for the use and benefit of the inhabitants of that town, and the free citizens of the American States indiscriminately, under such rules and orders as may hereafter be established.

That it is the sense of the Corporation that it will best coincide with the liberal views of the donor, and the intention of the Legislature, to admit no pupil into the Free School in Williamstown not having been previously taught to read English well.

This was in April, 1785. In August, at the second meeting of the board, held in Williamstown, two alternative sites for the school building were sought out and selected, and the size of the building to be erected prescribed by resolution to the same committee raised in April for general financial management, only the names were placed in a different order. Skinner was put chairman of the building committee, no doubt because he was by trade a carpenter and builder. He was then but thirty-three years old, had been in Williamstown but ten years, but he had put himself ahead in matters both military and civil with unprecedented facility. He was a young man of remarkable talents, and he had an extraordinary career.

It is not needful to suppose that any special committee selected the alternative sites for the school building. It is more natural and pleasant to think of the entire body of nine as walking together along the broad Main Street and canvassing pro and con the advantages of this or that comely height on either side of the fifteen-rods-wide road. Then, as now, to one entering the hamlet from the east over the Green River bridge and up the slight bank to the level Hoosac intervale, which is here three quarters of a mile broad to the north, and immediately passing on the right the then new, and now old, brick house of two stories built by Captain Judah Williams, 150

rods over the level to the west brings one to the first village eminence across the Main Street at right angles about seventy feet above the level. On the right-hand slope or summit of this eminence, long called "Consumption Hill," the board found on that August day in 1785 what they designated as "*the old lime-kiln.*" That was a good place for their building; nearly forty years later the first College chapel was located there, now called Griffin Hall; but the limestone rocks protruded themselves high above ground over much of the surface of the hill; and it would be expensive to clear the ground for a building, as had actually to be done in 1828. Directly to the south of this site across the Main Street, however, there was an open space free from rocks upon the same general eminence. Here was accordingly fixed one of the two alternative sites, "*in the northwest corner of Captain Isaac Searle's lot, opposite the old lime-kiln, as the Corporation shall hereafter determine.*"

The other site then selected, and the one actually preferred and occupied for the Free School later, was upon the next eminence toward the west, "*south of Mr. William Horsford's house.*" William Horsford's house stood on the site of General Sloan's house, afterward built, now occupied by the president of the College; and the site chosen for the building was wholly within the limits of the Main Street, and has been crowned for eleven decades by what has been called for a century "West College." The reason why this site was put wholly on the public highway was, that the second eminence, unlike the first, slopes suddenly and steadily down to the south from the line dividing highway from house-lot. This was, perhaps, a disadvantage of the second eminence, although, as the Free School was to be for the town as such, and the town as such owned the Main Street, and not in any sense the owners of the land adjoining it, this particular objection was then unfelt, and is not even now of any legal validity. Countervailing this objection (if it were one), was the fact that the location chosen and used was nearer the middle of the Main Street, east and west, than any other good one available. Ever after 1768 the third eminence, which is almost precisely in this middle, was occupied by the first two meeting-houses of the town, which stood successively on "the Square," and almost in the middle of the Main Street, north and south. The earliest dwelling-houses in the hamlet stood, for the most part, either on this third eminence, or else in the valley between this and the fourth and last one. But by 1785 the population had worked decidedly toward the east, so that it is probable nearly as many people lived on the Main Street east of the second eminence where

the West College stands, as west of it toward and beyond the Square. At any rate, when, in 1797, a second college building was needed, the trustees without hesitation put the new "East College" on the alternative place of 1785 and on private ground; namely, "in the northwest corner of Captain Isaac Searle's lot, opposite the old lime-kiln."

At the same meeting the board voted that the free schoolhouse "be constructed of brick, and be of the following dimensions; namely, fifty-six feet in length, and forty-two in breadth from outside to outside, and twenty-one feet in height, with a bevel roof." Skinner and Jones and Noble, their committee, were directed to "provide the materials and erect the building as soon as may be." But when did ever any individual or corporation organize and get into working shape any considerable institution of any kind designed for the public welfare, without delays and hindrances and positive obstructions? The very next meeting of our board, held in Pittsfield in April, 1786, passed a resolve of considerable sinister significance, as follows: —

> That Theodore Sedgwick and Simeon Strong and Caleb Strong, Esquires [all three noted lawyers], be requested to appear at the Supreme Judicial Court, to be holden at Northampton within and for the County of Hampshire, on the last Monday of April current, to make answer to the memorials of the towns of Williamstown and Adams, presented by their respective agents at the last Supreme Judicial Court, holden at Great Barrington in the County of Berkshire on the first day of October last, respecting the proceedings of this Corporation.

It will be remembered that the charter of the Free School expressly placed its trustees and their official doings under the supervision of the Supreme Judicial Court of the Commonwealth. Complainants could only enter their grievances in due legal form before this court. Such doubtless were these "memorials" of the two towns, which are not now extant, nor is there any evidence that the legal gentlemen appointed "made answer" to them in court. It is probable that the case was postponed in April, and never afterward resumed. It is certain that the records of the trustees make no further references to these particular complaints. But it is easy enough to surmise the substance of this memorial from the town of Adams, because Colonel Williams had mentioned in his will the possible use of a part of his legacy "for the benefit of the East town"; and the trustees at their first meeting had voted that "the whole donation" should be employed in "the maintenance of a Free School in Williamstown." What the burden of grievance borne by this Williamstown memorial of 1786 may have been, it is not easy even

to conjecture, although some years later local opposition to the proceedings of the trustees took more definite form. There is no record of any meeting of the corporation throughout the year 1787. There was evidently difficulty and delay attending the erection of the school building. There is a significant hint in the vote passed at the next meeting in May, 1788, that local jealousies among the people had arisen respecting the location of the proposed edifice.

Voted, that the subscriptions already had and obtained for the purpose of erecting the house for the use of the Free School in Williamstown be vacated and of no effect; and that at their next meeting the Corporation will attend to any subscriptions or proposals which may be then offered and made respecting the erecting said house, on one of the two eminences mentioned in their resolve passed at their meeting held in August, 1785, *or any other place in the town of Williamstown.*

Conscious that they were being blamed for delay, for which they were not really responsible, the trustees voted at this meeting, in May, that Messrs. Swift and Noble be a committee "to provide a convenient house for the school for the time being"; and that Messrs. Williams and Skinner and Collins be a committee for procuring a master for the time being. Nothing came of this attempt to start the School before it could be permanently housed. This May meeting was holden at the house of Charles Kellogg, and the expenses of the meeting are set down at £3 4*s.* 9*d.* How much was that? It is to be remembered that the old silver money of Massachusetts after 1672 was just twenty-five per cent in discount of the English pound sterling; while, in 1749, Massachusetts determined to have no other silver money circulate in the colony but the sterling silver sent to her in coin (£138,649) as her share of the ransom-money for the conquest of Louisburg. She thus became the "silver colony," and demonstrated in her increasing trade and prosperity how better it is in both domestic and foreign trade to employ the dearer money rather than any one of its cheaper substitutes, which can never become a steady *standard.* But as the Revolution drew on, Massachusetts of necessity fell back from sterling to colony bills again, her own and those of Connecticut and Rhode Island, and of course also upon the "Continental" bills of credit, so-called, whose steady depreciation and ultimate extinguishment in value wrought wide havoc, both political and pecuniary, throughout New England. It is very difficult, if not impossible, to tell the value in sterling of the colony paper in Massachusetts in 1788, or to tell as to any one payment whether it were made in paper or in the Spanish-Mexican coins which slipped into large circulation in New England and New

York, and continued in circulation in spite of the national minting, after 1794, of the halves and quarters and dimes and half-dimes of our own silver money. The cost of the entertainment of the Free School trustees, whether at Williamstown or at Pittsfield, was, at all events, extremely small. In one instance its payment by Woodbridge Little is recorded; that is, by him personally. Its amount is, in nearly every instance, set down at the close of the minutes of that meeting; and when the meeting was at Williamstown, the house of its holding is a matter of this record.

One of these meetings is said to have been holden at the house of one of their own number, Tompson J. Skinner. The site of this house, which he continued to occupy till his failure in 1807, was the site of the present fine house of Mr. Henry Sabin, and was bought by the Skinner brothers about 1775 of Colonel Benjamin Simonds, who had built it and kept it as a tavern (the first one in the village) for at least twelve years, when he moved north of the river and built the large tavern-stand figured on a preceding page. It is likely, but not proven, that the Skinners kept their house also as a tavern for a few years, until the late "Mansion House" was erected diagonally across the Square. Charles Kellogg is known to have been the first landlord of the Mansion House, although the date of the erection of the house is not known. In May, 1788, the meeting was at the house of Charles Kellogg, as two years before it was at the house of Tompson J. Skinner. The inference is only moderately secure, that the Mansion House was already erected in 1788. The date of its destruction by fire was October, 1871; and in the long interval the building played a large *rôle* in the ongoings of the town and the College also.

A very important meeting of the trustees was holden August 19, 1788, at which, among several other less consequential acts and resolves, it was voted: —

> That the house for the use of the Free School in Williamstown be constructed of brick, and be of the following dimensions, namely, seventy-two feet in length and forty feet in breadth, from inside to inside, three stories in height, with four stacks of chimneys and a bevel roof; that said house be erected on the eminence east of the meeting-house, and south of Mr. William Horsford's dwelling-house, on the south side of the highway; — provided the sum of five hundred pounds be paid or secured to be paid, to the said Corporation for the use of the said School, by Tompson J. Skinner, Esq. and others, as expressed in a certain instrument subscribed by the said Skinner and others bearing date August 16, 1788. now in the hands of the clerk of said Corporation, reference thereto being had; — and also provided that the said subscribers shall level and prepare the ground on the said eminence, in such a manner as the said Corpora-

tion shall judge proper for the accommodation of the said house; — provided also, that Captain Lemuel Stewart shall make and execute to the said Corporation a good and sufficient deed of the whole of a certain piece of land [fully described in the record as hollow-ground to the west of the eminence] the hollow above mentioned being in the same place where was formerly a well belonging to Jonathan Meacham; — provided also, the said subscribers shall by the fifteenth day of November next procure a good well, which shall at all times afford a sufficient quantity of water for all necessary uses.

In these votes, read cautiously between the lines, come out into broad daylight the chief causes of the long delays experienced and yet to be experienced by the trustees in the erecting of the school building. In the first place, the height now finally selected as the site for the school was a huge swell of limestone rock covered in its highest parts by sundry projections of the same above the general surface; and it was the opinion of the trustees, since the place selected was in the main highway belonging to the town, the townsmen themselves should be at the expense of levelling off the ground and getting it ready for the building; this they had agreed, and yet neglected to do; and now, headed by their most enterprising fellow-citizen, they had put themselves under pecuniary bonds, signed and sealed, to have this preliminary preparation accomplished without further delay. In the second place, it had been foreseen, that there would need to be a good well of water in close proximity to the building for the uses of the school. Could such a well be had on or near such a limestone ledge? It was only reasonable to suppose such a well could be sunk there, because Mr. William Horsford certainly had a well on his houselot not many rods to the north, and that well is still in existence, although not in use, to this day; and the vote of the trustees above quoted proves, that "there was formerly a well belonging to Jonathan Meacham" in a "hollow" about the same distance to the west of the site as Horsford's was to the north. Whether Captain Lemuel Stewart made and executed to the corporation a good and sufficient deed of this hollow for possible well-purposes at or about that time, or not, cannot now be determined; but at all events, the College has owned that particular strip from a time whereto the memory of living men runneth not back to the contrary; and in 1886, 126 years after Meacham bought that House-lot No. 43 of Seth Hudson for £5, October 2, 1760, the College gave permission to the Chi Psi fraternity to cut and use a tennis court, which happened to be laid out on the western edge (north end) of the original House-lot No. 43, in the very "hollow" coveted by the trustees in 1788, and perhaps conveyed to them at

that time. Here were then uncovered the distinct remains of Jonathan Meacham's house, some of the bricks being entire or nearly so, and many more in fragments. It is a matter of trustworthy record, that in 1766, Meacham lived in a house near the "College Spring" on House-lot No. 49, a lot which he certainly owned, and on which he probably built himself, and the cellar of this second house remained open and visible as such till past the middle of the nineteenth century. The writer has seen it a hundred times just to the west of a big rock still reclining there. Notwithstanding this phrase of the trustees in 1788, — "where was formerly a well belonging to Jonathan Meacham," — it is still a fair conjecture that Meacham found difficulties of some sort in getting good water and a plenty of it near his first house, and that the College Spring, long so-called, furnished at least a part of his motive for his move from No. 43 to No. 49.

Another vote of the trustees at this meeting in August, 1788, was couched in the words following, to wit: "That a kitchen 25 feet square be erected for the use of the said school one story high, and be annexed to the House above-mentioned, and that there be a cellar under the kitchen." The need of any such unsightly annex to the main building as this would have proved to be, if ever built, was neatly obviated through a change of plan on the part of the Committee of Erection, as we shall see in a few moments. Still another vote at this same meeting needs to be quoted, to the effect, that the "Corporation prefer a petition to the General Court for the grant of a Lottery to enable them to raise the sum of £1200 to be applied to the purpose of erecting the Building." Williams and Bacon and Little were appointed to present this petition with the signature of Williams as president; Sedgwick and Skinner and Little were appointed a committee to prepare the scheme for the said lottery, and procure the tickets to be printed, provided the lottery be granted. February 11, 1789, the following preamble and essential clause passed the Legislature at Boston: —

> Whereas, it appears that it would promote the education of youth to erect a suitable building for the accommodation of the Free School in Williamstown, and the trustees of said school have represented their inability to accomplish the same without the aid of the legislature, and have requested that a lottery may be granted for that purpose:
>
> Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, that there be, and hereby is granted a lottery, for raising a sum not exceeding twelve hundred pounds, the profits of which, after paying the necessary expenses of managing the same, shall be applied for the purpose of erecting the aforesaid building.

In the newspaper called the *Massachusetts Centinel* of May 22, 1790, appear what we should call nowadays an advertisement of and an editorial in behalf of this lottery, as follows: —

WILLIAMSTOWN FREE SCHOOL LOTTERY.

The 7th class of WILLIAMSTOWN FREE SCHOOL LOTTERY, will *positively* commence drawing on MONDAY next (being the 24th inst.) and will be completed early on the next day; a list of Prizes will be published the same week in the CENTINEL. — The publick *may depend* on *punctuality*.

The FREE SCHOOL has hitherto experienced the Friendship of the Citizens of Boston, and the neighboring Towns and it is hoped that it will *once more* receive the *same* benevolent Assistance.

MAY 22, 1790.

WILLIAMSTOWN FREE SCHOOL LOTTERY.

We are authorized to *assure* the Publick, and we do assure them — that the 7th class of this Lottery will not only commence drawing on Monday next, but will *positively* be *completed* on Tuesday morning — and a list of Prizes will be published in the *Centinel* the same week.

The metropolis of Massachusetts hath ever been celebrated for the attention it hath paid to the education of its youth. In the elder world, a FRANKLIN hath been a living testimony of it, as well as in the younger. But not confined to the youth of the town, is this benevolent disposition — it extends to the remotest parts of the Commonwealth; and hath been abundantly manifested in the liberal encouragement given to the Williamstown Free School Lottery. The class to be drawn on Monday next, will perhaps be the last opportunity our citizens may have to gratify their humane wishes — which they will not let pass unimproved, especially as great pecuniary profit *may* attend the gratification.

MAY 22, 1790.

Charles A. Dewey, a native of Williamstown, and an alumnus of 1811, in an argument before the Legislature in 1819 against the removal of the College to Northampton, stated that the profits of the lottery were realized almost solely by the sale of the tickets in this and the adjoining towns; so that, the lottery in its practical operation proved to be a tax upon the local inhabitants; so that also, the above editorial exhortations to humanity *and* the cupidity of the people of Boston fell practically upon their ears pretty flat. The corporation gained from the lottery scheme $3459.68,[1] or as then reckoned, £1037 18*s.* 2*d.*

[1] The writing of the present paragraphs happens to fall in March, 1895; and it gives a queer sensation to be historically recording the fact that lottery-ticket money lies in the very earliest foundations of Williams College, at the time when the newspapers are full of graphic accounts of the passing by Congress and the signature by President Cleveland on the 4th of March just passed of a sweeping anti-lottery law, outlawing throughout the jurisdiction of the United States, the sale and transportation, in and every form, of lottery tickets; and especially to read that this triumph of morals was largely achieved by the vigilance and persistence of a Williams alumnus, Professor S. H. Woodbridge of the class of 1873.

In the interval of time, during which the Trustees of the Free School were apparently doing their best to bring the same into living effect and operation, but before a single stone of the foundation of the building had been laid, the greatest political achievements that this country has ever witnessed or is ever likely to witness again, had taken place in the city of Philadelphia: during the summer of 1787 the Federal Convention had framed the present Constitution of the United States, and had sent it out knocking for admission at the doors of the several States; during a little more than a year following, eleven of the thirteen States had ratified the Constitution and set its proposed machinery in motion as between themselves; and on the 30th of April, 1789, Washington took the oath of office as the first President of the United States. The institution of a new national government, and the new hopes kindled in the hearts of the States by their own efforts as toward that great end, doubtless more or less stimulated the trustees of the Free School to bring their own work forward so far as possible contemporaneously. At any rate, May 26, 1790, at a meeting at Williamstown, they took the following conclusive action: —

> Taking into consideration the importance and necessity of erecting without delay the building intended for the use of said school; and Colonel Skinner having this day engaged to sink the well already begun, and partly dug, on the western eminence where the house was ordered (on certain conditions) to be placed, and to level the said western eminence sufficient to accommodate the building,—do resolve, that the committee appointed to superintend and direct in the erection of said building shall proceed to set up said building, on said eminence, without delay, the conditions mentioned in the former vote of the Corporation not having been performed notwithstanding.

Skinner and Noble and Jones, all young business men, and all "peers of the vicinage," were the building committee. The trustees had also "*Resolved, that Colonel Benjamin Simonds be requested to join said committee in the discharge of their appointment, and that the President be desired to inform the gentleman of this request.*" Simonds was not a member of the Board of Trustees, nor was he in any technical sense an educated man. The compliment paid to him in this resolution, considering the usual conceit and exclusiveness of corporations, is very remarkable; and honorable alike to the board, its building committee, and the "gentleman" so punctiliously invited to coöperate with them. Simonds was sixty-four years old in 1790, when the order from the board to its committee became imperative to level the chosen eminence, and "to set up said building on said eminence without delay." He had spent his entire life from

twenty years of age in the valley of the upper Hoosac: first, as a common sentinel in the garrison of Fort Massachusetts; then, as an original house-lot proprietor and house-builder in the little hamlet of West Hoosac, laid out in 1750; then serving repeatedly and during considerable intervals of time in defence of his own as one in the local garrison of the West Hoosac Fort; when a settled peace came between England and France in 1763, he prosecuted with more than the common zest and success his part in the life of the little town, becoming perhaps the wealthiest, certainly the most prominent and influential, of the early citizens. He was colonel of a regiment of Berkshire militia from the beginning to the end of the Revolutionary War. He possessed the military confidence of and had a soldierly correspondence with General Schuyler and General Lincoln and General Gates, as well as with the highest officials at Boston both military and civil. As the Free School was conceived of by Colonel Ephraim Williams and described in terms in his will drawn and probated in 1755, it was designed for the direct benefit of the children of the soldiers, who had served under him in one or other of the forts of the old French line. Simonds had two children born to him in West Hoosac while Colonel Williams was still in command of the line of forts, and before he had set his face toward the fatal field of Lake George. It is perhaps more than likely that Colonel Williams had spoken at one time or another to his well-known subordinate and fellow-proprietor in West Hoosac (their house-lots were in plain sight of each other on either side of Hemlock Brook) of his intention to do something handsome for the children of the hamlet, inasmuch as he himself was a barren stock. At all events, now that Colonel Williams had been thirty-five years in his grave by the lakeside, and his benefaction was just coming into efficacy in behalf of *somebody's* children, how natural it was for the trustees to put themselves into practical consultation with the only man then living in Williamstown who had known the donor personally and perhaps even intimately.

Aside from the fact that Colonel Simonds seemed to represent directly and personally those whom Colonel Williams had in mind to benefit a whole generation before, he seemed also to represent better than anybody else present the entire inhabitants of the borough, as the benevolence of the founder was beginning to be displayed before their eyes. It was primarily a local benefaction; it should therefore be adapted to the local wants and habits, as *they* should judge these to be who were most familiar with the past and present of the little village and with the prejudices and opinions

of the people. Moreover, it had been already determined that the school building should be constructed of brick, and there was at that time but one brick house within the entire limits, and that the house on Green River recently built by Captain Judah Williams, and there was then almost certainly no permanent brickyard in the town. Who of the inhabitants would be most likely to know where lay the bed of the best and most accessible clay, in closest proximity to a bed of proper sand, and whence the burnt bricks could be easiest hauled to the predetermined site of the new building? Simonds then lived in his tavern stand just north of the Hoosac River, on what we now call the "Simonds road," stretching straight from the bridge to the Pownal line, and in that part of the town have always been and are now the principal deposits of building sand; and besides this, Simonds had been a busy buyer and seller of lots in all parts of the town for nearly forty years, and he was presumed to have the most intimate local knowledge of both lands and people. The road was then almost perfectly straight north from the meeting-house on the Square up hill and down to the Colonel's tavern just over the river, and so on to the Pownal — that is, the Vermont — line. At the foot of what has been called for more than a century the "Mansion House Hill," on the west side of this road and close up to it, the building committee selected in the spring of 1790 a bed of clay suitable to furnish the material for the brick with which to build their Free School. Where the sand came from to mix with this clay for the burning is not now certainly known; but both banks of the river a little farther along the same road, and both banks of Broad Brook, soon struck still farther on, undoubtedly held sand in even greater plenty than they hold it now. It had passed out of the memories of living men and out of records accessible to them whereabouts the brickyard lay that furnished the brick for the first two college edifices, West College in 1790 and (presumably) East College in 1797, when in 1890 the owner of the level patch at the foot of the hill, Mr. H. T. Procter, ordered it to be ploughed up in connection with more adjacent land of the same owner. To the surprise of the oldest inhabitants and for the information of the most careful antiquarians, the plough threw out over the whole level innumerable bits of brick of all shapes and sizes, many entire bricks that looked and were a century old, and other unmistakable evidences of a primal brickyard distinct from any building ever erected near it.

The limestone swell in the Main Street, on which the committee had been ordered by the trustees to put up their building of certain

prescribed dimensions, was first levelled down and rounded off into its present handsome proportions, and Colonel Skinner is known to have persistently busied himself amid constant discouragements to carry out his engagement, entered upon May 26, 1790, "*to sink the well already begun and partly dug on the western eminence*," when the question practically confronted the committee, whether they should follow their instructions to the letter, and build a kitchen twenty-five feet square and one story high, separate from the main building, or whether they should now follow their own judgment, as reënforced by the larger experience of Colonel Simonds, and so put all that they felt would be needed by the Free School under one roof, at the risk of making a larger and a higher building than they had been specifically ordered to construct. The four men, only three of them trustees, wisely took the liberty of the second alternative, as we learn from a vote of the trustees at their next meeting, October 26, 1790, as follows: —

> Whereas the Trustees on the 19th of Aug. 1788, did vote, order, and direct that the house for the use of the Free School should be built and erected of the following dimensions, namely, 72 feet in length and 40 in breadth and 3 stories high, with four stacks of chimneys and bevel roof; and Whereas the committee appointed for that purpose, by advice of several Trustees and from considerations of utility, have erected the said building of the following dimensions, namely, 82 feet in length, 42 in width, 4 stories high with a bevel roof; — the Trustees do approve of the conduct of the committee in the premises, and do hereby ratify and confirm the same to all intents and purposes, so that it shall have the same effect as if the said building had been erected of the dimensions prescribed by the previous order and vote.

Everything seems to have gone forward successfully during that summer and autumn, except the sinking of the proposed well. Water was not struck, notwithstanding the most persistent efforts, varied both as to the place and mode of excavation. It would seem that Jonathan Meacham had formerly had a well a few rods to the west of the school site, and that the trustees had tried to gain a fee simple of the little hollow occupied by his house and well, but had desisted after a time, perhaps for the same reason (whatever that was) that had led Meacham himself to abandon his first homestead on the Main Street, and it is certain at any rate that William Horsford had had no great difficulty in excavating his well just across the Main Street to the north; and so Skinner kept on for a good while, spending much money and more patience in vain, pitting as it were his own "grit" against the grit of the limestone rock with which he had to deal, and failed utterly and at every point. West

College never had a well of its own, and never enjoyed a legal right of access to any neighboring well, although the Whitmans (successors to William Horsford) by courtesy allowed its roomers for considerable stretches of time to use the old well. There are two copious natural springs not very far apart from each other on the low ground to the southeast of the West College, from one or other of which the students supplied themselves for the most part till the middle of the nineteenth century. When the writer as a freshman became a roomer in West College in 1848, there was a well-worn path diagonally across what was then called "Deacon Skinner's meadow," on which there was not then a building of any kind, leading to what has now long been called the "Walden Spring." At the same time there was opened a new and narrow street directly down to this spring southerly from Main Street, and consequently named "Spring Street." This is now and always will remain the principal business street of the town, on which are the bank and postoffice and town school and the largest stores. When the old East College came to be erected in 1797, there was no attempt to sink a well into that limestone ledge, though a good well was shortly after dug on its eastern slope and called for half a century "Professor Hopkins's well." Attention was called to what has ever since been named the "College Spring." A straight path led to this, also directly south from East College. About the middle of the century an hydraulic ram was set in this spring, and the water thrown up to the East College level. A couple of decades later an aqueduct company brought water from the "Cold Spring" to the village residences and near to the college buildings. In 1881 the aqueduct water was introduced into the West College and into most of the other college edifices, both the older and newer ones.

The delay attending the attempt to discover home water for the use of the Free School proved to be a delay in the opening of the school itself for practical instruction. The building was essentially completed in 1790. It was very thoroughly and strongly done. The stairways and much of the woodwork within were of seasoned white oak of native growth and of the very best quality. Each window-frame on all of the four stories was made of four solid pieces of oak, — two uprights and two horizontals, — and the four were pinned together immensely strong by white-oak pins of the same texture with the solid sticks. Set in place story above story, these frames were then bricked into the exterior wall of the building, which wall was and is very thick. Considering that the foundation of the house itself rests in the living limestone every

inch around its four walls, and that the underpinning below the brick is throughout of cut and hammered limestone laid in the best of mortar, it is not likely that any one of these about one hundred original window-frames of solid oak ever stirred appreciably in their places, till they were bodily taken out in the thorough reconstruction of 1854. Storms without and storms within, though they broke probably fifty generations of fragile glass within the frames during the sixty-four years, could not have stirred a hair's breadth the

WEST COLLEGE.

Built, 1790; Reconstructed, 1854.

frames themselves. The straight arch of upright brick resting on each upper horizontal of each frame is in perfect place to-day, and will be till the walls themselves are taken down by human hands. The original twelve windows on the south end of the building were wider than the corresponding sixteen on the northern end, partly because the kitchen and dining-room were on the first floor of the south end, and especially because the chapel occupied the second and third floors directly above these, while the northern end on all the stories was cut wholly into dormitories. In long process of

time, chapel and kitchen and dining-room and recitation-rooms disappeared, and were replaced by dormitories similar to the original ones; so that in 1847, when Kellogg Hall was built with two good recitation-rooms, one for each of the two lower classes, West College thereafter held nothing but dormitories, thirty-two in all, sixteen of them "corner-rooms" with three windows each, and sixteen "middle-rooms" with two windows each.

Originally the broad hallway passed through the middle of the building east and west. The lower hall was wide enough for two stairways ascending to the second floor in opposite directions from either outer opening or doorway, still leaving ample room for two men to walk abreast from side to side. After 1828, when the new chapel was completed on the eastern eminence, the students and alumni assembled there on Commencement morning, and forming in procession marched to the meeting-house on the "Square," always passing through this hallway of the old West College with unbroken ranks and with military music. In those good old days there were always more who claimed that they had been "*through college*," than those whose names were printed on the alumni list. No one, who ever saw those huge and long stair-rails of beaten oak, which the tugging strength of an hundred men could not stir in their socket ends; or scanned those broad oak treads, which more than sixty generations of scurrying feet did not very much wear down, could ever easily forget them in their rugged defiance of usage fair and foul. More than once did some disgruntled owner find his cow of a summer morning with her head protruding from a hall window, perhaps even of the third or fourth story of the college, and hear from afar as well as from above a reiterated bellow that sounded at once domestic and forlorn.

From the second to the third stories, and from the third to the fourth, there was but one staircase each. These were on the south side of the hall. So much space was accordingly left on the north side, that the first library of the College was kept there on the third floor, close by the door of entrance to the dormitory room No. 11, in which room William Cullen Bryant slept and studied while he was a member of College. For many years, and down to the time in 1854 when the interior of the building was taken out, and the arrangement of the rooms was altered throughout, the tutor's room was on the fourth floor southeast corner. On the southern end of the building may still be seen a memorial of the original five-feet-wide windows there, in the form of upright bricks placed horizontally to fill out to that width above each window of the twelve the space of

eighteen inches of new wall by which each window was shortened up on its west side. Those originally wide windows on the southern end of the building were to admit light to what the trustees described in a petition to the General Court in 1792, as "a hall for public academical purposes," that is to say, the chapel, which was used at first for Commencement exercises also; "a dining-room, that will accommodate a hundred persons;" "a common schoolroom sufficient for sixty scholars;" and adding a significant reference to another room in that end of the building, as follows, — "about six months have elapsed since we opened an English and grammar school in said building, and since then have had from this and some of the neighboring States upwards of sixty young gentlemen who have entered the grammar school, and the number is almost daily increasing." In the same petition, and in reference mainly to the northern end of the building, the trustees claim that they are provided "with lodging and study rooms sufficient to accommodate one hundred students." It ought perhaps to have been said, while describing the construction of the original chapel, which occupied the second and third stories of the south end of the building, that in the upper half there was a gallery which was accessible from the third floor, while the lower body of the chapel was reached from the second story. It had on the west side a stage, and the desk rose a little above this and stood against the west wall, very much as the stage and desk did in the Griffin Chapel of 1828, while the professors and tutors occupied elevated seats upon the same side, looking down upon the students sitting upon long, hard benches across the centre and eastern end of the room. The trustees seem to have been well satisfied with their new building on the whole. But nothing is perfect in a world like this. The four stacks of chimneys amply supplied with fireplaces on each of the four floors required from the builders more science and more patience from the roomers than either set of men possessed. After the school became a college in 1793, the trustees raised a committee "*to prevent the rooms from smoking.*" The same committee was also charged (what had already become by iteration a very sore place), "*to procure a well.*"

Until the new chapel built in 1828, and now for many years appropriately named "Griffin Hall," released the space on the second and third floors of the southern end of West College, which was the original chapel, there were no rooms permanently set apart in that building for recitation-rooms, but these were moved about for convenience, all of them, however, being on the ground floor; but at that time this old chapel space was converted into two stated recita-

tion-rooms, the one for the Sophomore class taking room on the third floor, and the one for the Freshman on the second floor directly beneath the other; and this arrangement continued without change for twenty years, when Kellogg Hall was built with two good recitation-rooms on the first floor, the Sophomores generally occupying the east room and the Freshmen the west one. The two upper floors of Kellogg Hall were exclusively dormitories. So long as the Sophomores and Freshmen continued to have their recitations in the West College, the furniture of these rooms, that is, the needful chairs and benches, were owned by the classes respectively, and regularly sold out at the year's end to the class next succeeding. The belfry of the West College has never been substantially altered from the first day until now, — surmounting the bevel roof of the building between its "four stacks of chimneys" in a symmetrical, one may almost say ornamental, manner. A vote of thanks was passed in August, 1793, by the trustees to David Noble, one of their own number, for the gift of a suitable bell, which did musical duty in this belfry till long after the decease of the donor. The bellman (always a student) roomed on the upper floor of the college, and was an important functionary and reckoned next to the tutor, and guarded by night and day the single stairway from the interior of his room to the belfry and the bell-rope in particular, and was scarcely able to leave his room at all except for meals and prayers and recitations for fear he might be caught and imprisoned and detained by force over some important bell-hour by roguish students ever on the watch for college mischief. Consequently he was apt to lead for the most part a dog's life of it, unless he chanced to be a stalwart athlete, capable of handling four or five ordinary mischief-makers, whose best and most conspicuous target for fun was this bell and its environs.

Now we must go back for a little time from our primal building, completed large and strong, and from the inevitable frictions and trials of organization and inchoate action, to some persons and preliminaries requisite to the opening of the Free School. Nothing else can be so essential a factor in any school at any time as the living teacher thereof. Other things become needful to the successful ongoing of school education anywhere, but this is by eminence the one thing needful. It is, accordingly, pleasant and prophetic to notice in the early minutes of the trustees the emphasis they put upon the judicious selection and pecuniary maintenance and collateral moral support of their chief teacher. The president of their body, Deacon William Williams, of Dalton, the minister of Williamstown, Seth Swift, and the minister-lawyer of Stockbridge, John Bacon, were

selected by the board as their committee to find and hire the preceptor; and the committee was instructed in so many words, that their choice must fall on "a man of good moral character; of the Protestant religion; well acquainted with the English and learned languages, the liberal arts, and the sciences; apt to teach; with talents to command the respect of his pupils; of mild disposition; and of elegant and accomplished manners." To such a man the committee was authorized to offer a yearly salary of £120. It is perfectly plain from these qualifications required of their preceptor, that the trustees had already gotten by some means way beyond the original ideas of Colonel Ephraim Williams, the donor, and way beyond any ideas entertained by the two executors of his will, Israel Williams and John Worthington, and certainly beyond the conceptions of the trustees themselves when they were first designated in 1785 by the incorporating act of the Legislature. It is impossible to trace the steps of this progress one by one from the original outline of a common school for the children of garrison soldiers and pioneer settlers, to the broad conception of a college to rest on the general plane of Harvard and Yale as those were at that time. Two or three points only about this singular transition of purpose are clear at this late day. The first one is, that the Williams family in the western half of the State had become considerably embittered against Harvard, particularly Colonel Israel Williams of Hatfield, who under the influence of this feeling had futilely started a college in Hatfield, and who died in 1787 while this transition of purpose was taking place; and Deacon William Williams, Colonel Israel's son, a native of Hatfield and long a resident there and fully sharing in all the peculiar prejudices of his father and the family, was then the president of the Board of Trustees of the Free School. The second point is, that the General Court at Boston, in which the Williams family had long had a great (and sometimes a predominant) influence, seemed very favorable to the School in the language of the act incorporating it in 1785, and thus gave promise to the trustees of what actually happened at their instance in 1793, namely, a favorable charter procured without difficulty incorporating and subsidizing the College; and add to this the fact, that Tompson J. Skinner of Williamstown, one of the trustees, a pushing and popular man, was a member of the State senate in the years 1785–87 inclusive, and was thus and otherwise in working touch with the public opinion of Boston. The third point is, that, in gradually shifting their views from School to College, the nine trustees, five of whom were graduates of Yale and seven of whom were natives of Connect-

icut, felt sure that they should have the sympathy and help of Yale, in which they were not at all disappointed; moreover, Elisha Williams, president of Yale in the years 1726–39, was a brother of Colonel Israel, and later members of the Williams family were graduates of Yale out of the general impulse to pay no more tribute to Harvard; and besides all this, the upper valleys of the Housatonic and the Hoosac are connected by a very low and very short watershed, while the immense local barrier of the Hoosac Mountain separated Williamstown from the rest of Massachusetts to the eastward, and goes far to account for the always intimate relations between Yale and Williams, and for the large patronage always received by the latter from the valley of the Housatonic in Connecticut.

At the same time and in connection with this pronounced aspiration for a college of their own, the trustees naturally felt constrained in accordance with the terms of the will to provide for a school, in which the common English branches should be taught. The *fons et origo* of the whole movement was the benevolent determination arising in the mind of Colonel Williams, that there should be at his instance and through his agency "a free school" opened and maintained in Williamstown for the sons of his old soldiers. Accordingly, two departments of instruction were established at the very first: an English free school recruited from the higher classes in the town schools such as these then were; and a grammar school or academy, for the privilege of attendance on which a yearly tuition of thirty-five shillings was charged. The common schoolroom could accommodate sixty scholars, but it is not likely that one-half of that number were ever in attendance there at any one time. Only two teachers were provided at first for both schools, a preceptor and his assistant; an usher was afterward added. When the school became a college by an act of the Legislature in 1793, the common department, which was entirely free, fell at once into "innocuous desuetude"; but the tuitioned grammar department continued for a few years as a sort of preparatory school, when it went out like the other. No list is extant, even if one were ever made out, which is doubtful, of the scholars in attendance upon these two transient departments of instruction; but the higher one of the two became prosperous from the start; and the trustees were able to say officially of themselves, "*About six months have elapsed since they opened an English and Grammar school in said building, and since that period they have had from this and the neighboring States upwards of sixty young gentlemen who have entered the Grammar school and the number is almost daily increasing.*"

Only two Williamstown boys are positively known to have been trained in the local Free School, and both of these became distinguished men, though neither of them was graduated at the College. These were Daniel Kellogg and Billy J. Clark. The former was born here April 19, 1780, and was a son of that Samuel Kellogg who became a landed proprietor here in 1761, and later a very prominent and influential citizen of the town.[1] Daniel Kellogg was certainly for two years in attendance upon the grammar or preparatory school kept up for some years in connection with the college proper. Chloe Kellogg, ten years older than her brother Daniel, had married John Campbell, a prosperous merchant in Albany, and offered to board her brother while he should study law in the office of Abraham Van Vechten, then one of the oldest and ablest of the Dutch lawyers of that city. In this way, and probably for other reasons also, especially as many of the citizens of Williamstown deprecated the action of the General Court in transforming the school into a college to the utter loss of its original gratuitous feature, young Kellogg was deflected from the new college course. As soon as he was admitted to the bar, his older brother Samuel, who had inherited their father's broad acres on the Hoosac and its tributaries, fitted him out with a horse, saddle, saddle-bags, and a copy of Blackstone's Commentaries, and the young lawyer started for the West to seek his fortune. And he found it! The western portions of the State of New York were then a wilderness. Daniel Kellogg made his way through the woods on horseback to Skaneateles Lake, in what is now Onondaga County. At the head of the lake he found a shoemaker, who had built a log hut for his shop; and Kellogg, liking the nature of the soil and the lay of the land, concluded to stop there; and he accordingly hired one end of the log hut, and opened a law office. Settlements were beginning to be made in different parts of that region. The Holland Land Company owned an immense tract of the territory; and there was a prospect of a good deal of litigation in acquiring and settling the titles to land, and of routine and important work to be done in the way of making conveyances. He soon found enough to do. He settled in what became the beautiful village of Skaneateles. Other families from Williamstown settled around him in that village, and in the surrounding country, particularly in Auburn and its environs. After the death of her husband in Albany, Mrs. Campbell moved to Skaneateles, and later to Auburn, where one of her daughters

[1] In *Origins in Williamstown* this Samuel Kellogg is characterized at length, and so is his family both in the upward and downward lines.

married a Mr. Beach, whose brand of flour, manufactured extensively at Auburn (Port Byron) and Rochester, became celebrated over New York and New England. Mr. Kellogg never removed from the region within which he first fixed his stakes. No man was so well acquainted as he with the titles to land in western New York; and partly in consequence of that fact, and partly in virtue of native abilities of a high order, he became the best real estate lawyer in that part of the State; he was in position to make investments for himself that bore quick returns, and for others who were never deceived as to his sagacity and integrity; he established the "Bank of Auburn," of which he was president so long as he lived, and which for years paid dividends to its stockholders of thirty-five per cent annually. Daniel Kellogg, besides being very useful to the community in which he lived, naturally and easily became a very rich man. At the semi-centennial of the College in 1843 he was present as an enthusiastic son of Williamstown, and as one who had probably been under instruction in the old West College at an earlier date than any other person present. Lucius E. Smith, a graduate of that year, wrote as follows fifty years later. "I remember as they [the alumni] were gathering on Wednesday morning Honorable Daniel Kellogg was walking up, when a friend accosted him, 'Why, Kellogg, did you graduate here?' 'That I did, sir,' he replied, with an emphatic thump of the cane and a kindling of the eyes that even now flashes on my memory." He did indeed "graduate" in his sense of the word as used at that time, before anybody else had "graduated" in the ordinary sense of the word.

Billy J. Clark, the only other Williamstown boy now ascertained to have been a pupil in the original Free School, was born in Northampton in January, 1778. His parents soon removed to Williamstown, of which his mother was a native, and the second daughter of Colonel Benjamin Simonds. After some years here, during which the principal schooling of the boy took place, the Clark family moved a few miles down the Hoosac, and opened a public house in what is now called Centre Pownal. In accordance with the universal custom of those times liquors were sold at every tavern, and taverns were thickly strewn along every public highway in New England. This boy was set by his father to sell intoxicants to travellers and others over his bar in Pownal. Perhaps owing in part to precept and example lately received in the Williamstown Free School, young Clark conceived an invincible repugnance to the traffic in which he was employed, and to the drinking of intoxicants generally; and passing shortly from the country tavern to the study

of medicine as it was then taught by country doctors in northern New York, he became a practitioner himself, and settled down to forty years of most successful practice in the new and small town of Moreau, but closed his career in the neighboring town of Glens Falls as an apothecary, and as a temperance lecturer and organizer. Appleton's Cyclopedia has this to say of Dr. Billy J. Clark: "The earliest organization to stem the tide of intemperance in this Republic would seem to have been that of 'The Temperate Society of Moreau and Northumberland,' which was instigated by Dr. B. J. Clark, of Moreau, in March, in 1808, and constituted by the signatures of forty-three members, mainly substantial farmers of the two towns named. Their constitution stipulated, that 'no member shall drink rum, gin, whiskey, wine, or any distilled spirits, or composition of the same, or any of them, except by the advice of a physician, or in case of actual disease (also excepting wine at public dinners), under penalty of twenty-five cents. Provided that this article shall not infringe on any religious ordinance.' And further, that 'no member shall be intoxicated under penalty of fifty cents.' And again: 'no member shall offer any of said liquors to any other member, or urge any other person to drink thereof under penalty of twenty-five cents for each offence.'"

From your Father
B. J. Clark.

Through Dr. Clark's energy and perseverance, a special act of the New York Legislature was obtained incorporating "The Saratoga Medical Society," the first organization of the kind in the State. He was also a member of the New York Electoral College in 1848. He was seventeen years old when he began his medical studies in Pownal with Dr. Gibbs, and he continued them with Dr. Wicker, in Easton, New York, till he commenced practice in Moreau in 1799. He died in Glens Falls, greatly honored, in September, 1866, in his eighty-ninth year.

At the same meeting of the corporation of the Free School in October, 1790, that raised the committee to procure a preceptor, and wisely instructed them as toward that end, adopted also a seal,

FREE SCHOOL SEAL.

which was used for some years after the school became a college. Its device was a teacher surrounded by three pupils with books in their hands and the legend (which is still continued unchanged), "E LIBERALITATE E. WILLIAMS ARMIGERI." The original seal is still extant in good order, and the accompanying impression is printed from it. The new device for the college seal was a globe, a telescope, a pile of books surmounted by an inkstand, what is apparently a study-table with a cloth cover, and a sprig of the inevitable ivy or laurel.

We come now to attempt to delineate the leading features of a personage directly and deeply concerned in the establishment of Williams College, who will always remain an object of interest to any who for any reason become thoroughly interested in the past of the town and the College. His hands laid deep and strong the foundations here. Not that they were extraordinarily skilful hands, nor were they guided by any extraordinary gifts of intelligence or prescience; but they were faithful and patient hands, guided by a firm confidence in an ever-present and overruling Providence, and guided also by an innate courtesy toward his colleagues of the board and the faculty as well as by a spirit of willingness to serve as toward the community both of the town and of the College. This was the first preceptor and president, EBENEZER FITCH. He was born Sept. 26, 1756, at Norwich, although it is stated on his tombstone at West Bloomfield, New York, that his birth was at Canterbury, where he was certainly brought up. He belonged to a prominent family in Connecticut, which came to be widely diffused also in the other New England States, particularly in Vermont, and which was descended from Rev. James Fitch, born in Essex County, England, in 1622, coming to this country when sixteen years old, and spending seven years in preparation for the ministry under the private instruction at Hartford of Messrs. Hooker and Stone, its primitive and famous ministers of the Gospel. Of Major James Fitch, his son, born in 1649, and active as a soldier in the Pequot War, under the famous John Mason, whose daughter was his father's second wife, it has been said, "He was the first donor to Yale College who was not of the board of trustees. In October, 1701, he gave the College 637 acres of land in the town of Killingly, and all the

glass and nails which should be necessary to build the college edifice. This benefaction had a great influence in procuring the charter, and in encouraging the friends of the College in promoting its interests, and on this account is deserving of particular consideration." One son of this generous donor to Yale in its earliest infancy, thereby illustrating the German proverb, — "He doubly gives who quickly gives," — was Colonel Jabez Fitch, born in 1703 and departed in 1784, who was a man of unbounded influence in his native town of Canterbury, held pretty much all the offices in succession both military and civil, and was for many years a Judge of Probate. His son, Dr. Jabez Fitch, was less eminent than his direct ancestors in this country, although he became a physician of considerable influence, and instructed after the style of the time medical students in large numbers. He removed from Canterbury to Norwich. Three of his sons became prominent citizens of Vermont; five of his daughters married men of a college education; and the only other member of his family who reached a mature age was Ebenezer Fitch, the preceptor and president.

These genealogical details are here given on account of the light they may easily be made to throw upon some peculiarities of the life of the man we are now particularly interested in. These Connecticut families in long sequence of time were deeply religious people. They were as a rule well-to-do, and accustomed to a mode of expenditure that could have been supported only by liberal incomes from some source. They were well-educated people, and unusually familiar with college-bred associates. They belonged to the politically privileged class in Connecticut, and after the adoption of the Constitution of the United States naturally ranged themselves with the political party that believed in and sought for special privileges under the law for the relatively few as against the relatively many. In other words, they became followers of the political principles of Alexander Hamilton, as these came to be embodied in the Federalist party, rather than the principles of Thomas Jefferson as these were set forth by the adherents of the Democratic party. All three of the brothers of the preceptor were Vermont Federalists during the early years of the national government, while the popular majorities in that State were more commonly registered for the opposite party. The preceptor himself was no friend to Jefferson or to his rock-based principles of the equality of all citizens before the law, while his fellow-citizens of Williamstown by large and constant majorities favored them. Important local consequences followed these radical differences

of opinion and action, as we may see more fully in the sequel of our researches.

The college education of Ebenezer Fitch was gained at Yale in regular course from 1773 to 1777. He passed two years immediately thereafter at New Haven as a resident graduate. All these years were more or less disturbed by the opening and progressing scenes of the American Revolution as these were observed and experienced in New England. He notes in his diary under date of April 21, 1775: "To-day tidings of the battle of Lexington, which is the first engagement with the British troops, arrived at New Haven. This filled the country with alarm, and rendered it impossible for us to pursue our studies with any profit." Young Fitch went home, then visited Providence, and then went to see the colonial camp at Cambridge and Roxbury; but the military life did not appeal to him as personally attractive either then or later, for on being enrolled at Canterbury and drafted as a soldier to go to the army, he objected on the ground that he was a member of college, and therefore not liable to do military duty; on the other hand it was contended, that resident graduates were not members of college; Fitch wrote from Canterbury to President Stiles for his official opinion on that question, and received reply that resident graduates were considered members of college. So Fitch got off. Both of these letters are preserved among the records of Yale College. A year or two after this, that is, in the winter of 1780, while teaching a select school in New Jersey not far from Morristown, he wrote: "Week before last I visited the camp, and had the pleasure of seeing some old and some dear friends. I found the log-house city on the declivity of a high hill three miles south of Morristown. There the Connecticut line dwells in tabernacles like Israel of old. And there the troops of the other States lie, some at a greater and some at a less distance, among the hills, in similar habitations."

On the morning of March 22, 1777, about the middle of Fitch's senior year, President Daggett made an address to the Yale students, informing them that on account of the impossibility of supplying the college with provisions, it would in a few days be dismissed, and also that he had fully made up his mind to resign the presidency of the college. The students accordingly left New Haven, and pursued their studies during the summer under their respective tutors in places less exposed to the sudden incursions of the British enemy. The Freshman class went to Farmington under their tutor Lewis; the Sophomore and Junior classes under tutors Baldwin and

Buckminster, respectively, were in Glastonbury; and the Seniors spent the summer in Wethersfield, fortunate in the tuition of tutor Timothy Dwight, then twenty-five years old. The relations thus commenced between Pupil Fitch and Tutor Dwight continued on a pleasant plane till the death of the latter in 1817. Fitch became a college president in 1793, and Dwight in 1795, and the two came together repeatedly thereafter in Williamstown certainly as appears in the interesting "Travels of Dwight," and it is to be presumed in New Haven also, for in addition to Fitch's six years there as a "member of college," he was in all about eight years a tutor there, 1780–83 and 1785–91. As the college had dispersed from New Haven in the spring of 1777 on Revolutionary grounds, there were no public exercises of Commencement there that year, but the graduating class consisting of fifty-four, — a much larger number than had previously been graduated at Yale, — the class had *quasi* commencement exercises at Wethersfield, and then returned to New Haven to receive their diplomas privately. Tutor Dwight preached two sermons before them at Wethersfield on Sunday, and on Tuesday following the exercises fell, of which Fitch speaks thus in his journal: "July 22. This has been quarter day. I spoke my dialogue and the Valedictory Oration before a very large and splendid audience. I trust I did myself credit. Indeed all the parts were performed to the entire approbation of the audience." As a contemporary and so far forth trustworthy evidence that Tutor Fitch was well thought of by his pupils at Yale, the late General Charles F. Sedgewick of Sharon, Connecticut, a graduate of Williams in 1813, informed the writer, that when he was in college here, there was in the College library a classical map or atlas of some kind, which the students at Yale had presented to Tutor Fitch as a token of their special esteem. Undoubtedly the president had deposited this in the incredibly small library for the use of the students here, and took it away with him as his personal property when he left in 1815. Shortly after his death, in 1833, his own library and numerous and valuable manuscripts came into the hands of his son, Rev. Charles Fitch, then of Batavia, New York, whose house and all its contents was soon after consumed by fire.

An incident in the life of young Fitch, that occurred in the interval of his two tutorships in New Haven, illumines a marked characteristic of the man throughout his life, and explains in a measure the nature of his troubles and failures in Williamstown, and later in West Bloomfield. In 1783, the year of the settled peace with Great Britain, he turned merchant and entered into a partnership with

Henry Daggett of New Haven. In June of that year he went to London to buy goods for the firm, and returned in the following winter with a large invoice of them, which proved to be, many of them, of a quality and price much above the wants and habits of the citizens of Connecticut. He did not know the state of the markets at either end of the route. He could not have been rationally expected to know. He ought to have known himself better than to have supposed that he knew. He made consequently most unfortunate purchases. The goods were not salable at any price. He embarrassed his firm, and embarrassed himself irretrievably. He went back to his books, and to his tutorship. *Ne sutor ultra crepidam.* Fourteen years subsequent to going to London awooling, and six years after he came to Williamstown to be preceptor, he wrote in a letter: "By the assistance of my brother Jabez, I last winter effected a settlement of my old debt with Mr. Daggett. The debt is now reduced to a little more than six hundred dollars, which I can pay in a few years, if my life and health are continued." These few facts and these few words exhibit a man, (1) destitute of the financial instinct, and without any adequate sense of proportion as between outgo and income; (2) oversanguine as respects future ability to pay debts and at the same time provide for current wants; and (3) as beginning early to rely on the pecuniary "assistance" of others. Till the very end of a long life, many others were induced by hope or impelled by pity to come into the place of "my brother Jabez." The late William Hyde, a graduate of 1826, told the writer that his father, long one of the early trustees, was once invited by President Fitch to go out to his pen to see his two fattening hogs. "It does not cost hardly anything to keep them," said the head of the College; "they live mostly on what comes off from my table." "There does not come off enough from my table," retorted the trustee, "to keep alive one pig!"

The committee appointed to select a preceptor reported favorably on Ebenezer Fitch to the entire board, who elected him to the post in October, 1790. It was not without considerable hesitation and continued inquiry, that the candidate concluded to accept the appointment. Whatever else may be said about this selection, this admirable feature about it obtained, — he did not run until he was called. "Therefore came I without gainsaying as soon as I was *sent for*." He had one brother certainly (Jabez), and probably two more (Chauncy and Samuel), already prominent citizens in Vermont. The first was United States Marshal for the District of Vermont during the entire administrations of Washington and John Adams.

Without doubt this must have exerted some attractive influence to draw the scholar from the seaboard to the northern country. At any rate he signified his acceptance of the preceptorship early in the year 1791, and in October he commenced his teaching labors, that were not to be intermitted till near Commencement, 1815. He came here as a bachelor; and thereby and thereafter hangs an interesting and instructive tale. Rev. Dr. James Cogswell, who was graduated at Yale in 1742, and who was a minister in Canterbury, married Alice Fitch, an aunt of Ebenezer. Their son, Samuel Cogswell, was about the same age with him. They were own cousins. Both were fitted for college by Dr. Cogswell, became college classmates in 1773, were graduated together in 1777, and were always very intimate friends and companions. Each, unknown to the other, fell in love with the same Connecticut girl, namely, Mary Backus, a daughter of Major Ebenezer Backus of Windham; and each, unbeknown to the other, made to her matrimonial offers at about the same time. She chose Cogswell, and married him. They lived in Lansingburg, New York, twenty-one miles as the crow flies due west from Williamstown. There were two children born to the Cogswells, Maria and James, when the father was accidentally shot dead, on a gunning party, by a friend and fellow-graduate of Yale, about the time that Fitch went to Williamstown. In May, 1792, Mrs. Cogswell was united in marriage with Preceptor Fitch, her children were treated by him as his own, and eleven others were added in the new family, ten of whom were sons, and three of these were born at a birth in May, 1807. Maria Cogswell married Major Douglass Sloan, only son of General Sloan here, and a graduate of the College in 1803. James Fitch Cogswell (a name that bears a meaning within it) was given a public education by his step-father, graduating in 1808. Two of the Fitch sons were also graduates of the College, Mason Cogswell Fitch in 1815, and Charles Fitch in 1818. Mrs. Fitch bore in her lifetime and afterward the reputation of a highly intelligent and amiable woman. She died in the family of her only daughter, Mrs. Lucy Fitch Folsom, in Cleveland, in November, 1834, about a year and a half after the death of her second husband in West Bloomfield. Her only words of present record are these, spoken shortly after his death, "A kinder husband the world never furnished, woman never had."

The Free School was opened for scholars Oct. 20, 1791. Very shortly it became unexpectedly popular, especially in its higher department for instruction in which a small tuition was charged, and in which the branches then usually taught in the New England

colleges were ostensibly professed. Preceptor Fitch was the only teacher at first in these higher branches; but then, he had been for several years senior tutor and librarian at Yale, and modestly considered himself and was properly considered by others competent to give such instruction. The locality with its adjoining regions in New York and Vermont was remote from any then existing higher institutions than the common school, the tuition was small, the means of living in Williamstown cheap, the hopefulness (one may even say buoyancy) of feeling in the whole country at the middle of Washington's first administration, and the strong reactions from war and a worthless paper money to peace and to a speedy prospect of gold and silver money from an independent mint of the people's own, — all these things conspired to give a spurt to the new school now housed in a commodious building and furnished with a competent head. For a couple of years or so something had been singing to some at least of the nine trustees, and something had been saying to Ebenezer Fitch, that the goal of all these counsels and strivings and aspirations was to be a college, and not a school, as the words were used in those days. Accordingly, whether previously and formally instructed thereto by the trustees or not, Preceptor Fitch presented to them at their meeting at Williamstown, May 22, 1792, for their approval and signature, the following petition to the General Court of Massachusetts. The hand of Fitch is very visible in and between the lines of this petition, and so is the hand of Daniel Dewey, then, and since 1787, and onwards till his death in 1815, a settled and able lawyer in Williamstown, and extremely serviceable to the College at all times and in many ways. Each one of the nine trustees signed this petition, and so authenticated its statements.

The Trustees of the donation of Ephraim Williams Esq., for maintaining a Free School in Williamstown, humbly show, that, partly out of the said donation, and partly by private subscriptions, and partly from the aid of a lottery, they have erected a large and convenient building within the said town of Williamstown, with lodging and study rooms sufficient to accommodate 100 students, besides a common school-room sufficient for 60 scholars, a dining-room that will accommodate 100 persons, a hall for public academical purposes [the Chapel], a room for a library, apparatus, &c., the whole being nearly finished. About six months have elapsed since they opened an English and Grammar school in said building, and the number is almost daily increasing. Your memorialists further show, that there are several circumstances attending the Free School in Williamstown, that are peculiarly favorable to a seminary of a more public and important nature. It is in a part of the country that abounds with a variety of the most substantial articles of provision, and, being remote from any public market, such articles of provision may always be afforded at a low price. This will naturally tend to lessen the expenses of instruction, and to render the

means of a liberal education more easy, and bring them more within the power of the middling and lower classes of citizens. Williamstown, being an enclosed place, will not be exposed to those temptations and allurements which are peculiarly incident to seaport towns: a rational hope may therefore be indulged that it will prove favorable to the morals and literary improvement of youth who may reside there. Your memorialists ask leave further to observe, that Yale and Dartmouth Colleges are both of them nearer to the County of Berkshire than Cambridge. Most of the youths in the counties of Hampshire and Berkshire who obtain a liberal education are sent to one or the other of those colleges, by means of which large sums of money are annually sent out of this Commonwealth for the purposes of education. The southerly part of Berkshire is contiguous to Connecticut. The town of Williamstown is bordering upon the most fertile parts of the States of New York and Vermont. If, therefore, a college was instituted in that town, such is its local position that great numbers of youth would probably resort there from the adjacent States, for the purpose of obtaining a liberal education. This would furnish an opportunity to extend culture and manners among the citizens of our sister States. It would, at the same time, be a resource of wealth, and add to the influence and wealth of Massachusetts. There being already two colleges within the Commonwealth [Maine was then a part of Massachusetts, but Bowdoin College did not receive its charter till 1794] cannot, as we humbly conceive, be a reasonable objection against the addition of a third, especially as the interest of the last, from its local situation, cannot interfere with either of the former. The interests of the whole will perfectly coincide, and like a threefold cord, mutually confirm and strengthen each other.

The University of Cambridge will always be considered as the parent of the other two, and from them will derive an additional degree of lustre and renown. We hope that it is a laudable wish we indnlge of seeing Massachusetts the Athens of the United States of America, to which young gentlemen from any part of the Union may resort for instruction in all the branches of useful and polite literature; and we cannot entertain the least doubt but that the object of our present memorial perfectly coincides with the object of such a wish. Your memorialists, therefore, humbly pray your Honors, that the Free School in Williamstown may be incorporated into a College by the name of Williams Hall, and that the nurturing, liberal hand of the Legislature may be extended to it by a grant of lands in the easterly part of the Commonwealth, or in such other way as to your Honors may seem fit.

William Williams		Tompson J. Skinner
Thedore Sedgwick		John Bacon
Woodbridge Little		Daniel Collins
	Seth Swift	
	Israel Jones	
	David Noble	

Just thirteen months to a day after this petition was signed at Williamstown, an Act of Incorporation changing the free school into a college, under the name of Williams College, was passed by the Legislature of the State. This act made all the trustees of the

school trustees of the new college, and added to their number Stephen West and Elijah Williams and Henry van Schaack and the president of the College for the time being. The Act allowed the board of trustees to consist thereafter of seventeen members, a limit that has never since been exceeded; empowered the body to fill all vacancies in their own ranks, that is to say, to become a self-perpetuating body; authorized them to confer the usual academic degrees and doctorates; and permitted them to hold corporate property, the annual income of which should not exceed the sum of $20,000. The next year after their incorporation the trustees completed their own number by choosing Philip Schuyler, Job Swift, Stephen van Rensselaer and Ammi Ruhamah Robbins as fellow-members. General Schuyler was not popular in New England throughout the Revolutionary War, but he had a firm friend and occasional correspondent in Colonel Simonds of Williamstown, and there can be but little doubt that his influence was felt in this election, added to the obvious interest of the College to secure friends and patrons in Albany and its vicinity. The same general influences brought about the election of Van Rensselaer, the patroon son-in-law to Schuyler, a man liberal to all learning, of remarkable personal merit, and of vast influence, local and political and military. Swift was then the pastor in Bennington, a near relative of the Williamstown pastor, a graduate of Yale in 1765, a trustee also of Dartmouth and Middlebury, a man of whom Dwight writes in his Travels, "he was one of the best and most useful men whom we knew; good men loved him and delighted in his society, and the worst men acknowledged his worth: to the churches and ministers of Vermont he was a patriarch." Robbins was the minister in Norfolk, Connecticut, for fifty-two years, a graduate of Yale in 1760, father of Thomas Robbins, who was graduated both here and at Yale in 1796, and father of two other sons, who were graduated here in 1802 and 1808 respectively. The connection thus knit in 1794 between Norfolk and the College has continued in a way pleasant and profitable to both from that day to this.

Had the Legislature of Massachusetts a legal and constitutional right to change in 1793 in so radical a way the charter granted by the General Court in 1785? This question has but little interest to anybody now, and perhaps never would have had a general interest, had it not been for the famous "Dartmouth College case," argued before the Supreme Court of the United States in 1818 by Daniel Webster and William Wirt and others. That case turned on the action of the Legislature of New Hampshire in 1816, changing the

charter of the College as it had been granted in 1769 by King George III., in a way in essential respects similar to this of 1793. The decision of Chief Justice Marshall hinged on a clause of the Constitution of the United States, forbidding the States to "pass any law impairing the obligation of contracts." The definition of the term "contract" was legally made to include the understanding had between public donors and public trustees receiving their benefactions. This decision has been of enormous benefit to public institutions of all kinds ever since, because rich men and all men have seen that gifts to public institutions, whether posthumous or living gifts, are under the shield of the Constitution of the United States. Nevertheless, perhaps it may be truly said, that the best legal ability of this country at present does not affix its seal of validity to the plea of Mr. Webster or the dictum of Judge Marshall. It is almost certain that, if those had been applied in their strictness to the proceedings here in 1793, the proceedings would have been overturned as thoroughly as those at Hanover were in 1819. Precisely how far the new charter for Williams College was *legally* questioned at that time does not now appear. That it was so questioned more or less, is made certain by arguments in rebuttal furnished by those who favored and brought about the change. "This act of the Legislature did not change the destination of the fund of the Free School (for that would necessarily imply an illegal exercise of power on the part of the Legislature), but it only extended the power and increased the capacity of the fund, so that it was still promotive of the views of the beneficent testator respecting his general object, namely, the dissemination of learning; and the particular one, the location at Williamstown. The Williamstown Free School Fund was at all times to be considered as the Stock, planted and rooted in Williamstown, on which public and private munificence might, from time to time, be engrafted. This construction of the will of Colonel Williams harmonizes with the views of the original trustees of the fund, and is strengthened and confirmed by the fact, that none of the residuary legatees of Colonel Williams ever claimed those funds or considered them as forfeited by any supposed illegal interference of the Legislature by the act of 1793." In the judgment of the present writer, a layman, it would not take an extraordinarily well-trained lawyer, nor even any man more than fairly acquainted with Mill's System of Logic, to pick in pieces this volunteered piece of reasoning.

But the objections *popularly* raised to the new charter for a college were instant and long-continued. The instinct of the survivors of Colonel Williams old compatriots and of the common farmers and

artisans of the place was quick and clear, that their children were practically thrown out from the benefits of the fund provided for them ostensibly and verbally by the will of the good colonel departed — killed in battle for his country. Copies of the will were sent for to Northampton, paid for, and carefully conned over and over, by these people. Their conviction became deep settled, that they and their children and children's children had been wronged in this matter by the manipulations of men more fortunate in life than themselves, and belonging to a class more privileged under the law than themselves. This popular sense of having been wronged in this matter soon mingled in with the politics of the times and place, and helped to make them bitter. It was not altogether without influence also on the theological controversies that raged throughout the Commonwealth in the last decade of the last century and in the first two decades of the present. The great case of the Classes *versus* the Masses was very thoroughly argued out in Massachusetts in those thirty years, to the manifest though gradual benefit of the defendants. The first one hundred years of the life of the College may be truly said to have been colored more or less by these early controversies between town and gown, between the always numerically small classes privileged under the law and the many robbed and wronged by such privileges; and it may be truly said also, that, so far as local disputes go from these causes, the close of that century has witnessed their decay and death. The old matters in controversy have died out. The relations between town and College are for the most part conciliatory and wholesome. The causes of present differences of opinion and action are mostly transient, and largely personal on the one side or the other. Good feeling prevails, as it ought to. The interests of the two are practically identical. The two started together, as it were, in the mind and prescient action of one man; they have grown up together, each leaning upon the other, and while their relations, of course, are by no means so intimate as formerly, the grounds of possible friction between them are diminished in a still greater ratio. The charter of 1793 will now be given in its entirety, together with the Act of 1883 amendatory thereto.

CHAPTER XV. An act to establish a college in the County of Berkshire, within this Commonwealth, by the name of Williams College.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives, in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, that there be erected and established in the town of Williamstown, in the County of Berkshire, a college, for the purpose of educating youth, to be called and known by the name of Williams

College, to be under the government and regulation of a body politic and corporate, as hereafter in this act is provided.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that John Bacon, Esq., Rev. Daniel Collins, Israel Jones, Woodbridge Little, David Noble, Theodore Sedgwick, Tompson J. Skinner, Esquires, Rev. Seth Swift, Henry Vanscaak, Esq., Rev. Stephen West, D.D., William Williams and Elijah Williams, Esquires, together with the president of the said college for the time being, to be chosen as in this act is hereafter directed, be, and hereby are created a body politic and corporate, by the name of the "President and Trustees of Williams College," and that they and their successors, and such others as shall be duly elected members of the said corporation, shall be and remain a body politic and corporate, by that name forever.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that for the more orderly conducting the business of the said corporation, the president and trustees shall have full power and authority, from time to time, as they shall determine, to elect a vice-president and secretary of the said corporation, and to declare the tenures and duties of their respective offices, and also to remove any trustee from the said corporation, when, in their judgment, he shall be rendered incapable, by age or otherwise, of discharging the duties of his office, or shall neglect or refuse to perform the same, and to fill up all vacancies in the said corporation, by electing such persons for trustees as they shall judge best. Provided, nevertheless, that the number of the said trustees, including the president of the said college, for the time being, shall never be greater than seventeen nor less than eleven.

And be it further enacted, that the said corporation may have one common seal, which they may change, break or renew at their pleasure; and that all deeds signed and delivered by the treasurer, and sealed with their seal, by order of the president and trustees, shall, when made in their corporate name, be considered in law as the deed of the said corporation; and that the said corporation may sue and be sued in all actions, real, personal or mixed, and may prosecute and defend the same to final judgment and execution, by the name of the president and trustees of Williams College; and that the said corporation shall be capable of having, holding and taking in fee simple, or any less estate by gift, grant, devise or otherwise, any lands, tenements or other estate, real or personal. Provided, nevertheless, that the annual clear income of the same shall not exceed the sum of six thousand pounds.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the said corporation shall have full power and authority to determine at what times and places their meetings shall be holden, and on the manner of notifying the trustees to convene at such meetings; and also, from time to time, elect a president and treasurer of said college, and such professors, tutors, instructors and other officers of the said college as they shall judge most for the interest thereof, and to determine the duties, salaries, emoluments and tenures of their several offices aforesaid: the said president, for the time being, when elected and inducted into his office, to be, ex-officio, president of the said corporation. And the said corporation are further empowered to purchase or erect, and keep in repair, such houses and other buildings as they shall judge necessary for the said college; and also to make and ordain, as occasion may require, reasonable rules, orders and by-laws, not repugnant to the laws of this Commonwealth,

with reasonable penalties, for the good government of the said college; and also to determine and prescribe the mode of ascertaining the qualifications of the students, requisite to their admission; and also to confer such degrees as are usually conferred by universities established for the education of youth. Provided, nevertheless, that no corporate business shall be transacted at any meeting, unless seven, at least, of the trustees are present; and provided further, that the said corporation shall confer no degree other than those of Bachelor of Arts and Master of Arts, until after the first day of January, which shall be in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the clear rents, issues and profits of all the estate, real and personal, of which the said corporation shall be seized or possessed, shall be appropriated to the endowment of the said college, in such manner as shall most effectually promote virtue and piety, and the knowledge of such of the languages, and of the liberal arts and sciences as shall hereafter be directed, from time to time, by the said corporation.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the Hon. Tompson J. Skinner, Esq., be, and he is hereby authorized and empowered to fix the time and place for holding the first meeting of the said corporation, of which he shall give notice by an advertisement in the Stockbridge newspapers, at least fourteen days previous thereto.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the treasurer of the said college shall, before he enter upon the execution of the duties of his office, give bonds to the said corporation, with such sums, and with such sureties as they shall approve of, conditioned for the faithful discharge of the said office, and for rendering a just and true account of his doings therein, when required. And that all the money, securities and other property of the president and trustees of Williams College, together with all the books in which his accounts and proceedings as treasurer were entered and kept, that shall be in his hands at the expiration of his office, shall, upon demand made upon him, his executors or administrators, be paid and delivered over to his successor in that office. And all monies recovered by virtue of any suit at law, upon said bond, shall be paid over to the president and trustees aforesaid, and subjected to the appropriation above directed in this act.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the Legislature of this Commonwealth may grant any further powers to, or alter, limit, annul or restrain any of the powers by this act vested in the said corporation, as shall be judged necessary to promote the best interests of the said college; and, more especially, may appoint and establish overseers or visitors, of the said college, with all necessary powers and authorities for the better aid, preservation and government thereof.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all the property, real and personal, belonging to the trustees of Williamstown Free School, be, and the same hereby is vested in the corporation, which by this act is created.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that there be, and hereby is granted to the trustees of Williams College, for the use, benefit and purpose of supporting said college, twelve hundred pounds, to be paid out of the treasury of this Commonwealth; three hundred pounds of the same to be paid the first day of September, one thousand seven hundred ninety-three, and three

hundred pounds annually, on the first day of September, for the three succeeding years.

[This act passed June 22, 1793.]

ACT OF 1883. An act to authorize the president and trustees of Williams College to hold additional real and personal estate.

[Be it enacted, etc., as follows:]

SECTION 1. The proviso in section 4 of the act establishing Williams College, passed on the twenty-second day of June in the year seventeen hundred and ninety-three, is hereby amended so as to read: "Provided, nevertheless, that the clear annual income of the same shall not exceed two hundred thousand dollars."

SECTION 2. This act shall take effect upon its passage.

[Approved March 9, 1883.]

By this charter, the Legislature, by its own authority, added three ordinary trustees to the old board of the Free School; namely, Elijah Williams, and Stephen West, and Henry Van Schaack; and one ex-officio member, namely, the president of the College for the time being.

COLONEL ELIJAH WILLIAMS.
Deceased June, 1815, aged 83.

Elijah Williams was a half-brother to the Founder, being the youngest of the second brood of children, as the Founder was the eldest of the first. He was born Nov. 15, 1732, the same year with Washington, spent all but the first five years of his life in Stockbridge, and died there June 9, 1815. He ultimately came into possession of much of the father's real estate in Stockbridge, most of which had passed through the ownership of the Founder. He was not quite twenty-three years old when the Founder was killed at Lake George; and his only own brother, Josiah, two years older, was desperately wounded in the same action. Twenty years later, at the opening of the Revolution, Elijah Williams sold the old Williams farm in Stockbridge, and made a large purchase of land in what became under his enterprise West Stockbridge village, where he built for himself a fine house, still standing, and married, rather late in life, Sophia Partridge of Dalton, by whom he had one son, who deceased without issue. He acquired a large property, was colonel in the militia, the first sheriff of the county of Berkshire, an

office which he resigned in 1774, probably on account of the well-known toryism of the entire Williams family. He continued, however, to hold in a high degree the respect of his Berkshire neighbors, as did also, under similar circumstances, his cousin William Williams of Dalton. The two served usefully together upon the board of trustees until, in 1802, becoming seventy years old, Elijah Williams resigned. William Williams continued a member till his death in 1808. In the meantime, in 1804, another member of the same general family, John Williams of Deerfield, a grandson of the Redeemed Captive, was chosen a trustee and served for ten years. Elijah Williams may have kept in his own possession a part or the whole of his father's fine homestead on Stockbridge Hill about half a mile north of the present meeting-house. At any rate, about a dozen years before his death, he moved thither, and lived nearest neighbor to his brother-in-law, Stephen West, who certainly lived on the old plot of ground on the hill given to Ephraim Williams, Senior, by the General Court in 1737, and on which he built his Stockbridge house.

Stephen West, the second of the State appointees of 1793, became very prominent in the impulse and management of the College till his resignation in 1812. At the first meeting of the new board, Aug. 6, 1793, all the trustees being present, West was unanimously chosen vice-president, an office (not a sinecure) which he held for nineteen years. Connecticut born, a graduate of Yale in 1755, connected as a chaplain with Fort Massachusetts for about a year in its decline, he was summoned to Stockbridge as preacher and pastor in November, 1758, and continued in those relations till his dismission in August, 1818, a period of a little less than sixty years. He succeeded Jonathan Edwards in the pastoral relation both to Indians and the whites. There were then forty-two Indian families and eighteen white families in Stockbridge. Calvin Durfee in his "Annals" says proudly of Stephen West: "A few years after his settlement in Stockbridge a very essential change took place in his religious opinions and feelings: from being an Arminian he became a thorough Hopkinsian: he was now distinguished for his spirituality." The same author speaks further in the same connection: "He was a man of such uncommon intellectual powers that he was at home in the depths of metaphysical discussions, or when analyzing and unfolding the most difficult passages in the writings of Isaiah or Paul." Another account of this same change is more intelligible, and therefore somewhat more rational. In Field's "History of Berkshire," under the sub-title, Stockbridge, it is said in substance, that when Stephen

West was settled in Stockbridge, there were but four other settled ministers in the county; namely, Hubbard of Sheffield, Strong of New Marlborough, Bidwell of Tyringham, and Samuel Hopkins of Great Barrington. Hopkins was the nearest, and with him West contracted an early and intimate and (as the result shows) a very happy friendship. The structure of their minds was somewhat similar. Both were fond of discussion and research. West was dissatisfied with what his predecessor, Edwards, had written on the Freedom of the Will, and on many points relative to the distinguishing doctrines of Grace. These became the topics of free and repeated conversation, and of profound metaphysical discussion between them. The effect was that West gave up his hope of a personal interest in Christ, which he had long entertained, and which he had professed before men; and was convinced that while he had undertaken the charge of souls, his own soul had been neglected.

The truth about this whole proceeding and its subsequents, which both Field and Durfee regard as peculiarly Christian and divine, seems to be, that Samuel Hopkins was a more subtle metaphysician than Stephen West, and was able to perplex and finally to silence his friend in discussions on matters of which neither knew anything; namely, "fixed fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute." Both were intensely interested in devising and determining what they were pleased to call the "Divine Plan of Salvation," a subject of which our blessed Lord, as reported in the Gospels, said nothing; and which weak and changing human language in its best estate would be unable to bear the weight of, even if the weak and limited powers of man were able to grapple with it. What men needed at that time and what they need at all times, is, to find and embrace and cling to and take the risks with a personal Saviour. One of the last texts which these constructive New England theologians with Edwards at their head would naturally have dwelt on in their teaching, is this, "*God so loved the world that he gave the only begotten Son, that every one who believeth in him may not perish, but may have everlasting life;*" and another is this, "*This is the work of God, that ye believe in him whom he sent.*" Happily there is not a man in Berkshire County to-day who can tell what it was to be a "Hopkinsian," or who cares a copper to find out. More Christian and more Scriptural, and hence more practical and religious, inquiries occupy the thought and impel the action of this generation.

Samuel Hopkins and Stephen West were, nevertheless, conscientious and useful men in their day. Through the influence of the latter, the former's "System of Divinity" was read for a time as

one of the text-books for the Senior class in the new college. In March, 1797, President Fitch wrote: "In future we shall read Doddridge's Lectures in lieu of Hopkins's System." What brought about that change? The following letter from West to Hopkins, dated Stockbridge, Sept. 19, 1797, gives a penetrative view into the theological views of that time and locality.

> You spoke in your last of our having prohibited your System being recited in Williams College. It is true, the trustees have prohibited it. It was introduced as a classical study without the order of the Corporation. The President introduced it because, as he told me, he thought it much exceeded anything of the kind he had seen. But the civilian part of the board, it seems, were of another opinion. They judged that it being recited would be injurious to the reputation of our new Institution. The matter was considerably discussed. The clerical part of the board [Fitch, West, Collins, Seth Swift, Job Swift, Robbins] were all of one mind; and were greatly opposed to its being rejected. But when the vote for its rejection was taken, every hand was up [Bacon, Jones, Noble, Little, Skinner, Van Schaak, William Williams, Elijah Williams, Van Rensselaer] excepting those of the ministers. Though the world seems to be made for Cæsar, yet we know that Zion's God reigns. The time is not yet come for truth to prevail. But in God's good time it surely will come. The Evil One intends to hold the college, but the Lord will support his own cause.

Although this was a private and confidential letter between intimate friends, one cannot let it pass even at this late day without remarking the uncharitableness of judgment of those who claimed "disinterested benevolence" as their distinctive principle, towards those who differed from them theologically or otherwise. Two-thirds of his colleagues on the board of trustees, men of high character and intelligence, thought it best to change the text-book in theology; and after open and full discussion, voted to substitute Doddridge for Hopkins, whereupon their vice-president writes the latter, an interested outsider, "The world seems to be made for Cæsar, yet we know that Zion's God reigns." The same individual admits in the same letter, that these his colleagues "judged that it being recited would be injurious to the reputation of our new Institution." What better motive than that could the trustees of any institution act under? Yet this charitable colleague writes of their open action, "The time is not yet come for truth to prevail." And more, even, than this flows from the same pen at the same time on the same ground of judgment, "The Evil One intends to hold the college, but the Lord will support his own cause." The principle of Protestantism is the right of private judgment in matters religious. Hopkins and West and all the high Orthodox in New England called themselves Protestants, and be-

lieved themselves to be such to the core, but practically they were unwilling to tolerate any man's "private judgment" that differed from their own. They virtually claimed infallibility for themselves, and easily passed over the other fellows to the "Evil One." "Orthodoxy" was their particular "doxy," and the "doxy" of the others was Heterodoxy and Heresy. It was this abominable religious intolerance coupled with an equally abominable coveting of special privileges under the Law for themselves and their "set," that caused the downfall in New England of the "old Order" so-called. They lost in good time and to the benefit of all parties both their religious and political precedence.

In another connection altogether, Dr. West appears to better advantage, in describing the argumentative method of his friend and spiritual guide, Dr. Hopkins. "His manner in dispute was unusually mild, fair and moderate; far from being overbearing, he gave every just advantage to his opponent, patiently hearing whatever he advanced in favor of his opinions, and giving him full opportunity to vindicate them by every argument he thought favorable. The doctor often by these means convinced and gained over his opposers; when, had his manner been austere and overbearing, however conclusive his argument, the opposing party would have remained unconvinced, and received no benefit."

There were some special reasons, however, why some of these trustees were personally opposed to the furtherance of the theology of Hopkins, which was presumed to be only a modification of that of Jonathan Edwards, whom the Williams family as such had sturdily opposed in his pastoral and theological struggles at Northampton, and later and more face to face in the same at Stockbridge. Hopkins had succeeded Edwards in a sort of theological leadership in southern Berkshire; while it was rightly understood at the time that West had come to Stockbridge as an opponent of the stringent tenets of his predecessor. Now West had become the champion of all that had been most offensive to the Williams influence on the Connecticut, and later on the upper Housatonic. Should, accordingly, that influence, now directly represented in the board of trustees by Deacon William Williams of Dalton and Colonel Elijah Williams of Stockbridge, and indirectly by several more, give their consent that the hated doctrines should be enthroned in a school founded by one of their own number in a town called by their own name? Whether "the Evil One intended to hold the college," or not, it is very plain that those who had been chiefly instrumental in establishing it "intended to hold" it clear from special theologic

views, which they had stiffly opposed for a whole generation. And they very properly did so. And they did so in such a degree and for such a length of time as makes the statement of Durfee and others, that "Williams College was early and intimately associated with those views of theology which were advocated and defended by Dr. Samuel Hopkins," untrue; and still more untrue the further statement in the same connection,[1] that "its early missionary zeal was the result or fruit of its [this] theology: the one was the precursor of the other: they stood related as cause and effect."

The third, and only remaining, charter-appointee to the Board of Trustees was Henry van Schaack, at that time of Pittsfield. He was a Dutchman, born in Kinderhook in 1733. He was a brave soldier and officer in the last French War; and is said to have been in three bloody conflicts in one day. He was a man of remarkable fearlessness and of great physical endurance. The French War well over, he engaged in the fur trade, first at Niagara and then at Detroit, where he lived many years in the beginnings of that now beautiful city, and became like others of his class very rich. About 1770 he came back into his native region and settled in Pittsfield, where he resided more than twenty years. As he was rich and had no children, some of the trustees fondly indulged the hope that he would endow the College with at least a portion of his property. "In vain is the snare set in the sight of any bird." He continued till 1816 to be nominally at least a member of the board. Whether he attended their sessions or not does not appear. Certainly he endowed the College with no portion of his estate. About 1806, he returned to his native place, and died there in 1823, aged 90 years. President Martin van Buren, a native and resident of the same place, knew him well in his later years, and communicated to the College some of above-mentioned facts in relation to him.

The charter for the College was obtained in the early summer of 1793; and in October, just two years from the opening of the Free School, the formal organization for college instruction was begun by the admission of three small classes out of the more advanced pupils of the Free School, and probably a few others who came then for the first time to enter. This beginning of college instruction and other cognate beginnings had been prepared for by a meeting at Williamstown, August 6, of the new and enlarged board, all the trustees being present. The charter itself had prescribed to Colonel Skinner of Williamstown the duty of calling this meeting, and of advertising the date of it beforehand in the Stockbridge newspaper.

[1] See Durfee's *Sketch of Rev. Ebenezer Fitch, D.D.*, p. 46.

This appears to be the first official mention of Stockbridge in the records of the College; but from that time till the close of its first century, in one intimate relation or another, that town has been prominently associated with the College and its town. It has often been said, that all four of the first class of graduates (1795) were from Stockbridge; but closer local research reveals the fact that one of the four lived in Lenox, but just on the border of Stockbridge. The principal votes passed by the board at this its initial meeting, and recorded by their secretary, Daniel Dewey, are the following:—

Voted,

That Commencement be on the first Wednesday in September.

That a grammar school be connected with the college.

That the salary of the President be £140, and the corporation provide him with a house.

That Messrs. Skinner, Swift, and Noble, be a committee to counsel the President.

That Mr. Noah Linsley be appointed Tutor with a salary of £65 per annum, and Mr. Nathaniel Steel Master of the grammar school with a salary of £60.

That each person who applies for admission [as a Freshman] be able to accurately read, parse, and construe to the satisfaction of the President and Tutor, Virgil's Æneid, Tully's Orations, and the Evangelists in Greek; or, if he prefers to become acquainted with French, he must be able to read and pronounce with a tolerable degree of accuracy and fluency, Hudson's French Scholar's Guide, Telemachus, or some other approved French author.

Fitch and Linsley, the latter a graduate of Yale in 1791, thus constituted the faculty for the first year. For the next two years (1794–96), there were three tutors, Elijah Dunbar and Dan Huntington and Daniel Dunbar, the first being senior tutor, and the others graduates of Yale in 1794. The next two years, Henry Davis (Yale, 1794), afterward president both of Middlebury and Hamilton, and Jeremiah Day (Yale, 1795), afterward the very distinguished president of Yale, were tutors. During a part of those two years, Chauncy Lusk (Williams, 1795), was also a tutor, in sole charge of the Sophomore class, giving instruction the first term of his service in Horace, Guthrie's Geography, and Pike's Arithmetic. He became a lawyer, settled in Lanesboro, and died there of consumption in 1803.

It is certain that some students from Canada came hither at the opening of the Free School in 1791. The vote of the trustees in 1793, offering to all the option of French in lieu of Greek, shows the drift of public opinion at that time. Along the same line lies the appointment in 1795 of the first professor in the College, Samuel Mackay, Professor of the French Language. French was his native

tongue, and the testimony is concurrent that he excelled in the teaching of it in College. He was born in Chambly, Canada, in 1764, and died in Sullivan, Maine, in 1831. He held his professorship but four years, and it was discontinued thereafter. The circumstances under which Professor Mackay left the College in 1799, although they are imperfectly understood, have never reflected any discredit upon him, but rather the reverse: the number of pupils in the College naturally desirous of taking French, and the degree of their preparation to receive instruction at the hands of an accomplished vernacular scholar, were necessarily meagre at the outset; there seems to have been a certain lack of dignity in his manner in conjunction with an unwonted enthusiasm in teaching, as is illustrated by the story of the late Professor Kingsley of Yale College, who was a student here from 1795 to 1797, who used to say that Professor Mackay once undertook to examine the seniors in Paley's "Moral Philosophy," and his first sudden question was, "*Vat is the vite lie?*" This question at that point raised so much laughter, that he had difficulty in proceeding with the incongruous exercise. In his own language, however, he was a successful instructor, and much respected. His gentlemanly manners were of much service to the College in its crude beginnings. His wife was the daughter of the right honorable Chartier, Marquis de Lotbinière, who died in New York, Oct. 7, 1798, and was buried there in the Potter's Field. When Mrs. Mackay lay upon her own deathbed here about four years later, she requested that her father's name and title, and the time and place of his death, might be inscribed upon her own tombstone in the then new cemetery on Hemlock Brook, and it was so inscribed; and already for almost a century, townspeople and strangers have read the touching filial line in connection with the daughter's own still perfectly legible epitaph, which runs in elegance as follows: —

ERECTED IN MEMORY
OF
MARIA LOUISA CHARTIER DE LOTBINIÈRE,
WIFE OF
CAPT. SAMUEL MACKAY,
U. S. INFANTRY.
SHE DIED JULY 10, 1802,
AGED 41.

On another side of this marble monument is another tender epitaph, which, in connection with the two others, helps makes this stone perhaps the most memorable within the valley.

THE LAST PLEDGE OF PARENTAL TENDERNESS,
ERECTED JULY 14, 1796,
BY HER DISCONSOLATE PARENTS
TO THEIR INFANT DAUGHTER,
NOW MOULDERING IN THIS DUST,
LOUISA MACKAY.

These parents had a son named Samuel Metcalf Mackay, born in Bennington, April 3, 1793, before their coming to Williamstown, who himself came to have afterward intimate relations with the College and the county. He was educated in the College, but for some reason was not graduated with his class. The College, however, bestowed on him the honorary degree of M. A. in 1823. He was a law student in Boston, but entered (like his father) the regular army of the United States in the war of 1812, and rose from the rank of lieutenant to that of major. At the close of the war, he became a citizen of Pittsfield, and colonel in the militia. He became also prominent in civil life, and represented his town and district repeatedly in both branches of the State Legislature. He was appointed by Governor Lincoln Commissioner of Education, and in 1827, a member of the first board of Massachusetts Railroad Commissioners. He was a man of pronounced opinions, of definite aims, and of great energy. He died in 1834 of consumption, doubtless the mortal disease of his mother.

In the journal of Thomas Robbins, then a senior in College, are found two references to this little Louisa Mackay. "The professor lost his youngest child. Very pretty. Attended the funeral of Mr. Mackay's child." This language displays the fact that the father was the only person then in College who bore the title of "Professor"; and that all the rest of the instruction was given by the president and tutors. We like to linger a little longer before closing the earthly record of the first professor in Williams College. He was chosen professor of the French language September 2, 1795, and resigned the post Sept. 3, 1799. The thanks of the corporation were presented to him and are on record, "for his faithful service." At the same time and without any reasons given for their votes, the corporation repealed the proviso in the laws of the College adopted Oct. 20, 1794, permitting the substitution of French for Greek at the option of the student entering, and further "resolved, that the professorship for the instruction of the French language heretofore established be and hereby is abolished." Can a guess be safely hazarded, or an inference be logically drawn, that shall at once explain this action of the trustees and their silence as to the grounds of it?

During the years 1797 and 1798, owing to outrageous spoliations on American commerce authorized by the French Directory and committed on the seas by French privateers, the United States was on the eve of a war with France. Public opinion turned very much against that country. A special house-tax, to help meet the cost of a war that was imminent, was levied by Congress and apportioned among the States in accordance with the Constitution. The assessment for this purpose on the houses in Williamstown was made to take effect on Oct. 1, 1798. Under such circumstances as these, could it be regarded as a proper thing to emphasize instruction in the French language, and to maintain a professor for that purpose, in a new and struggling college, every man connected with the control of which being specially and heavily taxed to go to war with the French nation? If this conjecture may be allowed, another and a cognate one is made easier, namely, that Samuel Mackay enlisted into the regular army under the war fever that pervaded New England at the close of his professorship, for we certainly find him as captain, United States Infantry, in 1802. He continued his legal residence in Williamstown till 1804; for among the "Intentions of Marriage" published in that year is found "Captain Samuel Mackay of Williamstown and Mrs. Eunice Seaman of Gouldsborough, Hancock County" (Maine).

CHAPTER III.

TOWN AND COLLEGE TILL THE SEMI-CENTENNIAL.

The egg unquickened and the futile bloom
Are types repeated there forevermore:
Unfinished is the fabric in the loom;
Uproofed to heaven the palace built in yore,
Unmatched the gleaming marbles of its floor.
And as wide Nature and the works of man,
So is the man unto his bosom's core:
His words die off that with warm speech began,
His thoughts defile away, a visionary clan.

—EDITH M. THOMAS.

THE writer has now reached in the detailed composition of his text the beginnings of the third chapter in his book to be entitled "Williamstown and Williams College." The book that paved the way for this, of which this is but the continuation and the completion, is entitled "Origins in Williamstown." That book has been in the hands of the public an entire year. The interest excited in its pages has been confined for the most part to those who have been connected with the town in the way of residence or ancestry, and to those who have been connected in some way with the College as a flourishing educational institution. These two factors of interest have been blended from the first, the civil and the educational, and there has been no motive to separate the two into distinct strands of construction. Ephraim Williams conceived of the township as one to be called after his own name, at the same time that he conceived of the Free School to be maintained out of funds of his own provision for the benefit of the sons of those men with whom he himself had taken civil risks in land purchases and bodily risks in siege and battle. The executors of his last will and testament, Israel Williams of Hatfield and John Worthington of Springfield, held themselves bound to but one general charge in faithfully caring for the township and its name in 1765, and for the Free School and its permanent organization in 1785. Town and school influenced each other more and more in every attempted lift of each from the very beginning; and coalesced more and more into one movement, and, as it were, into

one existence. The town cannot be truly and graphically depicted in its civil and social relations without delineating, at the same time, the shifting features of that institution of learning that has drawn so much attention to its own local environment; and the lines of the College would be necessarily awry if drawn without constant and sympathetic reference to the kindred growths, both political and ecclesiastical, going on at once around it and by means of it. It does not make much difference whether we begin now with town or gown; there must be a vital passing and repassing from one to the other, and the action and reaction of each upon the other must be made visible and striking, if either is to appear as it was, and both as they have come to be.

From the day when Ebenezer Fitch, then thirty-five years old, entered the little hamlet in October, 1791, to become the bachelor preceptor of the inchoate Free School; and particularly from the day when, six months later, he brought into town as his wife Mrs. Mary Cogswell, the widow of his college classmate and most intimate friend, and adopted as his own her two children, Maria and James, he began to exert an influence personal and official and social and political and ecclesiastical at once, in the way of leadership, as toward a part of the small community just coming into a conscious life, and at the same time in the way of opposition to another vital part of the same community. The principal cleavage was along political lines. The Federal Convention of 1787 had formed at Philadelphia a national Constitution, which was full of compromises as between individual States and the aggregate people of the thirteen States, as between slavery and its alleged interests and the growing demands of human rights as such, as between commerce and restrictions upon it, and between property and personality as having each its respective weight in the practical administration of affairs. The party calling itself Federalist had carried on the national government from 1789 to 1801, and no very sharp, at least no thoroughly consistent, lines could be maintained between that party as such, and the party calling itself Republican or Democratic, that had been aligning itself in opposition in all these years under the masterful leadership of Thomas Jefferson. In his own inaugural address as President in 1801, Jefferson states what he deems the fundamental principles of government in this country, and while claiming them as his own and those of his party, he ascribes them also with astonishing facility and liberality to his fellow-citizens as a whole. "*We have called by different names brethren of the same principle. We are all Republicans; we are all Federalists. Equal*

and exact justice to all men, of whatever State or persuasion, religious or political ; peace, commercial and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none ; the support of the State governments in all their rights, as the most competent administrations for our domestic concerns, and the surest bulwarks against anti-republican tendencies ; the preservation of the general government in its whole constitutional vigor, as the sheet-anchor of our peace at home and safety abroad ; a jealous care of the right of election by the people, a mild and safe corrective of abuses which are lopped off by the sword of revolution where peaceable remedies are unprovided ; absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority, the vital principle of republics, from which is no appeal but to force, the vital principle and immediate parent of despotism; all will bear in mind this sacred principle, that though the will of the majority is in all cases to prevail, that will, to be rightful, must be reasonable, that is, the minority must still hold their equal rights ; a well-disciplined militia, our best reliance in peace, and for the first moments in war, till regulars may relieve them ; the supremacy of the civil over the military authority; economy in the public expense, that labor may be lightly burdened ; the honest payment of our debts, and sacred preservation of the public faith ; encouragement of agriculture, and of commerce as its handmaid ; the diffusion of information, and arraignment of all abuses at the bar of the public reason ; freedom of religion ; freedom of the press ; and freedom of the person, under the protection of the HABEAS CORPUS; *and trial by juries impartially selected."*

At the close of the last, and the opening of the present century, the clergy in Massachusetts and Connecticut were virtually settled for life, and naturally took on themselves some of the functions of an aristocracy, and roused themselves in some opposition to a claim, — then indeed but timidly urged, but long ago everywhere triumphant, — namely, a change that should leave the appointment and maintenance of the ministers to the direct order of the congregations. To remove Jonathan Edwards from his church in Northampton in 1750, contrary to the views of the hierarchy that had ordained him there in 1727, caused a tremendous upheaval of the central valley of the Connecticut River. A very large majority of the ministers and lawyers of New England naturally allied themselves with the Federalist party ; indeed, they became and continued the leaders of it. On the other hand, the opposers of the system which maintained the ministers in a position of public privilege, — a system clearly in opposition to the general drift of Democratic institutions, — naturally allied themselves with the followers of Jefferson, that is, with the

Republican party. In its wide and influential ramifications along the Connecticut and to the west of it, the Williams family had come to be opposed to the hierarchical view in the churches, and considerably to the political views of the Federalists. But it was more especially the young men, the young farmers and artisans and doctors, who became the strength of the Democratic party in western Massachusetts and who imbibed from the wholesome writings of Jefferson (more wholesome by much than his suspicious intrigues), those doctrines of the equality of privilege before the law of all classes of men, which have given the prevailing political and ecclesiastical tone to New England. Generalizations are not easy here; sharp lines cannot be confidently drawn; the New England clergy were slandered beyond, as well as truthfully exhibited within, their aristocratical tendencies; while Jefferson was caricatured in New England to ridiculous extremes, religiously and politically and socially, as well as at the same time held up by others to admiration as a scientist, a political economist, and a philosophical statesman.

When Ebenezer Fitch came to Williamstown to open his School, the French Revolution had been for two years in full career, all the more imperfectly understood on this side the water because it came largely in direct consequence of the American Revolution and its influences of the decade preceding. The political lines were not very quickly and never very sharply drawn as between the trustees of the School and the College in their relations with each other and with the town as such. But the lines were there, hazy and shifting perhaps, from the very beginning. Fitch was a Federalist in every fibre of the man. So was Swift, the pastor of the village church. So particularly and emphatically was Theodore Sedgwick of Sheffield. On the other hand, T. J. Skinner of Williamstown, a young mechanic and Freemason, gifted beyond his peers with the powers of effective speech, was the most pronounced and consequently promoted Democrat in the county of Berkshire. With him stood, particularly in all the religious aspects of the division, William Williams of Dalton and Elijah Williams of Stockbridge. Rather with Fitch and Sedgwick, than with Skinner and Williams, would naturally have gone Collins of Lanesboro, and Swift of Bennington, and Robbins of Norfolk, while Bacon of Stockbridge, Little of Pittsfield, and Noble of Williamstown, more perhaps as laymen than otherwise, would have swerved against the ministers.

The political strifes in the town waxed extremely warm, and proved themselves uncommonly persistent, and issued with only occasional intermissions in favor of the Democratic party. Skinner

was a natural leader of the masses of men, and specifically a leader of men working their way out from under what they thought and what really was a sort of priestly domination. His personal rise in politics was phenomenal, and has never yet been repeated in Massachusetts. It is never likely to be. One might almost say, it is impossible that it ever should be. Several of the young farmers and artisans and professionals here, who served with him as subaltern officers in the Revolution, took substantially the same political views with Skinner, and both helped him forward and found occasion thereby to raise themselves. Samuel Kellogg and Absalom Blair and William Towner may stand as representative of scores of these intelligent and pushing young Democrats. The author of the Declaration of Independence had become a favorite writer and an acknowledged guide in statesmanship to considerable classes of men in New England, who of course know nothing about his feminine and culpable and contemptible operations in partisanship. President Fitch and Pastor Swift and Judge Sedgwick looked with extreme disfavor upon the political opinions and combinations and official elevations of these men. It was not then so well understood as it is now, and it is not now so well known as it ought to be, that natural temperament and historical training and local tendencies have so much to do with political predilections and persistences. President Fitch and his Federalist neighbors did not know how to meet these young men with proper concessions and conservative arguments. They did not themselves fully understand (classes privileged under the law rarely do understand) the grievances complained of under the plea of God-given equalities. It was much easier and more self-righteous for them to dilate on the excesses of the French Revolution, on the fact that Jefferson had been much French-domiciled and largely French-educated, and on these devilish falsehoods then busily circulated in New England that he was himself an infidel in respect to Christianity and a wanton in practical morals.

There is a curious and yet credible statement that has come down to posterity through Giles B. Kellogg, a graduate of the College in 1829, as to what occurred at dinner at the table of President Fitch on the day that Thomas Jefferson was first inaugurated President of the United States. That day was March 4, 1801. Dr. Fitch's house was of course the social centre in Williamstown ever after his marriage in May, 1792, with Mrs. Cogswell. David Noble gave the College an acre of land fronting on the Main Street where Hopkins Hall now stands for the president's house, and it was soon

erected by the College for the use of Fitch and his successors, and is still standing on another part of the same acre, and is constantly occupied by a professor as a tenant of the College. President Fitch was hospitable, and entertained beyond his pecuniary means. On the day in question he had two or three gentlemen as guests, each of whom was a Federalist, one or two of these college teachers, and a chance guest also in the person of Isabella Blair, afterward the second wife of Samuel Kellogg, 2d. The Blairs were Scotch-Irish people, as a rule quicker in their wits than their average neighbors, and more likely than they to be readers of books. The Blairs here intermarried with the Bacons and also with the Kelloggs. All three families were Republicans so-called, and all were able on occasion to hold their own in argument or retort with Federalists, a part of whose outfit was a sense of superiority in some ways over their political opponents. Mrs. Fitch and Isabella Blair were the only ladies at the table. The latter was no common woman. She had the faculty of conversation and anecdote; and used to keep a sort of record or diary of talks heard or had with President Fitch or other notable persons. This record was burned with the Kellogg law office in Troy in 1883; but Mr. Kellogg remembers hearing her describe orally what occurred at this dinner in 1801. The gentlemen deemed it proper to retail to each other in the presence of the two ladies some of the vile and foul scandals and slanders of the late campaign, as these had been made current in New England, in relation to the private life of Jefferson, for political ends. Isabella Blair was better informed, as well as more pure-minded. She stood the talk as long as she could in silence, and then, fixing sharp eyes upon them, said, "*You may be good scholars, but you are no gentlemen!*" This story exhibits some of the limitations of Ebenezer Fitch as a public man and as a private host. He was not broadly intelligent enough to understand the bearings of the great questions on which parties were divided at first during the last decade of the eighteenth century, on which or some of which they have remained substantially divided for one hundred years (only acting under different names which are always superficial under such circumstances), and on which also they are divided in some substantial part now as the nineteenth century is going out. To suppose, as Fitch did, that more than one-half of the citizens of the United States, including more than one-half of the citizens of Williamstown, were impelled by unworthy motives and had insufficient grounds for political action in the memorable campaign of 1800, was to make plain his own incapacity to penetrate the real drift of public men and measures in

that important interval of time between Independence and the second war with Great Britain. As always happens under such circumstances, the truth lay between the great political leaders. Both parties were largely right, and partly wrong; otherwise there could not have arisen, and been long maintained, two great popular parties.

This dinner incident of 1801 makes it plain also, what was abundantly proven otherwise, that Fitch was too reserved and diffident a man to make a good host, or even to guide in a dominant way the conversation at his own table so as to protect the ladies of his family from unpleasant and indecent remarks and sallies. One who knew him well wrote of him, "His appearance and deportment were always gentlemanly and dignified; though sometimes, through his great modesty, not marked with perfect ease and elegance." Another, a graduate of the College in 1802, and some time a boarder in his family, wrote, "Perhaps the most prominent qualities of his heart and disposition were purity and benevolence. As a natural consequence of the purity of his own intentions, he was very seldom suspicious of others; and his benevolent feelings were awakened whenever an object was presented adapted to their excitement; and his benevolence, when carried out in acts of kindness and charity, was limited only by the extent of his ability. As a scholar, his literary acquirements were highly respectable. His official duties in connection with the College, and the many cares necessarily incident to the management of a numerous and dependent family, did not leave him sufficient leisure for extensive scientific investigations, or for becoming acquainted with the whole circle of general literature."

The first Commencement at Williams College was held on Sept. 2, 1795, in the old meeting-house on the "Square" erected in 1768. It was felt that the place was unsuitable; and the following letter from President Fitch to Van Schaack, a member of the corporation, exhibits a local device in order to avoid the necessity of going there. Probably Fitch thought that Van Schaack would furnish the $50 required for the temporary building. But he was not that sort of a man, although he was a rich man. Before the next Commencement there was a stronger and more varied opposition to going into the old meeting-house. Young Robbins, who was to speak, entered this and much more like it in his journal: "A scandal to have Commencement in such an old meeting-house." This letter of the president, for a copy of which these pages and their writer are gratefully indebted to Fisher Howe, also exhibits the intense federalism of certain members of the corporation.

WILLIAMSTOWN, August 18, 1795.

Dear Sir, — I have only time to thank you for your last letters and the papers that accompanied them. The Defence of the Treaty, so far must give satisfaction to every candid mind, but the Democrats are many of them incapable of conviction — Nothing will satisfy them. The *Charge* is excellent. I return all the papers. We have Mr. Webster's Paper every week from New York. The plan of accommodation for Commencement, which we talk of, is a slight building covered with boards, in the easiest and cheapest manner, of 80 or 90 feet in length and proportionally wide, with seats of boards, a stage &c. We have not chosen the place to erect it. I expect it will cost the Corporation at least 50 Dollars: but the expense appears to me unavoidable.

Mrs. Fitch joins me in respects to yourself and Lady.

I am, Dear Sir,
Your cordial friend
& obliged, humble servt

HENRY VAN SCHAACK, Esq. EBENR FITCH.

A true copy. — FISHER HOWE, JR., Boston, May 25, 1892.

Four young men then became Bachelors of Arts. All four were from the county of Berkshire, illustrating the strictly local origins of the College. Two of the four became lawyers, and the other two physicians. One of the four, Chauncy Lusk, was chosen a tutor in the College in the fall of 1796, and had the sole instruction of the Sophomore class during the first term, teaching them in Horace, in Guthrie's Geography, and in Pike's Arithmetic. He died (a lawyer) of consumption in Lanesboro in the year 1803. The next Commencement witnessed the graduation of six Bachelors of Arts. One of these was a Williamstown boy born and bred, Daniel Noble, son of David Noble of the original Board of Trustees, and he himself was the first alumnus of the College to become a trustee. He was born the third day after the Declaration of Independence, was a trustee from 1809 till 1830, and treasurer of the College from 1814 till his death in 1830. In the deepest exigency through which the College passed in the first century of its existence, he rendered perhaps the most vital service that has ever yet been rendered by a single individual, — a service that will be depicted at some length farther on. Another of the six graduates of 1796 somewhat distinguished in his long day and generation, to whom the College at any rate is under large and varied obligation, was Thomas Robbins. He was just thirteen months younger than Daniel Noble, and had the advantage of being trained till his senior year in Yale College, of which his father was an alumnus in 1760, and later a trustee. The father became a trustee at Williams also in 1794, and was pleased with the distinction conferred. As a sort of recognition of

this, and as he was a pastor in Norfolk, just halfway between New Haven and Williamstown, he made arrangements for his son Thomas to spend the bulk of his senior year under instruction here, and to take his degree here with the class of 1796, and the next week to take the corresponding degree with his old class at New Haven. This all happened according to plan. Robbins himself became a trustee here in 1844 and continued till 1853, and died in 1856 aged 79 years.

The chief of several features that will always make Thomas Robbins an attractive figure to those interested in Williamstown and Williams College, is the diary he began Jan. 1, 1796, and continued without the intermission of a day till Sept. 9, when he left Williamstown for New Haven. These entries throw a clear light upon the general state of things both in College and town for nearly nine months at a time when other sources of information are quite deficient. The diary thus commenced was kept up with very slight interruptions by reason of sickness, for fifty-eight years. It was printed in full at the expense of his nephew, Robbins Battell, in 1886, edited in two very large and elegant volumes by Increase N. Tarbox, and is a priceless thesaurus of almost endless details useful to the curious, and particularly the religious antiquarians. Dr. Robbins continued to wear the old "Continental" and clerical costume, — the knee-breeches and shoe-buckles, — so long as he lived. He was an object at once of curiosity and veneration whenever he came to Williamstown in his old age as one of the trustees. The last time he came was in 1852, when the present writer was graduated. "*16. Took the cars and went on to Springfield, to Litchfield, to Adams, and dined. Met friends and rode to Williamstown. Find many acquaintance. The corporation mostly present. 17. Quite unwell. Had a poor night. Well accommodated. The corporation had a good deal of business. The college increases. I have never seen its prospects as favorable. 18. I am too unwell to attend the Commencement exercises. Rode to Adams and took the cars and came to Pittsfield, Springfield, and home about middle of the afternoon.*" When the Semi-centennial of the College was kept in August, 1843, Dr. Robbins delivered one of the two formal addresses before the Society of Alumni, Dr. Mark Hopkins delivering the other. These addresses were reprinted by the College in full for the Centennial in 1893, under the editorship of Professor L. W. Spring, in a handsome pamphlet. Dr. Robbins made the following entries in relation to his experiences at the Semi-centennial. "*15. In the morning rainy. Took cars and rode to Pittsfield. Dined at Springfield. Got*

acquainted with Bishop Onderdonk. The scenery and the work of the railroad between Westfield and Pittsfield are astonishing. Took a stage and rode to Williamstown. Very kindly entertained at Pres. Hopkins's. Had a pleasant day. 16. Attended an interesting meeting of the alumni. I am the senior president. Attended the public services. The president delivered a very good address respecting the college. I delivered mine. Too long — an hour and forty-five minutes — but kindly heard. The alumni had a long public dinner. A very numerous and highly respectable collection. Gov. [Marcus], *Morton is present. At evening attended speaking of undergraduates. Brothers James and Francis* [each of them an alumnus] *arrived in the evening. Not greatly fatigued. 17. Met with the corporation. We voted two divinity doctorates. Attended the Commencement exercises; good, but want of variety. It is said that there has never been so great a collection of people on a like occasion. See many a former acquaintance. Feel a want of rest. The alumni voted to publish the president's address and mine. Left Williamstown towards evening. Tarried at a private house in Hancock."*

On the 17th of June previous to the first Commencement, President Fitch had been ordained in Williamstown to the gospel ministry, having been licensed to preach while a tutor at Yale in May, 1787. The ordination was performed by the Berkshire Association of ministers; Judson of Sheffield, with whom he had studied divinity previous to his license, preached the ordination sermon; West of Stockbridge, whose relations to the College were to become extremely intimate and influential, gave the usual charge; and Swift of Williamstown offered the right hand of fellowship, in the course of which he remarked, "We rejoice at your readiness to engage in the great work of the gospel ministry, and to make preaching your business at College and other places, so far as your study and business at College will permit." Harvard College bestowed on him in September, 1800, the honorary degree of Doctor in Divinity. But it proved that he had neither the natural aptitudes for a good preacher, nor the leisure in the midst of all his college and family cares for the study and other pains needful to write and deliver impressive sermons. He seems to have understood all this himself. A copy of his baccalaureate sermon of 1799 was "reluctantly furnished to the press" at the request of the graduating class. The subject of this discourse was "Useful Knowledge and Religion recommended to the Pursuit and Improvement of the Young." The poet Bryant, who was a member of College in 1811, wrote of the then president in 1859: "He often preached to us on Sundays,

but his style of sermonizing was not such as to compel our attention. We listened with more interest to Professor Chester Dewey, then in his early manhood, the teacher of the Junior class, who was the most popular of those who were called the Faculty of the College." Besides the baccalaureate just mentioned, a funeral sermon preached at Bennington under extraordinary circumstances (to which reference will be had hereafter), and a missionary sermon preached at Hudson in 1814, were all of his discourses printed in his lifetime and with his consent. Calvin Durfee, Williams College, 1825, in a useful sketch of the life of President Fitch, published in 1865, printed entire for the first time the farewell discourse to his people in West Bloomfield preached by their aged pastor in November, 1827.

The first president of the College took hold of his duties as such with conscientious fidelity and with a good degree of skill and success. Practically he assumed the sole instruction of the Senior class. He taught Locke as his text-book in Mental Science, Paley in Moral Philosophy, and Vattel on the Law of Nations. The extant testimony of his pupils is uniform to the effect, that he had a fair mastery of these great subjects, that he was possessed of a good fund of historical illustration and relevant anecdote, and that his manners as a teacher were dignified and yet communicative and conciliatory. Something about the College, at any rate, and it must have been chiefly about the president himself, proved decidedly attractive to students. A catalogue of the College, the first ever issued in this country, was printed in the fall of 1795, and held the names of seventy-five students. The following note was appended, "Besides the above members of College, there are about forty students in the Academy connected with the College." The names of the faculty were not printed at first in connection with the names of the students on the small single sheet, which continued the style for some years. Yale issued a similar sheet the year following, that is, 1796. This is recorded on the explicit testimony of Thomas Robbins, who was graduated at both the colleges the last-named year. In 1799, a catalogue of the graduates of this College was published containing the names of the faculty, and this custom has been continued triennially ever since. The tutors of the College gave all the instruction to the members of the academy also. The academy recruited the College, so long as the former continued, but of course it made perplexities, as all the operations of both went forward within a single building.

Two letters of President Fitch to Isaac Beers of New Haven, evidently a bookseller there, are herewith given entire, because they

cast a clear and contemporary light upon, (1) the nature of some of the practical difficulties encountered by him in organizing and administering the young college, particularly as to books and apparatus; (2) his own qualities and deficiencies in relation to pecuniary matters, which caused him and others troubles and losses, from the time of his youthful mercantile venture with Daggett of New Haven till his death in debt in 1833; (3) his personal devotion to the political party of the Federalists, and his implied prejudices against the opposing party called Republicans, or by their adversaries Democrats, of which last a large majority of the people of Williamstown were composed. General Skinner, the most active and prominent member of the Board of Trustees as such, a Republican, was elected a member of Congress from the Berkshire district in 1796, receiving a great majority of the votes of the people of Williamstown, aggregating 296 votes for Skinner and Sedgwick both. Fitch had, of course, a perfect right to his own political opinions and action, and so, fortunately, had Skinner and those who went with him; one trouble was that neither party properly respected the deliberate conclusions of the other: but it was not simply a difference of political *opinion;* the more radical difficulty was that the Federalists wanted and were bound to get, if possible, certain political *privileges* for themselves at the cost of the rest of the people, and contrary to the sound doctrine of equality of citizens under the law — equality, that is, not of condition, but of RIGHTS. In the struggle on this point the Federalists were beaten out of sight and sound. The inauguration of Jefferson as President of the United States in 1801 marked the final demise of our first national party of privilege.

WILLIAMSTOWN Jany 15th 1798.

Dear Sir, — Your favor of Octr 7th, with the Books by Mr. Tutor Denison, came safely to hand. I designed to remit you the amount by him, but our treasury is empty. Large arrearages are due to it from College, and a payment of 800 Dollars due last June for a township of land which we sold, is positively promised this month. About 150 Dollars of our Library Fund which our Laws impowered me to draw from the treasury last September is not yet paid me. I am considerably in advance on the Library account. However I think I may depend on having some money for myself and you in three or four weeks. I shall then take the earliest opportunity to send you by a private hand or by the Mail the balance of your Acc^{t} and also payment for the books you may send me by Mr. Denison on his return.

The following I wish to have:

1 Dissertations respecting India
2 Doddridge's Lectures, (8vo if you have them)

1 Hunter's Biographical Lectures, 6 vol. in 3
1 Cavallo on Atmospheric and Animal Electricity. If you have not this book, I wish you to import it for me.

Have you Henry's History of England, and Bradshaw's Josephus in 8vo, and at what price? Please to inform me, and also the statement of my acct. When Mr. Day made you the last payment, you had not leisure, he told me, to state the Acct. — I do myself the pleasure to enclose you our last Catalogue. As we have been a College but four years last Septr, you will see that we have had a pretty rapid increase. — Please to present my cordial respects to Mrs. Beers and to your brothers and their families. I retain a great affection for many friends in New Haven. — With cordial esteem and friendship, I am, Dear Sir,

Your very humble Servt

Mr. Isaac Beers. Ebenr Fitch.

Williamstown July 20th 1798.

Mr. Isaac Beers

Dear Sir, — Your two favors of June 22d from New Haven and June 29th from New York came duly to hand. And a few days since I received from Troy the Box of Books in good order. I thank you for the Pamphlets you sent me as a present. They are very acceptable.

Till this afternoon, I knew not that the bearer, Mr. Aspenwall, was going to New Haven. As you said nothing in your letters about my sending the money till Mr. Denison goes to New Haven about six weeks hence, I had calculated to send the money by him. I know our Treasury is nearly empty at present, or I should apply for money to send by this conveyance. If however you wish for the money before Mr. Denison goes, and will please to inform me, I will send by the Stage, if no other conveyance presents. — I am a little surprised that Dr Cogswell had not sent you the 30 Dollars. He told me in his letter that he would send it soon, and has ever before been punctual in answering my orders. I shall write him next monday, and will remind him of it.

I find there is to be a Supplementary Volume to the Encyclopedia. I must have it, and wish you to get it for me when it comes out. I know not on what conditions it is to be published.

Your celebration of Independence was, I find, very splendid, and in a superior style. We had two Orations and two separate entertainments here. College was wholly with the Federal Class of our Citizens, and breathe the pure spirit of Independence and attachment to our Government and our Country.

Mr. Denison's class will want in the fall as many of Enfield's Philosophy as you can spare. Do reserve all you can for them. He will treat with you about the Books in vacation.

Please to present my respects to your family and to inquiring friends. — I am

Your obliged, humble Servt

Ebenr Fitch.

Fitch's letter to Van Schaack in 1795, already quoted entire, shows the sense of the College as the first Commencement was approaching in that year, of the unfitness of the old meeting-house of the Proprietors, built by them in 1768 and still owned and controlled by

them, for the exercises of the Commencement which were held there, nevertheless, because there was no other possible place. As the next Commencement approached, the old dissatisfaction renewed itself in vigorous expression on the part of the class who were to speak. "It is a scandal," cried Robbins, "to have Commencement in such an old meeting-house." Another entry in his diary under the 15th of July, — "Great disturbance in town on account of the meeting-house being set on fire last night:[1] it was happily extinguished: various conjectures about the perpetrators." When the trustees came together they voted, September 6, "to hold the next Commencement in the town of Pittsfield or Lanesboro unless a suitable place should be provided in Williamstown," and appointed a committee to carry their vote into effect. But nothing was then accomplished, doubtless owing to much ill-feeling then prevalent as between town and college on political and other grounds, and the Commencement of 1797 also was held in the small and dark building. The new meeting-house erected on the site of the old one (this having been removed a short distance) was so far advanced toward completion at the time of the Commencement of 1798, that its exercises were held within it, and thereafter uniformly until its destruction by fire in 1866.

The state of things and of feelings both in town and college directly after the Commencement of 1796, afforded President Fitch an opportunity which he nobly improved, not only to secure a larger and better and much-needed meeting-house for all parties, but also by personal conversation and solicitation with everybody to bring about, so far as possible, a better understanding between neighbors and neighborhoods, and a sense of a community of interests as between all classes. He wrote out with his own hand a subscription-paper for a new edifice, and personally circulated it from house to house over most parts of the town, himself entering the name of each individual subscriber and the sum subscribed in his own hand. The paper is dated Sept. 26, 1796. The amount thus secured by him under sixty-five names entered in his handwriting was £1143 12*s.* 0*d.* The paper was afterward circulated by another in the parts of the town more distant in general from the centre, and £224 02*s.* 9*d.* was secured from twenty-four additional names, making in all £1367 14*s.* 9*d.* from eighty-nine persons. This sum amounted in dollars, just then coming into vogue for the first time as a standard of value, to $4525.79. This original subscription paper

[1] See *Origins in Williamstown*, p. 530, for the final conflagration of the old shell in 1828.

is the property of the present writer, and now lies open before him on his desk. He believes that there will be those in the future for a long time to come, who will like to read Fitch's heading to this important document, and to look over these eighty-nine names and the sums respectively which they felt called upon to give for a new and better place of worship.

We whose names are hereunto subscribed do severally promise and agree to pay unto such person or persons as a majority of the subscribers shall appoint a committee to receive the same the several sums set against our names respectively, to be applied to the purpose of erecting a House of public Worship on the eminence where the old Meetinghouse now stands in Williamstown; the money so subscribed to be paid at such time or times and the house to be built of such dimensions and upon such a model as the majority of the subscribers shall direct.

September 26th, 1796.

	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
T. J. & B. Skinner	100–0–0	James Greene	3–0–0
William Hamilton	25–0–0	William Turner	15–0–0
Eli Cotton	4–10–0	Asa Russell	10–0–0
O. Barrit	20–0–0	Josiah Wright 3d	3–0–0
Shubael Wilmarth	9–0–0	Stephen Hickox	10–0–0
Samuel Sloan	60–0–0	N. Chamberlain	15–0–0
R. Sheldon	15–0–0	D. & Deo. Noble	80–0–0
Daniel Day	40–0–0	Z. Ford	12–0–0
Elisha Baker	25–0–0	Josiah Wright, Jr.	5–0–0
A. Harrison	12–0–0	J. & H. Meacham	24–0–0
C. Sabin	15–0–0	Wm. Foster	15–0–0
E. Cotton, Jr.	3–0–0	Wm. Wells	20–0–0
Abram Starks	1–10–0	Wm. Smith	9–0–0
S. Kellogg	25–0–0	T. Boardman	6 0 0
J. Day	12–0–0	Sam'l Satterlee	3 0 0
L. & E. Smedley	50–0–0	Ezekiel Burk	1 10 0
H. Richardson	5–0–0	T. & D. Smith	12 0 0
E. Mather	15–0–0	Jacob Bacon	12 0 0
Corporation	100–0–0	Chas. Bulkley, Jr.	9 0 0
Dan'l Dewey	15–0–0	Rev. Seth Swift	15 0 0
Aaron Foote	3–0–0	Jas. Meacham	6 0 0
Stephen Patchen	1–10–0	Barth. Woodcock	30 0 0
Barney McMan	2–10–0	Absalom Blair	12 0 0
Tim'y Northam	9–0–0	Warren Roberts	2 0 0
Dan'l Foote	2–0–0	John Sweet	6 0 0
Lemuel Stewart	75–0–0	Isaac Sherwood	10 0 0
Ebenezer Stratton	20–0–0	Wm. Sloan	3 0 0
William Young	20–0–0	Dan'l Burbank	4 0 0
W. Starkweather	20–0–0	Joseph Osborn	7 10 0
David Johnson	20–0–0	John Douning	5 10 0
Isaac Miller	0–12–0	Amza Smith	2 10 9
Samuel Higgins	15–0–0	Thomas Bishop	12 0 0

	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
Tim'y Balch	9–0–0	Jedidiah Stone	1 4 0
Perly Putnam	20–0–0	Jeremiah Smith	1 4 0
Jos'h Balch	8–0–0	Jos'h Talmage & Son	20 0 0
Jona. Danforth	22–0–0	Constant Williams	10 0 0
Stephen Scott	5–0–0	Sam'l Tyler	15 0 0
Pardon Starks	1–10–0	Reuben Sealey	10 0 0
Benj'n Simonds	6–0–0	Jonathan Bridges	15 0 0
Elijah Thomas	8–0–0	Lewis Tousant	1 4 0
Soloman Woolcot	7–0–0	Jas. Fowler	10 0 0
Elisha Williams	15–0–0	Abial Hawkins	10 0 0
Nathaniel Kellogg	10–0–0	Nehemiah Woodcock	10 0 0
Nathan Smith	6–0–0	Joel Baldwin	20 0 0

Amount, £1,367 14 9.

In addition to these eighty-nine names, there are two others written on the margin of this venerable paper, Solomon Wright and William Young, both of them well-known citizens at the time, who seem to have subscribed in materials or personal services; but the words cannot now be fully made out a hundred years after they were written. Doubtless there were some further subscriptions made afterward and by other persons resident in the town, for the $4526 would hardly have been sufficient to erect and complete so large and good a building. The extraordinarily interesting national house-tax assessed in Williamstown while this meeting-house was in process of construction, gives the names of only 107 householders occupying homesteads worth $100 and upward. Some of these were farm-tenants. It would seem, accordingly, that nearly all the house-owners in town subscribed something toward the erection of this House of God. There were certainly some exceptions; and one of these is curiously connected with the meeting-house in another very different way. William Bissell Sherman was born in North Kingston, Rhode Island, Oct. 13, 1759, the very day that the news of General Wolfe's great victory over the French at Quebec, September 13, reached the place of his nativity. In other words, it then took a whole month for a great piece of news to travel from Quebec to Providence. The boy grew up in extreme poverty, and without schooling of any kind. Before the time of his majority he found his way to Pownal, and worked for hire seven days in the week on the farm of "Tory Gardner" there, a man notoriously underwitted, who perhaps for that reason, in part, lived to be 104 years old. When Sherman was twenty-one, that is, in 1780, he married a daughter of his employer, then fifteen years of age, who never learned to read or write, and never cared for anything except to gain and keep

the things of this world. He was naturally somewhat brighter, and would have been less acquisitive than she, had he married a decently intelligent woman. He had had no more instruction than she, but he came to be able to keep accounts in some hidden way, so that they were never questioned by others, and he was never cheated himself. As prospectively affording a better place to make money than Pownal, the pair, upon marriage, came immediately to Williamstown, and extemporized a primitive dwelling in the woods west of the village, out of which wilderness, together with some purchases of adjoining lands from Stewart and Baldwin, they brought under in ten years' time what is still called the "red-house farm," and which remained in the Sherman family for one hundred years. All days of the week were alike in that family; work and gain were the only objects in life; they had planted an orchard as soon as possible, and the woman made and vended dried apples, and the man made and vended cider, as well as other farm products, often carrying them to Troy in exchange for groceries, which in turn he came to vend at home; he soon came to be able to buy and sell lands in a small way uniformly at a profit, and later on loaned money on bond and mortgage, always promptly foreclosing on default; and before many years had passed, both came to think that they could carry out their ends in life better in the village proper. Accordingly, they settled for good in the east end of the village on original House-lot No. 57, much of which their descendants own and derive an income from to this day. They lived for a time in the original "regulation house" on the middle of that lot; when they determined to build a large, two-story house there, making the old house an L to the new one. It was characteristic of Bissell Sherman, who always seized the main chance, that, while the new meeting-house was in process of building in 1797,[1] and the carpenters on it came short of lumber and had to stop temporarily, he hired them all off in a body to work on his own new house. Under the circumstances he got them cheaply. But they built for him a strong front, securely tying it to the north end of the one-story house, which was then at least thirty years old, and front and L united have not been vacant of occupants from that day to this.

The new front held four large square rooms, two below and two above; and in the east room below, the owner opened a grocery store, which then meant substantially a place where sugar and molasses and tobacco and spirits were sold. Sherman himself never became a drunkard, though he took his "bitters" regularly three times a

[1] In *Origins in Williamstown*, p. 441, the year is wrongly given as 1796.

day before eating; while several members of his family were ruined by drink, and one of them certainly died in *delirium tremens*. It hardly needs to be said, that Bissell Sherman had none of the natural qualities of a good merchant. He gave up the store after a while, and rented that room to other parties, and sometimes rented the room above it for a school for "down street," since the regular public schoolhouse stood on the "Square," and it was too far for the Green River children to go to that in all seasons. The late James Smedley, born in 1804, often told the writer, that he attended a district school in that room in his childhood. He was also heard to say, that he saw as a guest the marriage of Sarah Sherman to

GENERAL SLOAN'S HOUSE.
Built in 1801.

Samuel Duncan in the west room below. Duncan belonged by descent to the Scotch-Irish people of central Massachusetts, was a wheelwright by trade, a very intelligent and ingenious man, but became addicted to drink to his utter downfall. Their son, the late Dr. Samuel Duncan, was one of the most intellectually gifted boys ever born and bred in this town, and became correspondingly accomplished in the medical profession. He had, however, in early life the roving trait, that carried him to sea in the service of the United States Navy. His only son, at about the same age and under circumstances in many respects similar, but with much less in the way of excuse, manifested the same trait and was led transiently into gross wrong-doing. Bissell Sherman went steadily on from day to day and year to year in his real estate operations, investing and re-

investing his gains as they came in, until he became the richest man in the town. He continued to eat from a wooden trencher so long as he lived. He had few of the decencies and conveniences of life in his own house, when he came into possession, by foreclosure of mortgage, of by far the finest house in the town, General Sloan's house, mortgaged and lost by his son, Major Douglas Sloan, now belonging to the College and occupied by successive presidents. He was transiently tempted to move "up street," and to live himself in this handsome house directly opposite to the West College; but he became very shortly sensible of the incongruity and even absurdity of Mrs. Sherman's becoming the mistress and he the master of such a residence.

"Old Bissell Sherman" was not generally regarded by his neighbors as a dishonest man, though close-fisted to the last degree, and though lacking in moral discriminations and all high ideals. The late Professor John Tatlock once heard him in one of the stores retailing in his own rough way the old lingo about everybody having his price, and nobody being strictly honest, and so on, when Tatlock, in his blunt British manner, struck in: "*That shows that you are not honest yourself; for if you were, you would know that there is at least one honest man in the world, that there is one man in this store this minute who can't be bought at any price! Your talk shows you up as dishonest anyhow!*" The old man had wit enough to see himself for once in a very tight place. He paid the homage of silence to a piece of unanswerable logic. Sherman was an inflexible Democrat all his life. He could not, probably, have given any rational reasons for his becoming and remaining so. But that has no tendency to prove that there were not such reasons and a plenty of them. He left behind him, at any rate, a pleasant memorial of his political faith. When Andrew Jackson became the idol of the Democratic party, and the epithet "Old Hickory" came to be attached to his name, he planted a tree of that denomination in his front yard, which shows as yet no sign of decay. He died in 1846 in the older part of his own house, Mrs. Sherman having preceded him three years before. She was seventy-nine, and he eighty-seven.

The corporation of the College subscribed £100 as toward the new meeting-house in the fall of 1796. Their chief motive, of course, was to secure, as soon as might be, a suitable place for the public exercises of their Commencements. It was not probably then expected that the new building could be in readiness for the class of 1797 to graduate in; and in point of fact, this class was the last to hold their Commencement in the small and dark old meeting-house of

1768. This class was the third to be graduated, and it numbered ten men. Four of the ten were Williamstown boys. Two of the ten became distinguished men. These were Asa Burbank and Elijah H. Mills. The former was a son of Lt. Daniel Burbank, one of the first settlers at the South Park, coming from what is now Warren, and buying his farm here in 1763. Asa was born in 1772. He served in the College as a tutor two full years after his graduation, and then studied medicine with Dr. William Towner, a distinguished practitioner in Williamstown. He then attended medical lectures in New York, and settled in his profession at Lanesboro, and there acquired a good and wide reputation. He was thrown from a horse when he was about fifteen years old, and injured his head in a way that did not seem at first to affect his mind, although it ultimately did so, and shortened his life. He told the physicians in Albany that there was water on his brain, but they did not believe it. He said he could hear it; and it was found to be so after his death. He married a Hubbell of Lanesboro, and both are buried in the cemetery there. When the Society of Alumni was formed, in 1821, the first organization of its kind in this country, Asa Burbank was chosen its first president. A year or two later the Berkshire Medical Institution was established in Pittsfield, and placed under the care and supervision of the College, the medical degrees being conferred at Commencement by the president in connection with the academical degrees, and Burbank was appointed professor of Materia Medica and Obstetrics. He afterward lectured and practised in Albany for four years, but returned to Williamstown in a feeble state of health, and died in 1829. One of his colleagues at Pittsfield, Dr. Williams, wrote of him: "I was intimately acquainted with him in this institution where I was a fellow-laborer with him in the department of medical jurisprudence, and I can bear ample testimony to his worth and usefulness. He was one of the most companionable and facetious of men, and his happy turn of relating anecdotes, of which an abundance was stored in his capacious mind, often kept an assemblage of his friends in a roar of laughter. He had a most happy and enviable faculty of cheering the minds of his patients, even in the most desponding cases, and often of soothing their pillows in their descent to the grave. No one can doubt that he was both a moral and a highly religious man." His daughter wrote of him: "My father was tall, six feet, and well proportioned, with an eye that seemed to read character at once, retiring in his manner, but could indulge in severe satire when he thought he was not honestly dealt with. In his profession his love for doing good

seemed to be the governing principle of his life. I think he braved the winter storms of old Berkshire with more readiness to visit the very poor than those who had ample means to reward him for so doing. To benefit the town in which he lived he was willing to and did make great sacrifices, both to encourage education and in many other ways to improve society." Burbank was a great talker, and a great Federalist, too. When the neighboring town of Cheshire in its flaming zeal for Jefferson and democracy manufactured its huge and famous cheese in 1801, and sent Elder John Leland with it to Washington as a present to the president, Asa Burbank wrote some satirical and witty verses on the cheese and the journey and the presentation. These verses became very popular in Federalist circles, and are still extant. If he had known at the time, what has indeed only recently come to light from the publication of the great president's private-purse book, that Leland received $200 clean cash for his ostentatious gift, the verses would doubtless have been still more stinging.

Dr. Burbank's classmate, Elijah Hunt Mills, became as notable in the field of law and politics as Burbank did in that of medicine. Mills spent his whole life in Northampton. When the Society of Alumni was formed here in 1821, and Burbank was chosen its first president, Mills was selected at the same time as its first orator. He was then a senator of the United States, and was reëlected to that position. He had previously served three terms in the national House of Representatives. But he did not fulfil his appointment as Alumni orator. Why not? Because his town of Northampton was then strenuously contending for the removal of Williams College thither, or to some other town near by on the Connecticut River. The Society of Alumni had been formed with the design to strengthen the College in its low estate and in its present position. Whatever may have been his own opinion in this much-disputed matter, Mills would have compromised his town and locality by appearing here as Alumni orator at that time; therefore he did not come. But the College got on and stayed where it had been placed, though the struggle was desperate and long continued, as we shall learn later.

President Fitch drew up his subscription paper for a new meeting-house, and the first party to whom he presented it was the firm of T. J. & B. Skinner. They put down £100. They were carpenters and builders. They had built the West College five years before. Their present subscription may have been somewhat more liberal than it otherwise would have been, because they expected to do the work of putting up the meeting-house. Again, the talk was then

getting strong of the pressing need of another college building. Still again, T. J. Skinner was a candidate for Congress that fall. The election fell on September 5: whether the Skinner subscription was actually promised before or after that date, there was a special motive in either case for a generous pledge, because Skinner was elected. The subscription paper from which we are quoting is dated September 26; but a preliminary had been going its rounds more or less, as we know from the diary of Thomas Robbins under date of February 19, "The President has started a subscription for a meeting-house: it is circulating." This diary of Robbins in and relating to Williamstown, covering almost nine full months, beginning Jan. 1, 1796, together with this invaluable subscription paper, illuminates that year of town and college history more than any *other* year of that century is lightened up for us from all sources combined. Especially do these entries exhibit facts and points of character manifested by these Skinner brothers and members of their families, — two of the prominent families of the town at that juncture. We have already made the acquaintance at several points of Tompson J. Skinner, and he will cross our path repeatedly in the time to come; but Benjamin Skinner, a brother two years younger, born in 1754, while walking in general a less commanding path, escaped perhaps for that reason the dismal pitfall into which the other fell. The brothers owned their real estate in common, and naturally made this subscription to the meeting-house in common. They owned together at that time, and had undoubtedly built together a few years before, the original Mansion House, which stood on the Square at the junction of North and Main Streets, where the principal hotel of the town has stood ever since. The United States assessed the Mansion House in 1798 at $3220, and put down its "owners" as T. J. & Benj. Skinner, and George Reab as its "occupier" or tenant. Another house is put down in the same document to the same owners with Tompson J. Skinner as the occupier, and is assessed at $575. This was the house diagonally across the Square from the Mansion House, built by Benjamin Simonds and kept as a tavern by him before he moved north of the Hoosac and built the tavern still standing, now owned and occupied by Sheriff George H. Prindle. The United States regarded this house north of the river as worth for taxing purposes $977.50, and Simonds's old house on the Square (then owned by the Skinners) as worth $575. This last house was occupied by T. J. Skinner so long as he lived. Very likely Benjamin Skinner had at first lived with him in this house, which was a house of considerable size, and occupied the site of the present fine house of

COL. BENJAMIN SIMONDS.

Born Feb 22 1726 Died April 1st 1807

Henry Sabin; but we are able to locate him first certainly as a householder in the Simonds house across the river, by the following entry in Robbins's journal under date of Feb. 17, 1796, "Employed in settling my affairs to live at Mr. Skinner's."

By his marriage with the oldest daughter of Colonel Simonds, Benjamin Skinner was knitted into the oldest family in Williamstown, since his wife was the first child born in the town, April 8, 1753, and there were three other Simonds children born here before the birth of Esther Hosford, May 19, 1760, daughter to William Hosford and Esther Smedley, the second pair of parents to welcome the birth of a child in Williamstown. But Rachel Simonds, Skinner's wife, had been previously married when twenty years of age to Thomas Train, and had given birth to Sally Train, when her husband died suddenly in Virginia, and after two or three years of widowhood she married Skinner, and Sally Train was brought up with the Skinner children. Sally Train was thus the first grandchild of Colonel Simonds, and the first grandchild of the town. When eighteen she became Mrs. William Blair, July 17, 1792, and died universally respected and beloved in 1864. Colonel Simonds kept his tavern and carried on his large farm north of the Hoosac till he was about seventy years of age, when he had his portrait painted bearing on the back of it "W. Jennys pinxt 1796" which is herewith figured in steel, and made arrangements with his son-in-law, Skinner, to come into the tavern and to carry on the farm. Here we find him in February, 1796. Here Thomas Robbins, a senior in college, found at the same time Alice Skinner the oldest daughter of the house, then about eighteen years of age. He was nineteen, and both of them in the eye of prudence were foolish and inflammable. The diary begins to bristle with references (some of them enigmatical) to "Miss A. Skinner." Within ten days after the new boarder had settled his "affairs to live at Mr. Skinner's," there is an entry which the editor of the diary (Dr. Tarbox) thinks extremely significant, "Settled the matter"; because the next day there is an entry, "May it never be an occasion of grief." The underscoring is in the manuscript. During the summer there are four distinct dates of "evening spent at General Skinner's." He did not go alone. The references to rides, and visits here and there, and evenings spent in social company both at home, at the public house, and elsewhere, are recurrent and unintelligible, except on the hypothesis that he and Miss Alice had "settled the matter." The next day after Commencement, which fell that year September 7, "my mamma made a visit to Mr. Skinner's."

Nevertheless this long avenue (short in point of time) led to nothing. The two never really and finally "settled the matter." Thomas Robbins lived a tremendous bachelor life in knee breeches and shoe buckles till his death in 1856, leaving behind him a marvellous manuscript, which, when printed thirty years later by his nephew, Robbins Battell, filled two huge volumes of about 1100 pages each. The why and when and how of the dislocation of these young hearts does not appear in either of these immense volumes. Plenty of room for it, and it might well have taken the place of some of the entries about the weather, and the state of his salt-rheum. Posterity is not curious as to such matters as these; but there are those living one hundred years after those times, who would willingly exchange five hundred of the average entries in 1797 and 1798 for one good honest statement of what it was that separated these young people. Under date of April 20, 1796, there is this entry, "In the afternoon visited the President with Alice." This appears to be the last reference to her by name. He taught school, studied theology, and preached the Gospel as he understood it, in various places, made missionary tours through Vermont and western New York, until 1808, when he was settled in the ministry for nineteen years in what is now South Windsor, Connecticut. Here he really began what proved to be the great enterprise of his life, namely, to collect a library which was destined to become one of the great private libraries of his generation. This collection of books, mostly of an historical and theological cast, went on through several years of miscellaneous preaching here and there, and especially through the thirteen years of pretty steady preaching in Mattapoisett, Massachusetts, when in 1844 an arrangement was made with the Connecticut Historical Society at Hartford, by which his library was to become the property of that institution, and he himself was to become the society's librarian at a stipulated salary through the remaining years of his active life. This service he gracefully and honorably rendered for ten years; and two years later the end came to him.

As to Alice Skinner, after a couple of years or so, she married Jonathan Edwards Robinson of Bennington, a graduate in the class of 1797, and thus became the first of the long line of Williamstown girls, who have married graduates of the College, coming from places other than Williamstown. From a list of such marriages made out with great care by some old people here, whose lives nearly covered the nineteenth century, it is probable that on an average during the first century of the College, one such graduate a year took away a bride from the town sooner or later. The same list makes it pretty

certain, that about half as many brides more were found here by students of the College not graduating. A catalogue of the marital engagements made and broken as between students and young residents of the other sex, whether any hearts were broken in the process or not (there were certainly some), has never been attempted and could never have been ascertained. The Robinson family of Bennington, by much the most prominent family there from the beginning of the town, has sent many of its members to the College. There were two in the class of 1797, David and Jonathan Edwards. The latter was the one who married Alice Skinner. His father was a chief justice of the Supreme Court of Vermont, and from 1807 to 1815 a member of the Senate of the United States. The Robinsons were influential politicians of the Jefferson school, which fact easily brought them into touch with the Skinners here of the same political faith and practice. Alice Skinner Robinson bore to her husband two daughters and two sons, and died in Bennington in 1811. Quite intimate were the relations between the two towns during the first half-century of their existence as such, — much more so than since. Mary Harwood from Hardwick, one out of the very first company that settled on Bennington Hill, became the wife of Nehemiah Smedley in 1763: relatives and neighbors from Bennington came down to help him "raise" into place the heavy white-oak timbers of his second house in October, 1772: the battle of Bennington was almost common so far as concerned the citizens of these two towns. When Mrs. Alice Skinner Robinson died, members of the Smedley family attended the funeral and burial; and although it is between eighty and ninety years ago, the tradition in that family is distinct and certain, coming down through only one person born in 1804, that the two little Robinson girls, Mary Alice and Julia, respectively eleven and nine years old, stood by the open grave and protested with burning tears and piercing cries of "*Don't put my mamma into the ground!*" against what is in some aspects of it the most dismal feature of death. Stephen C. Foster, song-writer and musical composer, considered to be the best and most moving of all his negro melodies, "*Massa's in the Cold, Cold Ground.*"

Benjamin Skinner and Rachel Simonds had two other daughters besides Alice, Rachel, and Harriet, both of whom married graduates of the College and distinguished men; and also five sons, — Benjamin, Samuel, John Burr, William, and Harry. The first three of these became graduates of the College and influential men. The father was chosen deacon of the church in 1806, was postmaster in 1819, and lived in all these later years on the Main Street, south side.

a little to the west of West College. "Deacon Skinner's meadow," as it was called for fifty years, comprised all the land between what is now Hoxie Street and Spring Street, and between Main Street and Latham Street in its more western stretch. His first wife died in 1802. A year later he married Deodama Noble; and George Noble Skinner, Williams College 1827, was the only child of the second union. The good deacon was caught in his old age, like many another, by what was then called the "western fever," and removed into the southeastern corner of Michigan by the river Raisin and died there in 1828. The widow returned to Williamstown after the death of her son in Michigan in 1850, and lived many years on South Street with her near relatives, also widows, Mrs. Buckley and Mrs. Brewster. Rev. Mason Noble in a centennial discourse delivered here in 1865 uses of her the following language: —

"And there was Mrs. Deacon Skinner whose house was the home of a bright and cheerful hospitality, where the young people met such a cordial welcome and the old people found their spirits quickened by her genial wit and hearty good will. How quick was her step, and how full of grace her manners, and how unvarying her faith in God her Saviour though suffering so many years the bereavement of widowhood and though left childless amid the infirmities of extreme old age; and how hard it was to believe that we could get on as well without her, even when the Lord called her in her niuety-fifth year to Himself."

Benjamin Skinner was a Free Mason, as were many (if not most) of the prominent men in Williamstown at the close of the eighteenth and at the begining of the nineteenth century. He long served as a chaplain at the lodge here, and at the funerals of deceased members when they were buried with Masonic honors. Thomas Robbins entered in his diary under date of July 27, while he was living with Skinner at the Simonds house, "This evening Free Masons meet here: noisy." Two days later there is this entry, "A man dies with the dysentery in the prime of life: large concourse at the funeral: the Free Masons have great formality." He doubtless meant, that the dead man was interred with Masonic rites. The brick house at the east end of the village, built by Judah Williams and long owned and occupied by David Noble, had also a secret chamber for Masonic meetings. So also had the house of William Young at the South Part. All three of these houses are still standing at the present writing. But it was scarcely at all as a tavern-keeper in the house of his father-in-law north of the river,

and certainly not a great deal more as a chaplain of the Free Masons on their public occasions, that Benjamin Skinner made a permanent impression upon his contemporaries, but chiefly as a fervent Christian man in daily life and as a faithful church official. On this point hear Mason Noble again, a younger contemporary: —

"And Deacon Skinner! Is there one of those who once knew him who cannot now see him as he stood up to pray for Zion? his voice gradually rising to a shrill and trembling note and then breaking into tenderness while the tears came coursing down his venerable cheeks! How clear and strong were his views of Christian truth, and how firmly he stood here as a pillar in the temple of God. How pleasant it is to know to-day that while his three younger sons attained to honorable positions in the profession of law and were all like himself officers in the church of Christ, his three eldest sons also around whom his deepest anxieties were gathered, did for many years before their death exhibit a character unstained by vice, and proved to the world the blessings of that covenant which secures the favor of God to the children of good men after them."

The subscription to the new meeting-house in 1796 next largest to this of the Skinner brothers, is that of the Noble brothers, Daniel and Deodatus, — "D. & Deo. Noble, £80." Various things had happened during the preceding summer, that continued to press home upon College and citizens alike, the necessity of a better house of worship, and doubtless contributed to more liberal subscriptions than could otherwise have been had. Our contemporary diary gives repeated notices to this effect. "The President has started a subscription for a meeting-house." "The meeting-house foundation is begun." "How scandalous that we must have Commencement in this old meeting-house: almost discouraged about its being destroyed." "The meeting-house assaulted more or less every night." "Great disturbance in town on account of the meeting-house being set on fire last night." Under all the circumstances it was more natural that the contribution to the meeting-house from the Noble family should come rather from the sons, as it did, than from the father, David Noble, who, though a member of the church, never showed so warm an interest in religious things as did his sons, nor did he bear so good a reputation as they for consistent Christian conduct. David Noble became a judge of the Court of Common Pleas in 1797, which took him a good deal away from home until his death in 1803. The brick house, which had long been his home, fell to be occupied by his son Deodatus, who was chosen to be deacon in 1814, and who

faithfully served in this relation till 1833, when he, too, removed to Monroe, Michigan. Mason Noble was one of his several sons, and in the centennial discourse already twice quoted from we are fortunate to find the following filial words: —

"And is it proper for me to omit in this record of the past my own venerable father? He always seemed to me to have many thoughts and cares for the kingdom of God to one for himself and his more immediate temporal interests. Living in comparative independence and leisure on the estate inherited from his father, he spent much of his time in reading Edwards and Emmons and Baxter and William Mason and Doddridge and Thomas Scott, and in watching over the interests of the church and the town — using the office of a deacon well in guiding the erring and stirring up the good, and proving himself a useful citizen and an upright Justice by turning lawsuits into arbitrations, while he himself set the example of kind forbearance toward unfortunate debtors by making it a rule during his long Christian life never to sue a man for debt. His children all knew and deeply felt that he was a holy man living not for this but a better world, and that what he most desired for them was not wealth or position but character and usefulness."

Mason Noble himself was a graduate of the College in 1827, as well as a native of the village, and led a long and useful life terminating in 1881, as a pastor of Presbyterian churches in New York and Washington, and as a chaplain in the navy of the United States. His own four sons (to continue the record for a little), all became graduates of the College in succession, and all useful ministers of the Gospel; — Franklin in 1856, Mason in 1862, George in 1865, and Charles in 1866. So far of Deacon Deodatus Noble, one of the subscribers in 1796, and of some of his posterity. Of Daniel Noble, his brother, born here in 1776 and graduated in 1796, the record is full, and highly gratifying to all friends of the College. He was a light-complexioned, quick-motioned man, of good abilities as a lawyer, a profession which he carried on in his native place after 1811, becoming treasurer of the College in 1814, and throwing all his weight as a private citizen and as a member of the State legislature in both branches and of the Governor's council against the removal of the College from Williamstown. During the six years when President Moore was at the head of the College, the president himself and a large majority of the trustees were in favor of removing the institution to Northampton. But for the powerful and concentrated influence and efforts of Daniel Noble, the College would

unquestionably have been removed. In this influence and in these efforts, he had a few strenuous coadjutors, particularly his cousin, Charles A. Dewey, also a native of the town, and a fellow-alumnus. In November, 1830, it became necessary for Treasurer Noble to visit Portland on business connected with the College. On his way thither he took a severe cold, and died after a short sickness in the chamber he had first entered on reaching that city. His remains were brought home for interment. He left two daughters, Mary and Juliette, and several sons, four of whom became graduates of the College. Not all of his sons did credit to the family name. When did ever a stream starting from ever so pure a spring flow far without becoming more or less muddy and defiled? Daniel Noble built, not long before he died, the fine house on East Main Street, north side, not very far west from his father's and brother's, the brick house. There were then but two really spacious and elegant private houses in town; the Day house, on the same level with this and on the same side of the street farther west, and the Sloan house on the eminence just north of the West College. The tradition is still lively in town, likely enough to have been passed on by the young ladies themselves, that they, having been absent from home during the construction or at least the completion of the new house, cried when they entered it on their return, because it was so low between joints and otherwise less ample than they had expected. After the death of Miss Juliette Noble, this house and the broad meadow extending north from it to the river, was purchased by the late Joseph White, when he became treasurer of the College in 1859, was thoroughly renovated by him, and at the present writing is owned and occupied by his widow, Hannah Danforth White.

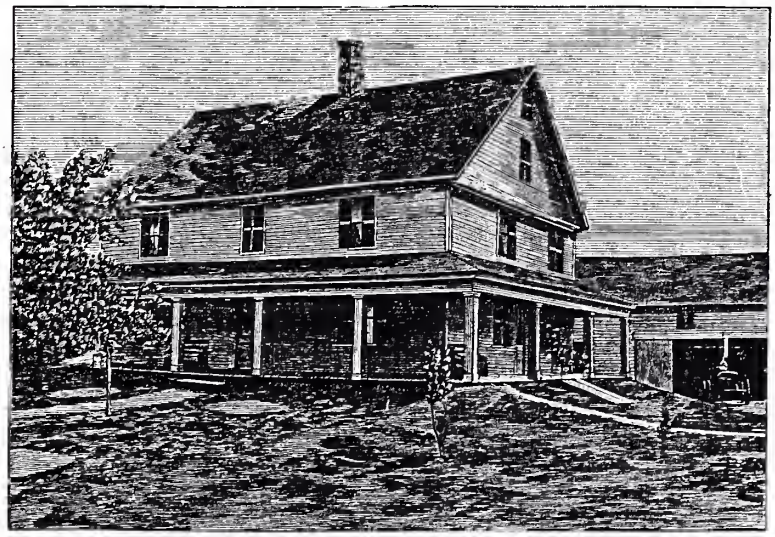
The family of Noble we find located in Westfield in 1667. David Noble, the father of Deodatus and Daniel Noble, after about two years' residence in Yale College, came north through New Milford to Williamstown. Erastus Noble, the progenitor of the other families of that name in Williamstown, though from the same original stock, diverged before the movement of either in this direction.

The next largest subscriber to the Nobles on our century-old and time-stained slip for the new meeting-house is "Lemuel Stewart, £75." We know but little of this man, but what we do know is much to his credit. This is the largest individual subscription to the meeting-house. But Stewart was not a member of the church; neither was his wife, Lydia. A Jerusha Stewart, however, was admitted in 1794; and a Rhoda Stewart was a member as early as 1781. These were probably members of the family of Samuel Stewart.

a brother of Lemuel, who lived on a part of the "red house" farm, already mentioned as originally cleared up by old Bissell Sherman. There was also in the last decade of the last century a Lemuel Scovil Stewart, a well-to-do landowner and householder. Besides these, there was a little later, at any rate, an Ethel Stewart, unrelated to the others, no church-goer, a drinking man, and profane, who lived in the angle between the Berlin and Treadwell Hollow roads, near John Brookman's, and whose land is now owned by Brookman. It was he who, when Mr. Gridley announced himself at the door as the minister, retorted: "*The devil you be! Take a cheer!*" The minister himself enjoyed reporting the cordiality of his own reception. Five children were born here to Lemuel and Lydia Stewart between the dates 1770 and 1784. It is known that during the Revolutionary War, Lemuel Stewart was a captain, and was left here in command of a few men and boys at the time of the battle of Bennington; and that in that capacity he placed guards at the Simonds bridge to the north of the village, and also at the Green River bridge at its east end. He lived at that time in a house either directly on the corner of South Street and Main, or in another house a little to the south of this, long kept as a tavern, and well remembered by many now living. Both of these houses were only separated from the Square by the width of the South Street, and our liberal householder may have had a strong personal and family motive in having substituted for the old shell of 1768 right before his front windows a sightly structure like that actually built on the same general site in 1797. The gambrel-roofed house then standing on the corner fronted to the west toward the Square, unlike the present house, long owned and occupied by Thomas McMahon. Both houses stood on the original House-lot No. 36, set apart by the proprietors when the village was laid out in 1750 in the behoof of a school, to be thereby maintained for their children. This proposed "school" had nothing in common with the one mentioned and foundationed by Colonel Ephraim Williams in his will five years later. This house-lot, lying along the east side of South Street for 120 rods from Main, is exactly parallel to House-lot No. 1, laid out on the west side of the same street to the same distance. The lot itself was soon sold by the proprietors, and the proceeds put to the prescribed uses by building a schoolhouse on the line between Nos. 1 and 3, on the south side of the Square, under the lea of the old meeting-house. For some reason, not known to the writer, No. 36 was not built on so soon or so much as the other house-lots equally near to the original Square. Besides the corner house but just now mentioned and the

tavern stand a few rods to the south of it, in one or other of which lived Captain Lemuel Stewart, no other house was built on No. 36 in the last century, except a very small and poor one on the site of the present fine house of Colonel Archibald Hopkins, and that was built by Betty Hubbell Cox, the mother of the late Thomas Cox of blessed memory. There is some, and perhaps sufficient, evidence, that the large landed property of Captain Stewart lay upon Bee Hill, and comprised the Hickox farms of that locality.

Samuel Sloan subscribed £60 toward the new building. We have learned a good deal about this man already. He came from Canaan, Connecticut. His wife was daughter to Asa Douglas, the first set-



NEHEMIAH SMEDLEY'S HOUSE ON GREEN RIVER.

Its frame was lifted 8 Oct., 1772. He was born in Litchfield in 1732, and died in this house, 1789.

tler of Hancock, in 1762, from the same place. Sloan was a blacksmith by trade, and was one of the very earliest settlers in South Williamstown, where he became after a little the largest landholder and the richest man, and where the town has since commemorated him in naming by vote the road from the early tavern, which he first opened, running straight west to the Oblong through his farm of over five hundred acres, the "Sloan Road." In 1796, when this subscription was made, Sloan was still living on this farm, as we learn from the Robbins diary, "In the afternoon rode down to Colonel Sloan's on a visit." When the meeting-house was opened for public worship, and so long thereafter as he lived (he died in

1813), General Sloan occupied the front pew on the right-hand side of the broad aisle. Judge David Noble, who died in 1803, occupied the pew opposite on the left hand. General Sloan was a short and thick-set man, highly honored by his townsmen, and used to ride *emeritus* at the military trainings here so long as he was able to mount his horse. So did General William Towner, a later graduate of the Militia, who, by the way, subscribed £15 for the new place of public worship.

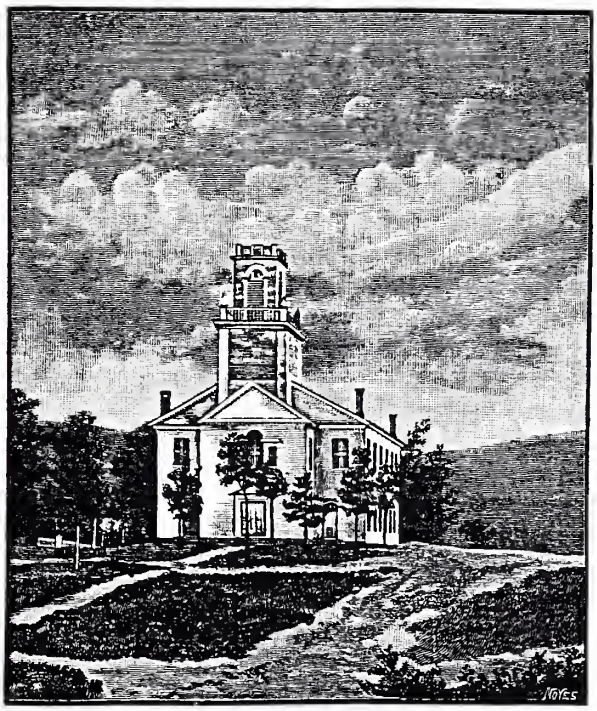
No other subscription than these already noted reached £50 in amount, except that of the brothers "L. and E. Smedley," which was precisely that. These sons of Captain Nehemiah Smedley jointly inherited his farm, married cousins by the name of Gibbs from Litchfield (now Morris), brought up large families under the same roof and all eating at one table in harmony, and at length, concluding to divide the large farm between themselves, agreed beforehand to ask no man's advice as to the division and to make no complaint to anybody subsequent to it. Levi, the older brother, who by agreement kept the homestead, in 1828 was chosen deacon of the church, which he had joined in 1792, and continued in office till his death in 1849. The house in which he lived and died was raised by his father on his eighth birthday, Oct. 8, 1772 and is still owned and occupied by the great-great-grandson of the builder. It is figured below.

The other brother, Elijah, made his home in plain sight, a few rods south of the other, where the main road turns east. Both had large families, and both have left a large and reputable posterity.

"E. Mather, £15," may properly delay us a moment. A branch from a great stock was this Elias Mather. He was in the eighth generation from John Mather of England, whose grandson, Rev. Richard Mather, emigrated to Dorchester, Massachusetts, in 1635, and became the ancestor of a long line of eminent clergymen and civilians down to our own day. This Elias Mather, born at Colchester, Connecticut, Oct. 25, 1770, probably brought more "blood" to Williamstown than any other man who ever settled in it. He was a hatter by trade, became intemperate and poor, moved down the river to Pownal, where his son, Benjamin F. Mather, was born, July 6, 1810. The father died Sept. 3, 1839. The son, long the principal merchant in Williamstown, died May 22, 1888.

It is not worth while to follow further at present these subscribers to the old meeting-house either by name or amount. Many of them will be referred to later in other connections. It is enough to say now, that these subscriptions constituted a heavy tax upon the com-

paratively few inhabitants of the hamlet, and also that they built a strong and large and handsome house of worship, which stood plumb and sound for the most part for about eighty years, when it was destroyed by fire. The site, though high relatively to the surrounding lands, was clayey and somewhat wet toward the rear. The rear timbers, accordingly, were heaved by the frost and slowly thrown out of plumb, when about 1850 a successful device was hit on to strengthen the building in that quarter by means of an annex of



MEETING-HOUSE OF 1796.

strong timbers so attached to the rear of the building as to hold the entire frame in place. The present writer cannot explain this mechanically, but he knows that it was effective as toward the end in view. Mr. and Mrs. Hoisington, returned missionaries from India, lived for some time in a house back of the church and in full view of this insignificant-looking appendage, which Mrs. Hoisington once wittily characterized as "*the native helper.*"

As the College, through its president and otherwise, had urged forward the erection of the edifice for their own accommodation in

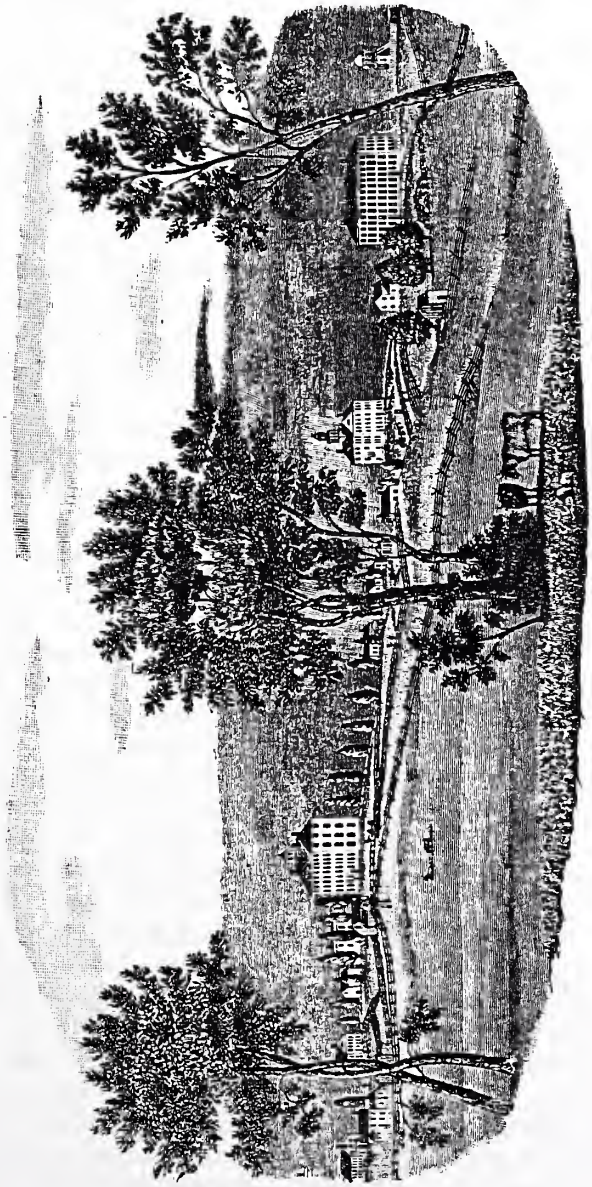
part, so the first public use of it was for the Commencement of 1798. It was not then quite finished, but was adequate for the joyful occasion. In the meantime the College itself had become much engaged as toward the erection of a new building for its own exclusive uses. Hear President Fitch: —

"January, 1796. The number of students is increasing so rapidly that we are already in want of another college edifice. We hope to obtain from the State a grant of a township of land in the Province of Maine, which, if obtained, will enable us to erect another building. At present we have a very likely collection of young men. They are very studious and orderly, and give us scarcely any trouble."

Four months later (May 6, 1796) young Robbins entered in his diary, "Considerable talk in town about the situation of the new college." It will be remembered that the trustees hesitated at first whether to erect their first building where they actually placed it, or on the parallel eminence to the east, "opposite to the old lime-kiln." When a new building became a necessity, they naturally reverted to their original alternative, and placed there what as naturally came to be called "East College." Its erection went forward simultaneously with the building of the new meeting-house. Both were finished at about the same time in 1798. It is to be presumed that "T. J. and B. Skinner" who subscribed £100 toward the meeting-house, the same sum as the "Corporation" subscribed, and who certainly built the West College, were also the builders of both the meeting-house and the East College. The same enterprising parties owned, certainly in 1798, the Mansion House, the first considerable tavern in the village, for they are put down as the owners in the United States house-tax assessment for that year; and that they themselves had built it not long before is almost as certain as the fact of their ownership of it then. It is, indeed, remarkable that these three quite large buildings were in process of erection in this small village at just about the same time, and it is at least as remarkable that all were destroyed by fire, — the East College in 1841, the meeting-house in 1866, and the Mansion House in 1870.

President Fitch estimated that the East College cost $12,400. On petition of the trustees, the Legislature had passed an act, Feb. 4, 1796, granting the College two townships of land in Maine, of the contents of six miles square each, for the purpose of building the new East College. These lands were sold for about $10,000, and the proceeds devoted thereto. It was of brick, and of much the same style of architecture as the West College. Both were four

stories high, and very strongly built. The rude picture figured below, in which the building to the right represents the East Col-



lege, the considerable one next it Griffin Hall, West College in the centre, and the president's house near it, the Mansion House mid-

way between that and the meeting-house at the extreme left, is poor enough in its perspective and in the relative position of the buildings, but is invaluable as furnishing the only known pictorial representation of the East College. The meeting-house never had anything corresponding to a tower, but at different times three differing finials, one a wooden cone of large size, and another the four-posted top of the belfry as given in the picture a few pages back.

The East College was in many respects a copy of the West College, the main differences being that in the former there were two halls running through it east and west, instead of the original one through West College in the same direction; and then there were two bedrooms to each study-room, while in the older building there were originally no distinct bedrooms at all. The Chapel remained in West College, as did also the recitation rooms for the Freshmen and Sophomore classes, which were on the ground floor (moving about for convenience), the rooms themselves being nowise different from the dormitory rooms in that building, until in 1828 the new Chapel was dedicated (Griffin Hall), when the space thus released in West College on the second and third floors was given to two permanent recitation rooms, one for the Sophomores on the south end of the third floor, and one for the Freshmen directly below it, of the same size and lighting from windows. This arrangement continued until Kellogg Hall was built in 1847. Thereafter for many years the Sophomores recited in general in the east room (ground floor) of the new Hall, and the Freshmen in the west room corresponding. These new rooms were nicely and strongly fitted up by the College with permanent benches for seats around the walls, and long and strong (though movable) benches in the middle. Up to that time the Freshmen and Sophomores owned as classes the seats and other furniture in the recitation rooms in West College, and regularly sold these out to the next entering class, while they proudly migrated to the eastward.

The new East College held the recitation rooms of the Senior and Junior classes, and this of itself gave its location some prestige over the older building, which was decidedly increased when the new Chapel was placed on the same eminence directly across the Main Street. The West College grounds relatively waned from that time on, for Kellogg Hall was an insignificant building in itself, and stood on comparatively low ground. The later building of the present East and South colleges on what was practically the site of the old East College consumed, although the north line of the present and smaller East College is twelve feet farther south than the cor-

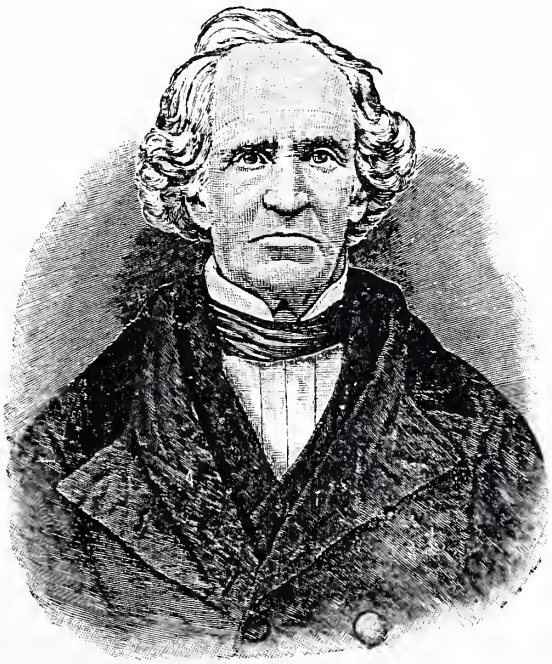
responding line of the old building, and the still smaller South College stands entirely south of the old site, together with the later erection of the Library and stone Chapel upon the same eminence, to say nothing of Clark Hall and the Soldiers' Monument still later placed still further east, seemed to settle the question of comparative dignity for all time against the originally selected foundations. But Time often has its silent and unexpected revenges. The final placing in 1867 of the Congregational meeting-house, after sharp disputes, on the slope of the more westerly hill, and then the putting of the lordly Morgan Hall directly opposite that across the street, and the three magnificent Thompson Laboratories still further west, — one of them wholly west of even West College itself, — not only fully restored the balance as between the hills, but also promises for the future some compensation in the way of extra, though always sober, brilliance for the partial eclipse of the western height, which the fathers on the whole preferred.

Student Robbins entered in his diary under date of July 5, 1796, "Saw a man making brick — to make 300,000 for a new college." Robbins passed every day from his boarding-place at Deacon Skinner's north of the river to his duties at the College by the clay pits at the northern foot of the Mansion House Hill, where the brick for the West and old East College were certainly burnt. The owner of that field at the present time lately had occasion to plough it over for the purpose of seeding it down, when there were displayed to the incurious eyes of the present generation (a couple of them curious enough) bits of old brick to an immense number scattered over an half acre of ground, and coming up to the surface under the push of the ploughshare from a sleep of a century. Out of these 300,000 whole brick the old East College walls were constructed. When the building burned down in 1841, it became a part of the contract in the erection of the present East and South colleges that the brick of the burnt building should be used in the walls of the new ones so far as they could be made available. There they have been for more than fifty years, and there they are now — mostly out of sight, it is true — in the inner walls and in the chimneys. This contractor, Henry B. Curtis, is yet living and in Williamstown, and told the writer these facts but a few days ago.

A casual incident of some interest to all graduates of the College and dwellers in the town who remember the late Thomas Cox, the pious and faithful "professor of dust and ashes," who for about forty years swept the colleges and made the student's beds, and who for all that time and much longer bore constant testimony in his life

and words to his divine Master in such a way as to secure the respect of everybody, both in College and town, so connects his name with the building of the old East College as to make the writer desire to help perpetuate the memory of both so long as possible and in connection each with each. The old proprietors' book holds this among its early records of births, "John E. Cox and Betty his wife their offspring Thomas their son born August 14th, 1787." Betty Cox was the daughter of Jedediah Hubbell of Lanesboro, the rude, and consequently not always accurate, land-surveyor of Williamstown's original lots and farms. He was a good man, and possessed so good a conscience, that he lived well into his hundredth year, as one may still read on his headstone in the south cemetery at Lanesboro. He came early to Lanesboro from "ancient Woodbury," was one of the Committee of Safety and Correspondence appointed by that town in 1774, and continued useful in that capacity throughout the Revolution; and became so poor in his old age that the only present he could make to his new minister, Rev. Noah Sheldon, on his settlement, was a wooden "piggin" made by his own hands when he was ninety-eight years old. Poverty and piety descended to his daughter, Betty Cox, and to his grandson, Thomas Cox. The latter was ten years old while the old East College was going up. His mother had recently secured a small piece of cheap land on South Street, where now stands the house of Colonel Archie Hopkins, and had given her "chintz gown" in wages to a poor mason who had put up for her there a rude stone chimney to her ruder hovel. House and land were not esteemed as worth $100 in 1798, as we learn negatively from the national assessment of the house-tax in that year. She had previously lived with her children further south on the same road, at the foot of Stone Hill, in a wet pasture now belonging to Mrs. Lucy B. Smedley, where are still growing roses transplanted by her from the garden of her first pastor, deceased, Rev. Whitman Welch. Cox used to say, and there are many persons now living who have heard him say, that while playing around his mother's door he heard the bricklayers on the new College shouting "*Mort! Mort!*" to the hod-heavers below. The distance must be fully half a mile or more, with a shallow valley lying between the two points, in which there was not then a single house or other building of any sort, but in which now lies the most populous part of the town, both in dwellings and business places, including the post-office and the two banks and the spacious houses in Grace Court and the entire Spring Street, which is and will always remain the business street of Williamstown.

The appended picture of Thomas Cox, which shows him faithfully as he looked about 1860, indicates indeed that deficiency of mental powers which was obvious to all his contemporaries, but which proved to be no essential barrier to a long life of usefulness. Several of the worthies of the first century of Williamstown, who will be remembered perhaps as long as any of their more gifted contemporaries, such as Thomas Cox and Bill Pratt[1] and Charity Root, were more or less wanting in intellect, but in God's wide world there is opportunity for all in a varied usefulness, and all that can be gotten out of life by high or low is USEFULNESS.



THOMAS COX,
Professor of Dust and Ashes.

The Senior recitation room in the new East College was in the north end of the third story, the middle room. The Junior recitation room was in the south end of the second story, the middle room. The students owned the seats in both rooms, on the theory that they would be likely to complain less and take more care; which theory was confirmed on the change of plan in the new Kellogg Hall when

[1] See *Bill Pratt, the Saw-Buck Philosopher*, by Zelie and Perry, 1895.

the Sophomores tore up with crowbars and split with axes the permanent oak seats in their room in the fall of 1848. The Philologian and Philotechnian societies held their weekly meetings for debates and other literary exercises for more than forty years in these Junior and Senior recitation rooms in East College. The origin of these societies, which are still extant and still in a sense distinct, is found in the Adelphic Union Society, almost coeval with the College itself. This consisted of all the members of College and a few of the more advanced students of the Academy. In 1795 this society had a library which numbered about one hundred volumes, and which was kept in the southwest corner room of the fourth story of West College, opposite to what was afterward and for a long while the tutor's room. In the fall of the year just mentioned all the members of the Freshman class, and all those newly entered the upper classes, were admitted into this Adelphic Union Society, which held its meetings in the fourth story of West College, in the northeast corner room, diagonally across the hall from their small library. The accessions to College that autumn, together with all the old members, made up so many that they could not all be accommodated well in their place of meeting, and a committee was appointed to report a plan of division. Knapp and Mason of the class of '96 and Towner of the class of '97 were probably that committee; at any rate, it has long been understood that these three were the individuals most active in bringing about the pending changes in the society, which were important and proved to be far-reaching. A plan of division was reported by the committee. It was discussed for several evenings, and the result was the formation of the Philologian and Philotechnian societies, the two together to be known by the old name of the Adelphic Union, and the library to be held in common. After the East College was built, the weekly meeting of these societies were held in the Senior and Junior recitation rooms, respectively, and the library was kept thereafter for many years on the third floor of the West College in the room over the east entryway. These societies have continued with names unchanged and their principal reciprocal relations maintained till the present time; and they have been subject almost as a matter of course to alternate seasons of prosperity and decline, some of the causes and consequences of which may probably come up for comment on a future page of this book.

On a Sunday afternoon in October, 1841, while the students were at church on the Square, a sudden alarm of fire was given in the meeting-house, and the students rushed out, to find the north end

of the East College all in a blaze. It was supposed to have been communicated from a stick of wood falling from the fireplace to the floor in a room directly over the Senior recitation room, that is, in a room situated on the fourth floor and west side and north hall. The students, as they always do under such circumstances, showed the greatest pluck and persistency in saving whatever was possible to be saved. The building was forty-five years old; the wooden interior dried by the fires of so many winters; no water nearer than the College spring, and of that only enough to wet the blankets, with which the combustible parts of the Astronomical Observatory were covered, and so was saved that building with all its valuable instruments; so that the fire spread with great rapidity from floor to floor, and from end to end, and soon the noble edifice was a smouldering ruin. The students, however, were enabled to save most of their furniture and books, excepting those which were in the immediate vicinity of the room in which the fire at first broke out. The small theological library was entirely destroyed. The rooms belonging to the Philologian and Philotechnian societies, which had been recently fitted up anew by the students, were of course destroyed also, but the major part of their libraries and furniture was removed, though not without great injury, and only in consequence of the utmost exertions of the students. Some of those who will give their attention to these pages of record in the time to come will probably have noted already that, so far as we know and believe, the very first subject of general interest and discussion to the students of this College was a Literary Society of their own, the Adelphic Union, and a library of their own in connection with that; and there will be opportunity of observing, from time to time, how earnestly and generously and almost constantly during the first century of the College the students gave time and thought and money and an honest rivalry to the interests generally and to the libraries in particular of their respective literary societies, the Philologian and the Philotechnian. Many an Alumni meeting at Commencement time has been enlivened by the reminiscences of old graduates, how one society or the other was supposed to have gotten the advantage by some stroke of policy or embellishment.

Thomas Robbins entered in his diary under the date of May 14, 1796, "The scholars clean the ground around college thoroughly." That is, around the West College. From the very beginning, until after 1850, the woodpiles for the fall and winter fuel of "the scholars," each pile by itself for the occupants of one room, rarely more in a pile than one cord of four-foot wood, were laid up for the

most part against the outer four walls of the building. The sawing of the wood was mostly done out of doors and at these piles, and almost exclusively by the students themselves. About Thanksgiving time each year some of the farmers from the hills around would drive into the College yard with what purported to be a cord of "body" wood, and offered it for sale at a given price to some student. "*There's a cord, just about, but you'll take it for just what there is!*" If the cautious student proposed to help unload, and pile it up to measure it, there were insuperable objections of all sorts, the most common one being, "*I tell you, I can't wait, I've got to get home t' chore time — take it or leave it.*" The present writer has roomed in West College as a student, and witnessed even more than he experienced, and it is no far-off distant tale that he is telling now. By the judgment of charity in general, and by the subsequent measurement of many a load in particular, the average *quantum* of these loads may have been three-fourths of a cord. Even at a just measurement of the cords, however, wood for fuel was cheap in Williamstown up to 1850, owing to the abounding forests on all the encircling hills. But whether full cords or short, body wood or top, beech or birch, the yard itself was always well littered by springtime with the inevitable chips and bits of bark and sawdust and whatnot. It seems from our matter-of-fact diarist that the students from the very first deemed it to be their proper function to clean up the yard in the springtime "thoroughly." In this prime instance of 1796, it was done May 14. The same custom undoubtedly established itself at once in connection with the new East College. Undoubtedly, also, there came to be some rivalry as to which of the two grounds should present the "slickest" appearance after the annual cleaning. Precisely when the holiday from immemorial time denominated here "Chip Day" originated, there are no means of determining; but that it was in full operation throughout the first half of the century there are no grounds to question. It certainly went out of usage in the way following, to wit: the students came to enjoy the spring holiday better by making excursions in the neighborhood, or by going out of town, than by working themselves at the chips with rake and shovel and wheelbarrow; and so it came about that a committee appointed in each class undertook to collect a small subscription, say ten cents on the average, from the body of the class, with which to hire some outside hangers-on to do the work, while the thereby relieved principals went their ways to enjoy the holiday as best they might. Several conspiring principles of our common human nature inevitably brought it about that work

done under such circumstances was ill done, and increasingly so, so that the College authorities came to take the care of the grounds into their own hands.

The class of 1798, which was the first to hold its Commencement exercises in the new meeting-house, which was not even then quite finished, was at its graduation just three times as large as the class preceding, and just five times as large as the class of 1796. As we say nowadays under like conditions, the College was "booming." The East College was nearly or quite finished, and presented, especially to those approaching the town from the east, a really fine appearance. The interest of every part of Berkshire County in the new institution in its northwestern corner is evidenced by a personal representation of each part in this relatively large class. Levi Glezen and Amasa Jerome and Oliver Partridge Sergeant were from Stockbridge; William Henry Williams was from West Stockbridge, son of Colonel Elijah Williams, half-brother of the Founder; Simeon Ford and David Lord Perry were from Richmond; William P. Walker was from Lenox; William Williams was from Dalton; Silas Hubbell was from Lanesboro; Daniel Jones from North Adams; and Benjamin Skinner, son of Deacon Benjamin Skinner, from Williamstown. This class exhibits also the first considerable incoming for educational purposes into the upper valley of the Hoosac from all portions of the country contiguous to Berkshire County, — an incoming, of course, with temporary fluctuations, that has never ceased to this day. Williams College is happily situated topographically and otherwise in relation to a constituency from New York and Connecticut and Vermont. The Hoosac Mountain always has been, and in some sense will continue to be, notwithstanding the Hoosac Tunnel, some obstacle to patronage from the central parts of Massachusetts and from southern New Hampshire. The class of 1798 had at graduation eight members from Connecticut, five from Massachusetts outside of Berkshire County, three from eastern New York, and two from southern Vermont. Two of its members, Levi Glezen and William P. Walker, were the second and third graduates of the College to become members of the Board of Trustees, the former in 1813 and the latter in 1824; and these two, on other grounds also, may properly be considered the most distinguished members of that class.

They were graduated amid unusual political excitements. John Adams was chosen President of the United States by a small majority over Jefferson for the term beginning March 4, 1797; and the main point of the vehement disputes as between the two parties, called

respectively Federalists and Republicans, was the attitude to be assumed by the new republic toward the French Revolution and the successive governments in France to which that gave rise. The Federalists were in general opposed to the French, and were determined at all events to maintain a neutral position as between European combatants and complications; while the Republicans, in general, took opposite grounds. The French Directory issued decrees and orders virtually authorizing privateering, and other measures highly injurious to American commerce; and public opinion on this side becoming, in consequence, substantially united against the French, a small navy was set on foot, an army partly levied, with Washington for commander-in-chief, and a state of *quasi* war with France ensued. There was much excitement. The students here wrote a patriotic letter to President Adams, offering their services to the country, which brought back from him a handsome letter, a copy of which ought to be in the archives of the College, but the present writer has never been able to find it. In the pretty certain prospect of this war with France, Congress passed a house-tax, which was assessed in due form, and is on record so far as Massachusetts is concerned, but was never collected, because war itself was averted by means of three special commissions sent over by our Government, who fortunately succeeded in arranging peacefully all the matters in dispute with Bonaparte, then just elected First Consul. But the house-taxes assessed in the towns of Massachusetts remain on record in the Secretary's office at Boston, and are of great historical significance, and go far to compensate, in the information they impart to later generations of the relative condition of their ancestors, for all the excitements and pecuniary losses of an impending war with France. The knowledge of the existence even of these assessments, so far as Williamstown is concerned, was first learned by the writer a few years ago, and were carefully copied by him for the present purpose and use. They were never before this printed. They will be here given entire, with absolute fidelity to the originals in every particular. The penetrating reader will perceive their value.

"1st Oct. 1798.

Dwelling-Houses with the Out-houses appurtenant thereto and the Lots not exceeding two Acres in any case [which] were owned, possessed, or occupied, within the assessment District No. 8 in the 9th Division of the State of Massachusetts, exceeding in Value the sum of 100 Dollars.

	Perches	
Aaron Deming	25	$264.50
Matthew Dunning Jr.	25	116.15

	Perches	
Jonathan Danforth	25	$132.25
Col Danforth	25	120.75
John Day	25	747.50
Daniel Dewey	40	977.50
Daniel Day	25	172.50
Daniel Day	25	1495.00
Jared Foster	80	287.50
William Foster	25	264.50
Zadock Ford	25	120.75
James Fowler	25	116.15
Jonathan Giles	25	345.00
James Greene	40	207.00
Robert Hawkins	25	184.00
Isaac Holmes	25	116.15
Calvin Holmes	25	116.15
Joseph Hand	25	116.15
Stephen Hickox	25	287.50
William Hamilton	25	125.35
Lemuel Higgins	40	862.50
David Haydon	40	690.00
John Joslin	40	391.00
Oliver Barrett	25	138.00
Reuben Judd	25	384.10
David Johnson 1st	25	132.25
Daniel Kinny	25	116.15
(heirs of Daniel Kinny deceased)		
Elizabeth Krigger	25	116.15
(heirs of John Krigger deceased)		
Samuel Kellogg	25	862.50
Nathaniel Kellogg	25	116.15
Richard Kinny	25	172.50
James Meacham	40	1150.00
Samuel Mills	25	207.50
Samuel McKay	40	805.00
Thomas Malady	40	132.25
Elias Marther	40	747.50
Timothy Northum	40	172.50
Elias Newbre	25	143.75
David Noble	40	1265.00
James and Willard Morse	25	287.50
(David Noble owner)		
Deodatus Noble	40	977.50
Ebenezer Blin	40	1380.00
(Deodatus Noble owner)		
Samuel Porter	40	460.00
Thomas Roe	25	116.15
Warren Roberts	25	143.75
Elijah Rich	25	172.50

	Perches	
Benjamin Reed	25	$161.00
—— Pratt	25	120.75
(Geo. Reab owner)		
Ard Roberts	25	184.00
William Sloan	40	207.50
Isaac Sherwood	25	116.15
Daniel Smith	25	149.50
Asa Standish	350 sq. ft.	103.50
Benjamin Skinner	25	977.50
(Benj. Simonds owner)		
Abraham Starke	25	126.50
(Benj. Simonds owner)		
Ephraim Seelye	25	632.50
Reuben Seelye	25	149.50
Constant Williams	25	264.50
Seth Swift	untaxed	
Jesse Spencer	25	116.15
Smedley Levi and Elijah	25	977.50
Elihu Shearman	25	287.50
Samuel Sloan	25	287.50
Samuel Sloan	25	575.00
Elnathan Holmes	25	1265.00
Samuel Stewart	25	149.50
Charles Sabin	25	287.50
Timothy Sabin	25	129.37
(Charles Sabin owner)		
Samuel Satterlee	2 acres	460.00
—— Higgins	36	230.00
(Samuel Satterlee owner)		
Wm Bissell Shearman	40	977.50
Peruda Isbell	25	264.50
(W. B. Shearman owner)		
William Smith	40	805.00
Lemuel Stewart	25	1205.00
Lemuel Scovil Stewart	30	1035.00
Burral Sutton	40	402.50
Joseph Tallmadge	1 acre	316.25
(Lem. Scovil Stewart owner)		
Stephen Scott	2 acres	287.50
(Tompson J. Skinner owner)		
Lewis Stebbins	40	517.50
Southth Munn	25	120.75
(Lewis Stebbins owner)		
William Starkweather	40	1840.00
Remembrance Sheldon	40	977.50
Ebenezer Stratton	25	345.00
Tompson J. Skinner	40	575.00
(T. J. and Benj. Skinner owner)		

	Perches	
George Reab	40	$3220.00
(T. J. and Benj. Skinner owners)		
Samuel Tyler	25	172.50
Elijah Thomas	25	116.15
Joseph Thurston	40	345.00
William Towner	25	287.50
William Torrey	25	287.50
Zebedee Turner	25	172.50
Joseph Tallmadge	25	247.25
James Walker	25	172.50
Nehemiah Woodcock	25	230.00
Bartholemew Woodcock	25	920.00
Joseph Corbin	650 sq. ft.	103.50
Solomon Wolcott	25	575.00
Solomon Wright	30	690.00
Elisha Williams	30	287.50
William Wells	30	116.15
Stephen Wilcox	25	130.00
Shubael Wilmarth	25	143.75
Whitman Tim. and J. P.	40	575.00
Andrew Young	40	120.75
William Young	40	690.00
John Snow	25	120.75
(William Young owner)		
Moses Young	25	120.75

Rate prescribed by the Commissions 15 *per centum.* Daniel Dewey was Principal Assessor, and signs the return as such.

Assistant assessors for 8th District 9th Division of Massachusetts: —

Israel Jones	North Adams
Samuel Sloan	Williamstown
Deodatus Noble	Williamstown
George Lapham	Hancock
Joseph Williams	Savoy
Jesse King	'Unincorporated Land on Hoosac Mountain'
Nicolas Clark	Clarksburg

Taxes assessed on higher Values than the valuation of Principle Assessor 10 or 12 *per centum.*"

Here, then, in the autumn of 1798, were 107 houses with their immediate premises officially assessed as of a value exceeding $100. There were probably twice as many more houses, say 214, which fell below the legally required valuation, or 321 in all the town. The proof of this probability is this: by the first national census, in 1790, there were 1769 inhabitants in Williamstown; and by the next census, in 1800, there were 2086, an increase in the ten years

of 317 persons. If we may assume that this increase were uniform throughout the decade, that would be an increment of nearly 32 persons a year, or a population of 2015 in 1798. It was at any rate 2086 in 1800. Now, if we may safely assume further that there were on the average six heads in every house in town, then were there 642 people lodged in the taxed houses, leaving 1373 people in the untaxed, or six heads at least in each of the 214 thus exempted from the national tax assessment. This is of course only approximate, but it cannot be very far away from the exact truth. The majority of the people of Williamstown in 1798 must have been very poor.

Only eight houses in town were then valued at over $1000 each, namely: the Mansion House, $3220; William Starkweather's, $1840; Daniel Day's, $1495; Deodatus Noble's, $1380; Lemuel Stewart's, $1265; David Noble's, $1265; James Meacham's, $1150; and Scovil Stewart's, $1035.

Only twenty-two homestead premises more were then valued at over $500 each, namely: Daniel Dewey's, $977.50; Deodatus Noble's, $977.50; Benjamin Simonds's, $977.50; L. and E. Smedley's, $977.50; Remembrance Sheldon's, $977.50; Bissell Sherman's, $977.50 (six thus assessed at the same figure); Bartholemew Woodcock's, $920; Lemuel Higgins's, $862.50; Samuel Kellogg's, $862.50; Samuel McKay's, $805; William Smith's, $805; John Day's, $747.50; Elias Mather's, $747.50; David Haydon's, $690; Solomon Wright's, $690; William Young's, $690; Ephraim Seelye's, $632.50; Solomon Wolcott's, $575; T. J. Skinner's, $575; T. and J. P. Whitman's, $575; Samuel Sloan's, $575; and Lewis Stebbins's, $517.50. The rest of the taxed homesteads as such, seventy-seven in number, were assessed below $500, the lowest one, that of Joseph Corbin, being put at $103.50. Joseph Corbin had two brothers, Asa and Amasa, also settled here with their families at that time, but neither of these had a house that came up to the national scratch in 1798. Indeed, Joseph Corbin, who had seven children born here 1779–93, removed from here to Plattsburg, New York, in 1799, where he still has posterity. William G. Bosworth, Williams College, '89, is a direct descendant of his; and so is Austin Corbin of New York, a man who has been prominent in financial and other honorable circles in his day and generation. Clement Corbin, born in 1616, was the father of James Corbin, who became the first settler of Woodstock, Connecticut. James's three sons, Asa and Amasa and Joseph, were in military service in the Eleventh Regiment of Connecticut in 1776 in the campaign around

New York. Not long after, all three came to Williamstown, and settled at the South Part, one or more of them on the Gore. In the line of Asa Corbin is the second wife of Deacon Henry Blair of South Williamstown, both husband and wife still living, much thought of by their neighbors, in this year of Grace, 1895.

About a score of the houses assessed in 1798 are still standing at the present time, most of them a good deal changed in their external appearance; but some of them certainly, and among these William Young's and Bartholemew Woodcock's at the South Part, and Remembrance Sheldon's and Benjamin Simonds's at the North Part, look very much as they did then. One who has been longer a professor in Williams College than any one else during the first century of its existence, marks with pleasure that the very first professor in the College, Samuel McKay, lived in and owned one of the best houses then in town, assessed at a valuation of $805. Seth Swift, the first minister, also lived in a good house still standing, but as it could not be taxed under Massachusetts laws, it was courteously non-assessed by the United States.

Nearly half a score of the unassessed dwellings in 1798, including all of the still existing "regulation houses," may be identified at the present time. If we compare carefully the subscription list for the new meeting-house in 1796 with this assessment list of two years later, we shall be gratified to find that fully one-half of those eighty-eight subscribers dwelled in houses not deemed worth while by the United States to tax, on account of their not being adjudged as worth $100 each. Some of these subscriptions made by ill-lodged residents were quite large,—as many as five subscribing £20 each, seven £15 each, six £12 each, eight £10 each, and Elisha Baker, who died in the interval between the subscription and the assessment, put down and paid for the new meeting-house £25. The smallest subscription was that of Isaac Miller, 12*s.*, and there were four others less than £2 each. Unmistakable is the inference from this comparison of the two almost contemporary lists, namely, that the majority of the people of Williamstown at the close of the eighteenth century, though poor, were liberal up to their means and beyond their means as toward the house of God.

And what of their politics? Here again the diary of Thomas Robbins lets in several streaks of welcome light. Under different dates during April, 1796, occur the following significant entries. "A great deal of electioneering in the papers for a Governor of this State." "Freemen's Meeting, full and disorderly." "Almost all voted for the old Governor." "Great noise about the President of

the U. S. refusing to give up the papers respecting the treaty with Great Britain." "Political difficulties run high." The Governor, for whom "almost all voted," was Samuel Adams, a cousin of John Adams, and four years older. The two virtually framed the first Constitution of Massachusetts, that of 1780, and also the address of the issuing Convention to the people called on to ratify and adopt their work. He was lieutenant-governor of the State, 1789–94, and governor 1794–97. At the election in April, 1796, the candidate being then seventy-four years old, some thought a younger man should be chosen, and one more favorable to the political privileges of the leading classes in Massachusetts. Neither of these reasons appealed with much force to the citizens of Williamstown. "Almost all voted for the old Governor." Samuel Adams was not only a personal friend of Jefferson, who attributed to him a greater share than any other member of the old revolutionary Congress in devising and directing its measures in the Northern Department, but also the two men agreed in their radical political principles, and in the general interpretation of the new national Constitution. The two were alike jealous of all delegated power, even in the hands of a Washington. The fundamental Jeffersonian principle in our national politics, which has continued from that day to this to be the ever-recurring and dividing line for the most part as between our so-called great national parties, is the principle of construing as strictly as may be possible to the language employed in the Constitution and its Amendments, the clauses both granting to and withholding from the three great departments of the national Government the powers ultimately residing in the people themselves, and by much the larger part of which they have intrusted to their more immediate agents in the State governments through their State Constitutions.

Closely allied with this first political principle of the country, and this criterion of two great parties ever since, was another and one usually inseparable from the defence of the first in practice, namely, that Government exists for the greatest good of the greatest number, who support it in peace and fight for it in war-time. A strong temptation and opportunity has always existed, and perhaps always will exist in some degree, for those intrusted by the Constitution and laws with powers to use for the general good only, to actually use a portion of those powers for the special good of a few at the cost and expense of the masses of the people. Colonial Massachusetts had a considerable number of special privileges for the few and well-to-do, partly social and partly ecclesiastical, which

were against the rational and republican liberty of the many. The Common Law, for one thing, was partial and aristocratic in its application through the courts of the colony to the common people. As we have seen already on a preceding page, the famous "Shays's Rebellion" of 1787 was specifically directed to breaking up the sessions of the courts in the western counties, because there was a popular conviction, with which the rioters were willing to take the risks, that the laws were discriminating and unjust as toward the less privileged classes of the people. We know there were many Shays men in Williamstown; and when, ten years later, the lines came to be drawn between the Federalists and Republicans (as the later Democrats were then called, Alexander Hamilton being even then regarded as the leader of the former and Thomas Jefferson the leader of the latter), a large majority of the Williamstown people ranged themselves decidedly among the Jeffersonians, not only for the election of Samuel Adams as Governor of Massachusetts in 1796, but also steadily thereafter to both elections of Jefferson as President of the United States. Their local leader was the carpenter and builder, T. J. Skinner, who became extremely popular in the county and the State, and whom his varied constituents carried through almost every civil office within their gift up to the Treasurership of the State of Massachusetts in 1806 and 1807. He is said to have held more grades of civil office in Massachusetts than any other citizen of the State has ever done since.

When the Federalist party began to show its hand in the first Congress of the United States under the Constitution, Fisher Ames of Massachusetts and one Hartley of Pennsylvania were the very first members to lift up their voices, while the first tariff bill was being slowly constructed for revenue to the new Government, in favor of any other end than revenue to be reached through the taxes then being laid on the people. This was significant of after times, when these two States became the leading champions of what was long fondly called for deception's sake "*Protection.*" "Protection," in every degree of it and in every phase of it everywhere, is Privilege to the few and Plunder to the many. The Federalist party, while it performed many excellent and patriotic duties of other sorts, gave itself over to Privilege contrary to the equal Rights of the masses of the people, and so lost its hold upon them and its lease of party life. The election of Jefferson as President in 1801 was the death-knell of the old party of Privilege. Alexander Hamilton, Fisher Ames, and Theodore Sedgwick, the three great lights of the national party, saw political power slip out of their fingers never

to return, a good while before their respective deaths in 1804, 1808, and 1813. The large Democratic majority in Williamstown continued unbroken until the defalcation of their great leader, General Skinner, as Treasurer of the Commonwealth in 1807. The people of the town were in no sense to blame for this great blow to their party and its head. But they suffered almost the same as if they had been wholly to blame for it.

The president and the majority of the trustees of the College were strong Federalists, which was a matter of personal temperament and training more than of unbiased judgment on broad grounds of political principle and tendency. In a certain sense the College stood over against the town politically, and thought itself wiser, when, as a matter of fact, it was only narrower and more selfish. The pastors and the churches in New England at the close of the eighteenth century were overwhelmingly Federalist, and were at once bigoted and self-righteous in their federalism as well as in their Calvinism. Seth Swift, who was the pastor here from 1779 till 1807, was somewhat separated from his people all the time and considerably separated some of the time on grounds of his federalism, which was in substance Partiality and Privilege. President Dwight of Yale College, in the second volume of his "Travels," giving an account of a visit made in Williamstown in September, 1806, has these interesting words to offer on a subject about which he could not have been very well informed: —

> The inhabitants of Williamstown have been injured heretofore by political contentions. Their minister, the Rev. Mr. Swift, a gentleman highly respectable for his good sense and piety, who died February, 1807, labored long, and faithfully, here, under many discouragements, both for the want of a sufficient support for his family, and from a disheartening insensibility of his hearers to the requisitions of the Gospel. But towards the close of his life he had the peculiar satisfaction to see an extensive revival of Religion in his congregation, and a very interesting change wrought in their character."

From an annual average admission to the church of eight persons in the five years 1800–4, there passed to an annual average admission of forty-seven in the three years, 1805–7. The "political contentions" referred to by President Dwight were not by any means altogether to the credit of the pastor and the particular families of his flock who, with him, emphasized Federalist politics. Politics were carried into social life, and became bitter and divisive in church and town in proportion as they were superficially and socially conceived of. President Fitch demonstrated his own incapacity for political discussion, or even comprehension, by the

wretched caricatures of Jefferson that he believed in and socially circulated. Seth Swift was much such a sort of man as Ebenezer Fitch. It may be asserted with confidence that neither of them ever preached from, or meditated long on, or was capable of expounding, such a text as St Paul's "*Honor all men.*" With these two heads of families, with their proper official precedence, were associated as the heads of the Federalist party in town Samuel Sloan, David Noble, Daniel Dewey, Levi Smedley, Nehemiah Woodcock, and Asa Burbank. On the other hand, both of the Skinner brothers, the General and the Deacon, were leading Democrats, as were also William Towner, a celebrated physician, William Young, a chief man at the South Part, and Keyes Danforth, the elder, equally prominent at the North Part. So strong was the social prejudice against Democrats, both professionally and otherwise, in town and College, that it was deemed best to make a special effort to bring in a Federalist doctor to make headway against the extensive practice of Dr. William Towner. Under precisely these auspices, as is said, came over the mountain from Northampton Dr. Remembrance Sheldon. He married Olive, the eldest daughter of Samuel Sloan, and was thus happily introduced into Federalist circles. It is also said that when members of Federalist families were very sick indeed, Dr. Towner was apt to be called in to them after all. Towner was surgeon's mate in Colonel Simonds's regiment in 1781. He had certain exterior advantages, which rarely fail to tell professionally, when the solid basis of purely professional merit is present. He was a large and well-proportioned man, of pleasing manners, fond of society, readily lending his attention to subjects outside his profession, especially to politics,—an all-engrossing concern of those times. He was strictly temperate, even totally abstinent, at a day when physicians were expected (whenever called) to help themselves from the decanters of the sideboard. He was found to be a hard man to be run out by Federalist doctors as such. Indeed, all the evidence points to his remarkably successful medical career. He practised as far as Troy on the west, and to Pittsfield on the south. What was strange in those days, he never bled his fever patients, and he had other specialties of his own, particularly a cure for the "mad-dog bite," which never transpired to his fellow-practitioners. He died in Pownal in January, 1813, exhausted by his incessant labors in a local epidemic of pneumonia during the years 1812–14.

His son-in-law, Dr. Samuel Smith, who had been practising with him only a short time, reached his bedside there in time to be

charged on no account to bleed him as it would be his death; but in the absence of Dr. Smith, Dr. Porter, his contemporary in Williamstown, called on him in a friendly way, and although his symptoms were already more favorable, insisted on bleeding him, after which he failed rapidly, and died at the age of fifty-eight. He came into this region from New Fairfield, Connecticut, and settled at Stafford's Hill, where he was the first physician. When he first moved to Williamstown, he lived in the "pine-tree house" on Green River, in which he was preceded by Rev. Seth Swift. Afterward till the time of his death he lived in the oldest house on Water Street, still standing opposite the Green River Mills. He had reached such a rank in the militia, that his commission as brigadier-general arrived only a few days after his death. He was also high up in Freemasonry, and was buried under ceremonies of both Masonic and military orders. But no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day. Although the Masons procured for him a monument, it was never erected; and by a shameful neglect the place of his grave was not marked and is now unknown. Dr. Towner is known to have been strenuous in his efforts to forward the interests of the Free School on its opening in October, 1791; and not to have intermitted such efforts when the school became a college two years later. We may have noticed a few pages back, that he made a liberal subscription to the new meeting-house of £15; but he was a churchman by preference, and as often as possible attended service at Lanesboro, then the nearest place of Episcopal worship; and he was a warm admirer of President Nott of Schenectady, who occasionally preached in Williamstown in times of religious interest. In the house-tax assessment of 1798, Dr. Towner's house was put down at $287.50 in value; but he died insolvent, having been one of the bondsmen of General Skinner, who defaulted as Treasurer of the State in 1807, and carried down a number of his bondsmen with himself. The late Dr. James Smedley remembered as a boy seeing Dr. and General Towner well mounted on the parade ground,— "a splendid looking man in regimentals." The same boy witnessed the complex military and Masonic ceremonies at the funeral. Deacon Benjamin Skinner was the Masonic chaplain on that occasion, and carried the open Bible in the procession, that was still impressive, notwithstanding the strong reaction that had taken place in town against Democrats and Freemasons in consequence of the terrible fall of General Skinner, and of the signal troubles of his bondsmen.

The two eldest sons of Dr. Towner were already enlisted soldiers in the War of 1812, when the father died; and it was

supposed by his family, that, had his general's commission but found him alive and in fair health, he would have taken the field at once under General Dearborn, who had himself also been a physician before he became soldier. One of Towner's sons, whose name was Charles Fox, was killed by a cannon-ball in the battle of Bridgewater. Another, whose name was William Cullen, lived to return home to Williamstown from the war, but never to distinguish himself in any way. The father gave names to his boys, that later stood in stark contrast with their own achievements. One of them, Harry Brown by name, after the popular sheriff of the county, peddled candy in college. Other sons in succession were Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, John Hancock, and Erasmus Darwin. The last became a respectable Baptist minister, in whose family lived the youngest sister, Mary. Another sister, Sophia, spent her life unmarried in the family of her brother-in-law, Dr. Samuel Smith, who married Betsey Towner when he was eighteen years old, a blacksmith, and had six children when, at twenty-nine, he entered into partnership in the practice of medicine with Dr. Towner in 1809. Louisa Towner married Nathaniel Kellogg, Jr., Sally married Civil Boardman and spent her life here, and Fanny married a Mr. McMillen. Dr. Towner was in succession a representative and a senator in the General Court at Boston, and was an active Justice of the Peace here. He was in the House of Representatives in 1790, 1791, 1796, 1797, 1798, 1801, 1807, 1808, and 1809; and in the State Senate, in the years 1811 and 1812. In the time of Shays's Rebellion he took up strong ground in behalf of the State, notwithstanding his personal sympathies and political predilections with those wronged under the law, as it then stood; and as a result he became very obnoxious to his own neighbors who were also Shays's adherents, the most prominent of whom was James Meacham, and was on one occasion shot at by them, some of their buck shot lodging in his boot. Remembrance Sheldon and Asa Burbank, who had been his comparatively harmless Federalist rivals in medicine throughout the town and county, were no longer encountered as such in his later years, because Sheldon died in 1809, and Burbank, who had been one of his own medical students and afterward attended medical lectures in New York, moved to Lanesboro near the beginning of the new century.

Neither records nor traditions yield to posterity much matter in relation to the politics of Dr. Samuel Porter, who became famous here on other grounds, though contemporary with both Sheldon and Towner, and survived them both, dying in 1822, aged sixty-six.

Like Sheldon, he came from Northampton, being a native there, son to Dr. Hezekiah and Hannah Porter, born in 1756, and coming here in or near 1780, since his mother died here in 1781, and is buried at the South Part, as are also three of the doctor's own wives, and an unusual number of children dying young. While tradition is silent as to Dr. Porter's politics, it is verbose enough about him as a "bone-setter" and a fast driver. He devoted himself especially to surgery, while his compeers practised much medicine and some politics. He was certainly fearless and probably reckless, both in his clinical operations and in his Jehu-like driving. When asked why he never put breeching on his horses, he replied, using an epithet somewhat out of fashion in polite society, "that he didn't want any horses that couldn't keep out of the way of his sulky!" Reducing dislocated joints was pastime to him. Ordinary doctors in those days shunned that kind of practice as beyond their skill; and this usage brought grist from far and near to Dr. Porter's bone-mill. In his college lectures on anatomy the late Mark Hopkins used to show his class just how this skilled manipulator tricked back into its place in an instant one of the bones of his brother Albert's fore-arm, whom his father had brought to Williamstown all the way from Stockbridge in his wagon, because there was nobody down the county who could be trusted to set it back right! There have been a plenty of apocryphal stories afloat about Dr. Porter's skill in surgery, but this is well known, that he once went to New York City to reduce a hip dislocation which had baffled the efforts of the faculty there, and was successful. This patient was a lady. The doctors called in had failed to replace the bone, and Porter was sent for. He started in his sulky, and went down. The city doctors were in the house when he arrived. "I will see the patient," said he, "but these doctors cannot be present." In a very short time the bone went into its place with a snap heard by the brethren in the outer room. "What shall I pay you?" asked the gratified husband. "Fifty dollars!" And the country surgeon returned as he went. A case more locally famous was that of the patroon of the Rensselaer Manor, whom he so treated surgically as to extend his own fame to long distances on the upper Hudson. There are four natural passes over the Taconics into that valley from Williamstown, and a rude public road over each pass; and it is certain that the southernmost of these roads, the one over the "Johnson pass," so-called, owed construction in 1813 largely to the demand for Dr. Porter's services in the region between the Taconics and the North River. The writer himself has heard this from the

lips of one who was personally concerned in the building of that road.

Dr. Porter does not seem to have subscribed to the new meeting-house in 1796. Two years later, his own house, then on Stone Hill, was assessed at $460. He moved a number of times during his professional life here; but his last home, the one in which he died in 1822, stood on Main Street, near the Square, a little to the west of the present A. D. Phi house. Subsequently, several doctors, among them Dr. Eli Adams (Porter's son-in-law), Dr. Lyndon A. Smith (who married Louisa Griffin), Dr. H. L. Sabin, and Dr. C. L. Hubbel lived for longer or shorter times in the same house. It was later kept for many years as a public house, usually called the "Kellogg House." It was said of Dr. Porter by an intelligent contemporary, that he died "after a long and severe illness, which he bore with great patience and resignation. He was an active and useful man, and esteemed for his benevolent and social qualities." His activity as a surgeon at the battle of Bennington is proven by his receipt, given the next day, for an additional case of amputating instruments, quoted at length in the preceding chapter. Alonson, Samuel, and James were sons of Dr. Samuel Porter, and the two former certainly were trained by him as physicians and surgeons. Alonson practised at the South Part, and built and occupied there the brick house still standing on a part of the original estate of William Young, confiscated for a time by the State of Massachusetts, the house and lot now owned and occupied by the heirs of Justin Torrey. Dr. Alonson Porter survived his father only four years. He was a skilful physician but an intemperate man, and died when but forty-eight. Julius Porter, a son of Dr. Alonson, married a daughter of Nehemiah Woodcock, and kept a store at the South Part for many years, and left posterity there. Dr. Samuel Porter, Jr., made his home at Skaneateles, New York, where was born in 1812 his son Mortimer Porter, Williams College, 1831, long a diligent and successful lawyer in New York City.

If we turn back now for a little to the state of the College during the very last years of the century, and to the classes graduated in those years, we may be able to glean something worth while to those that read one hundred years later. It has already been noted that the class of 1798 numbered ten more than the aggregate of the three preceding classes, that is to say, fifty per cent more than the entire body of graduates from the beginning. It held also two men who early became trustees of the College, Levi Glezen (1813–26) and William P. Walker (1824–46). Glezen was a Scotch-Irish bee

out of the Worcester hive of 1718. He was a fine linguist for those times, became the first preceptor of Lenox Academy, and continued the same relation to a similar institution in Kinderhook. As a trustee he distinguished himself by firm and judicious efforts in withstanding the persistent attempts to remove the College to Northampton. Walker, a native of Lenox, succeeded his father in 1824 as the Judge of Probate for Berkshire County, and the two alike illumined and exalted the position from 1795 till 1848. The son served at once his Alma Mater and his generation with distinguished ability and painstaking fidelity.

There is adequate evidence that the students during the first decade of the College, speaking generally, chose subjects for their discussions and books for their reading and jaunts for their vacations which became intelligent and earnest young men looking forward toward playing significant parts in Church and State. The times were every way inspiring. The new national Government had just gone into operation, amid many hopes and many fears. The States were jealous of the nation, and the nation hardly yet strong enough in its new powers to go on alone. Washington died in 1799. Jefferson became President in 1801. The existence of slavery in many of the States was already clearly seen by the students here to be a menace and a contradiction. The class of 1796, in the middle of their Senior year, "disputed the necessity of the immediate manumission of our slaves; settled affirmatively." Members of that class are known to have been reading diligently during that year such books as Montesquieu's "Spirit of Laws," and Miller's "Histories," alongside of their regular text-books, like Vattel and Paley. Fisher Ames's great speech in Congress of that year on the British Treaty was sharply handled pro and con on this college ground. This knowledge we owe to Thomas Robbins's diary. Paine's "Age of Reason" was first published in 1793, having been written in a French prison. In less than three years thereafter, its influence over the people of Vermont, as well as its intrinsic character, was popularly discussed by the students here. Though foreign and domestic news came late and zigzag, for there was no post-office here till 1798, it was eagerly devoured and thoroughly digested, and had no small influence in gauging opinions and conduct. The students were by no means obsequious to the judgment of their teachers. Most of them had opportunity in their vacations for converse and association with other prominent men and ministers, by whom in many cases they had been fitted for college, and whom in turn they were able to serve in one way or another. The

relations between Williamstown and New Haven were varied and constant and intimate. The newer and smaller college seems to have been then regarded as on a practically equal footing with the older and larger one. Both had the inevitable frictions and conflicts of their times and positions.

The diary of President Fitch throws more or less light on the state of things in college for several years. We quote a number of entries entire. They give the truth, but of course not the whole truth. Certain modifications and some amplifications will be presented on a later page.

"January, 1799. Things go well in our infant seminary. Our number is hardly as large as it was last year. The scarcity of money is one cause of this decrease. Some leave us through mere poverty. But our ambition is to make good scholars, rather than to add to our numbers; and in this we mean not to be outdone by any college in New England. Perseverance in the system we have adopted will eventually give reputation to this institution in the view of all who prefer the useful to the showy."

"Dec. 1799. The college is in a prosperous state. The students continue to be diligent and orderly. We admitted twenty-four freshmen, and have in all eighty-one members of college."

"June, 1801. Our college is prospering. We have admitted forty-five freshmen and nine sophomores this year, and expect to make the number up to sixty before commencement."

"January, 1802. Our freshman class this year is not as large as usual, but we expect it will increase to twenty-five or more. A larger number of them than usual are professors of religion; and I hope will make pious and useful ministers. Notwithstanding the cruel and malicious slanders thrown so profusely of late on the clergy, serious young men, who have the ministry in view, appear not to be disheartened. The great Head of the church will still, I trust, continue a succession of learned and evangelical ministers in his churches in this land. He appears to be interposing remarkably for the increase and encouragement of his church in one place and another; and for the support of the great cause of truth and piety. Amidst all the present dark and threatening appearances, some light shines to console and animate the friends of order, government, and religion. The clergy are now experiencing the trial of '*cruel mocking;*' and it will not be surprising if 'scourgings, bonds, imprisonments' and other persecutions should follow, for the trial of their faith and patience. It has been usual for God to suffer his church to sink very low before he appears to deliver and enlarge it. This will probably be eminently the case previously to its last great deliverance and enlargement. I trust that ministers and Christians in general will have grace and strength in proportion to their trials; and have no doubt that true religion will ultimately triumph."

"April, 1802. We have lately had trouble in college. The judgments which we drew up and published to the classes respecting their examination in March, gave offence. Three classes in succession were in a state of insurrection against government. For ten days we had a good deal of difficulty. But the govern-

ment stood firm, and determined to give up no right. At last, without the loss of a member, we reduced all to due obedience and subordination. Never before had I occasion for so much prudence and firmness; not even in the grand rebellion of 1782 at Yale. Most of the students are now very much ashamed of their late conduct. The present generation of them will not, I apprehend, burn their fingers again. They have found that we will support our authority."

"March, 1803. We have both of our college buildings full of students. Nearly thirty of them are serious professors; and many more of them are such amiable and moral young men that we have strong hopes that they will become truly pious, and make useful and devoted ministers of the gospel. This is truly encouraging, though there is at present no special attention to religion among us."

The class of 1799 had but just half the numbers of the class graduating the year before, only fifteen in all; but it held one name, that practically counted ten in the work of life, and in work for the College. This name was that of Amos Eaton, who came to have such a radical influence upon the early curriculum of the College, and also upon the popular studies of all New England and New York that a full account must here be given of the man, and of the means, by which such great and lasting changes were wrought,— not indeed by him alone, but by him as the leader in coöperation and conjunction with able and successful coädjutors during the opening years of the nineteenth century. Williams College was greatly distinguished by successively pushing into prominence beyond its college compeers at the time in New England, three classes of studies, each class of which in turn maintaining some preëminence for about its third of a century, both over the other studies at home and also as well over even the corresponding studies at the other colleges. The first class of these studies to take and maintain the lead at Williams were the natural sciences. Amos Eaton, Chester Dewey, and Ebenezer Emmons, all graduates of the College, and all long-time teaches in her halls, were the "first three" in this impulse and progress.

"So far as it may be convenient," runs the original Law of the College, adopted by the trustees in respect to the curriculum: "In the first year,— the English, Latin, Greek, and French languages. In the second,— the several languages in part, Arithmetic, Geography, Algebra, Geometry, Mensurations, Conic Sections, Rhetoric, and Logic. In the third,— Trigonometry, Navigation, Surveying, Natural Philosophy, Astronomy, and Chemistry. In the fourth year,— Metaphysics, Ethics, History, National Law, Civil Polity, and Theology." We have already learned the peculiar circumstances under which French slipped out of the course in 1799. Geography was formally dropped out by vote of the trustees in 1831, Arithmetic

in 1837, and English Grammar in 1839. It is not by any means to be supposed that all the rest of these two dozen branches of study originally enumerated had any adequate presentation to the students at first, if ever. The original trustees were most of them well-educated men. Eight of the thirteen were graduates of Yale. It was their intention from the first to have here a college of a high order, one that should keep step with Yale itself to the music of a thorough and comprehensive education. But their pecuniary means were scanty. The numbers of their teachers were necessarily few, and for the most part tutors untrained except by the discipline gained in their own limited college course. The library was very small, the text-books wretchedly inadequate, and the apparatus for illustration almost *nil*. Each teacher taught many subjects, so far as they were taught at all. The students in general had small preparation for college, and their work on the ground was much interrupted by the necessity they were under of doing teaching or other labor in term time in order to help themselves along. For nearly twenty years no one class of studies, whether languages or mathematics or natural sciences or mental and moral sciences, seem to have taken precedence in interest over any other class of subjects taught. But it was written, and it came to pass, that the natural sciences, particularly Botany and Geology and Mineralogy and Chemistry, through the living agency of Eaton and Dewey and Emmons and others, got the first strong grip on the College students, and held it for their appointed time.

In May, 1776, was born in Chatham, Amos Eaton, the son of a highly respected farmer there, who was also a deacon of the church. The boy was gifted and precocious and ambitious. During his whole life he possessed a remarkable power of fluent and agreeable speech. In 1790, when he was but fourteen years old, he was selected to deliver a public oration on the 4th of July, which was said to be a creditable performance in every point of view, and very surprising in a boy but just entered on his teens. A year or two later, having carried the chain for a local surveyor in plotting some land parcel, he resolved to become a surveyor himself. But how was he to obtain a set of surveyor's instruments. He must have an accurate chain, a good working needle, and a compass-case properly graduated. The chain came first in his mind. He soon interested a skilful blacksmith of the neighborhood in his plan, who agreed to work for the boy by night if he would "blow and strike" for him by day. This circumstance is probably the only basis for the remark made in Silliman's Journal, that young Eaton was in 1791 apprenticed to a blacksmith. A needle was next constructed, and magnetized after

a primitive method from a pair of kitchen tongs. A pretty fair compass-case was then made from the flat bottom of an old pewter plate, smoothed and polished and graduated in an exterior circle. Sixteen years old, and thus armed and equipped, Eaton was soon in the field doing little jobs of surveying for the farmers in the neighborhood. But he was not satisfied. He wanted a better education. Encouraged by his parents, and also by the Rev. Dr. David Porter, then of Spencertown, later of Catskill, the boy fitted for college, and was graduated at Williams in 1799, with a good reputation for his scientific attainments, but he had no glimmer at that time of what his future career in life would be.

He studied law, first in Spencertown, and afterward in New York, in the office of Alexander Hamilton, where accidentally and fortunately he fell under the scientific instruction of David Hosack and Samuel L. Mitchill, and became, almost unknown to himself, considerably interested in the study of Botany and some of the other natural sciences. In 1802 he borrowed a copy of Kirwan's "Mineralogy," then a scarce book, and made a manuscript copy of the book from preface to *finis*. Soon after he settled in Catskill as a lawyer and land agent, where he remained for several years, and where occurred a combination of circumstances connected with his profession, not altogether creditable to him, which in their result diminished his practical devotion to his calling and led to its abandonment, and to the adoption in its place of the now more congenial pursuits of the natural sciences. He had already, in May, 1810, in Catskill, made what is believed to have been the first attempt in this country at a popular course of lectures on Botany, compiling for this purpose for the use of his class a small elementary treatise. On this he was highly complimented by his former teacher, Dr. Hosack, who pronounced him the "first in the field," adding, "You have adopted the true system of education, and very properly address yourself to the senses and the memory." Under this and other similar encouragement, Eaton resolved to prepare himself to become an efficient promoter of the sciences after a natural method.

Accordingly, in 1815, he went to New Haven to put himself under the instruction of Professor Silliman in particular, and others, if he should find them available and competent instructors. He found a warm welcome from Silliman, who threw open to him his lectures on Geology, Mineralogy, and Chemistry, his library also, and the then small cabinet belonging to Yale College. The Professor of Botany and Materia Medica in the medical department of the College, Dr. Eli Ives, was a good botanist and had a good library, and

gave every facility in his power to Amos Eaton, who already promised to become a new force in science. Grateful to Yale for helping him forward toward his now distinct goal, namely, to take the field as an explorer and the desk as a teacher, Eaton in March, 1817, turned his face toward his Alma Mater, desiring her indorsement of himself as a competent teacher before he went forth into the world in such a capacity. He was welcomed on the ground by the faculty of the College, and particularly by Professor Chester Dewey, then and for long the most influential member of the faculty. Eaton was at once invited to give courses of lectures on Botany, Mineralogy, and Geology to volunteer classes of the students. His influence in the College was immediate, and became remarkable. He awakened a lively interest in the natural sciences, which held on, and increased, and became a characteristic of the College, the leading educational interest here, certainly until after the Semi-centennial of 1843.

The students took hold of this matter with all the more vigor, because it was voluntary with themselves, and in no sense prescribed by college authority. The following letter addressed to "The Author of Richard's 'Botanical Dictionary,'" dated "Williams College, 8th April, 1817," with its signatures as well as contents, is in several respects the most notable document that the history of the College during its first century presents to the careful historical inquirer.

DEAR SIR

We consider ourselves happy in having an opportunity to express our gratitude for the assiduity and care, which you have manifested for our improvement in Natural Science. As the course of lectures on Mineralogy, which you have conducted so entirely to the satisfaction of the Faculty of this College, and so much to the benefit of your class, is nearly completed, we are gratified with the prospect of attending your course of Lectures on Botany, knowing that our improvement in that branch of Natural Science would be greatly facilitated by a systematic description of vegetables, and being destitute of such a system, we render you our thanks for the one, which you have been pleased, gratuitously, to present to us for publication.

Accept, dear Sir,

The assurances of our respect and esteem.

H. Walker Bishop	Luther Hamilton
Dorus L. Clark	Lyman James
William Eastman	Medad Pomeroy
Emory C. Washburn	Charles Dillingham
Selah R. Arms	William A. Hallock
Daniel Barnard	Gerard H. Hallock
Homer Bartlett	Anson T. Hooker

Chandler Bates
Lucas Morgan
William Richards
Thomas Spring
Lemuel P. Bates
Daniel I. Betts
Joshua N. Danforth
Ebenezer Emmons
Joseph H. Estabrook
Charles Fitch
William A. Porter
John B. Skinner
Royal W. Smith
John C. Brigham
Nelson Brown
Elijah H. Burrit
Dwight Baldwin
Andrew Burrham
Gardiner Dorrance
Simon C. Ewers
Mason Fussell
Edward Hooker
Royal Joy
John C. Morgan
Isaac Oakes
Cyrus M. Lazell
Joseph P. Mosher
Hervey Smith
B. Horace Starkweather
George W. Benedict
David L. Coe
Parker L. Hall
Gardner Haydon
Leicester Lloyd
Thomas Peck
William Wells
John Whiton
Samuel Dickenson
Alvan Alvord
Charles Baker
Johnson Baldwin
Benjamin F. Clark
Jonathan Ely
Abner Forbes
William Gildersleeve
William W. Hunt
William C. Kittredge
Elijah Thayer
Alvan Wheeler

This "Manual of Botany," so-called in its first edition, which numbered about 500 copies, was printed in Albany by "Websters and Skinners," bearing the date "1817;" and just above this on the title-page is the following: —

"By the Members of the Botanical Class
in Williams College, (Mass.)
From a Manuscript System
Compiled by the Author of
Richard's Botanical Dictionary."

The first name of the sixty-three appended to this notable letter to Professor Eaton is that of Henry W. Bishop, who, then a Senior in college, probably composed the letter, who was born in Williamstown in 1796 in a house standing on the site of the old West Hoosac fort, who spent a long life as a lawyer and a judge in Lenox, who was a valued trustee of the College, as was also his father before him, and who was in 1854 Democratic candidate for Governor of Massachusetts against another signer of this letter of 1817, Emory C. Washburn, a classmate and lifelong friend of Bishop's. Washburn became the governor. Bishop carried a light heart into his seventy-sixth year. A Williamstown girl, Sarah Bulkley, became Bishop's

wife in 1822. Washburn was disappointed in love with another Williamstown girl, who became successively Mrs. Porter and Mrs. Stoddard. Governor Washburn made no bones of talking about this with his friends in later life, and why should we in making up the record?

Besides these two most prominent names among the sixty-three, an uncommonly large proportion of the rest became useful and distinguished men, such as Daniel D. Barnard, the two Hallock brothers, Ebenezer Emmons, William Richards, Joshua N. Danforth, William A. Porter, John B. Skinner, and John C. Brigham. The last-named presented a copy of this "Manual of Botany," with his autograph on the title-page, to the "Mineralogical Society," which is the only evidence in existence known to the writer that such a society ever existed in the College. It antedated the Linnæan Society, and this in turn was merged into the Natural History Society; and this particular volume (doubtless with others) passed over into the library of the more comprehensive and long-lived organization last named, whence it came at length into the College Library, where it will always remain, as it is one of the most interesting and historically valuable books in that constantly augmenting collection. The work itself, improved by frequent additions and revisions, became in the eighth edition, published in 1840, an octavo volume of 625 pages, entitled "North American Botany," and contained a description of 5267 species of plants. This "Manual of Botany," widely circulated as it became, and the first popular textbook on the subject published in the United States, brought its author much honor, though but little money; still, he loved science for its own sake, and he introduced into all the editions from the fifth as a motto on the title-page the following sentence from Linnæus, *That existence is surely contemptible which regards only the gratification of instinctive wants and the preservation of a body made to perish.*

Amos Eaton and Ebenezer Emmons began and carried on their practical studies in Geology through field-work and stratification, at the very time when Jonathan Otley and Professor Sedgwick were doing the same things among the rocks of Cumberland in the English Lake district.[1] In 1818, in compliance with a special invitation from DeWitt Clinton, then Governor of New York, Eaton went to Albany, and there gave a course of lectures before the members of the State Legislature, emphasizing Geology in its application to agriculture, and then and there put in train the causes that led up to "The

[1] See Rawnsley's *English Lakes*, pp. 123 *et seq.* of Vol. I.

Natural History of New York," in the Introduction to which great work Governor Seward said of Eaton's geological survey of the region through which the Erie Canal afterward passed, and which was published with a profile section of rock formations from the Atlantic Ocean across the States of Massachusetts and New York to Lake Erie in 1824: "This publication marked an era in the progress of Geology in this country. It is in some respects, inaccurate, but it must be remembered that its talented and indefatigable author was without a guide in exploring the older formations, and that he described rocks which no geologist had, at that time, attempted to classify. Rocks were then classified chiefly by their mineralogical characters and the aid which the science has since learned to derive from fossils in determining the chronology and classification of rocks was scarcely known here, and had only just begun to be appreciated in Europe. We are indebted, nevertheless, to Professor Eaton for the commencement of that independence of European classification which has been found indispensable in describing the New York system. After examining our rocks with as much care and accuracy as I am capable of doing, I venture to say that we have at least five distinct and continuous strata, neither of which can with propriety take any name hitherto given and defined in any European treatise which has reached this country. Professor Eaton enumerated nearly all the rocks in western New York in their order of succession, and his enumeration has, with one or two exceptions, proved correct. It is a matter of surprise that he recognized, at so early a period, the old red sandstone on the Catskill Mountains, a discovery the reality of which has since been proved by fossil tests."

Eaton had nearly the same priority of service in scientific Geology as in scientific Botany, so far forth as this country is concerned. In 1818 he published the first edition of his "Index to the Geology of the Northern States," which a competent authority pronounced "the first attempt at a general arrangement of the geological strata in North America." The same year he put out the second edition of the "Manual of Botany," and inscribed it to the president and professors of Williams College, saying in the inscription, "The science of Botany is indebted to you for its first introduction into the interior of the United States; and I am indebted to you for a passport into the scientific world." Professor Silliman in his Journal remarked of Eaton's Agricultural Survey of Albany and Rensselaer counties, undertaken in 1820 under the patronage and expense of General Van Rensselaer, "The attempt is novel in this country; we are not aware of any attempt on so extensive and systematic a scale to make such

surveys subservient to the important interests of agriculture." In the same year, 1820, Eaton was appointed Professor of Natural History in the medical college at Castleton, Vermont, where he delivered several courses of lectures; and when in 1824 General Van Rensselaer established his famous School of Science in Troy, he caused Amos Eaton to be appointed "Senior Professor," a place which he filled with usefulness and reputation, both as author and lecturer so long as he lived. He died in 1842, aged sixty-six years. He was the first alumnus of Williams College to achieve a lasting personal distinction in science. He was the first to give a great and permanent impulse in his Alma Mater to the always important studies of Natural History. He was also the first teacher in the College to gain and hold the warm admiration of his pupils. To Professor Chester Dewey, who continued and intensified in the institution the influences and impulses but just referred to, Eaton was warmly attached, and the two regarded each other as fellow-laborers and earnest coöperators in science, and held one another in the highest esteem as friends.

Major A. B. Eaton, who was graduated at West Point in 1826, and who spent a reputable life in the army of the United States, was a son of Amos Eaton. The late Professor Daniel Cady Eaton, of Yale, was a son of Major Eaton, and very distinguished for his attainments and impartations in that great department of science which gave name and fame to his grandfather.

The stream runs easily away from its source. Yet the explorer has need ever and anon for purposes of description to go back to its head-spring, or at least to some upper stretch of his stream, to get a new point of view, and in a sense to begin over again. We were looking a little while ago to the tax list of the United States as levied on the men of Williamstown in 1798. But it was never collected, because a successful diplomacy instituted by bluff John Adams staved off an impending war with France, to help pay for the expenses of which the tax was imposed. But the people of Williamstown got very late news in those days of the events of war and peace at home and abroad. The town is naturally extremely isolated. High Hoosacs on the east with no tunnel under them, high Taconics on the west with only four pretty high passes over them, lofty tumbles of Vermont hills on the north dropping off into a narrow valley just wide enough for the exit of the river, and from the south nothing but two gorges between high hills uniting in the little opening of South Williamstown, permitted only difficult access from any direction to our larger and more beautiful opening at the north village.

No post-office was established here until 1798. William Starkweather was the first postmaster, appointed Jan. 1, 1798. Till then letters were only brought and sent casually. The population in 1790 by the first national census was 1769, and in 1800 by the second was 2086. The people were numerous enough to be earlier entitled to postal accommodations. But they were unaccessible. They were off from any through route in any direction. It is to be presumed that the first mails came into Williamstown horseback-wise over the Hoosac Mountain by the old Mohawk trail from Greenfield. It is possible, since Albany was at the beginning a prominent distributing point, and has always continued such, that a weekly mail came up the Hoosac from the North River so far as Williamstown. At any rate, there was an early postal route from Albany through Hancock to Williamstown; and Captain Caleb Gardner, or rather one of his sons, kept a tavern in Hancock partly for its accommodation, which was called the "Gardner tavern." About 1812, old Mr. Green, who lived in Lanesboro, used to bring from Stockbridge to Williamstown once a week the two newspapers of the county, namely, the *Western Star* and the *Pittsfield Sun*. He took in subscriptions for the papers as well as delivered them. He circulated also "Wild's Almanac" in its yearly season. His whipstock was a tin horn covered with leather, to which the lash was attached, and on which he blew a sound blast at every house where either of his papers was taken. The main route for letters certainly continued to be the weekly horseback service over the mountain to and from Greenfield. The Smedleys used to send open, that is, unsealed, letters by this postal rider to their friends and relatives, the Hawks families, in Charlemont. Postage was very high in those days, but the law allowed the postman to carry unsealed letters on any terms he chose to impose. Within certain prescribed circuits the legal postal rates increased as the distance increased within the country itself. When a boy in New Hampshire the writer well remembers that his mother had to pay twenty-five cents each on letters to or from her brother in Ohio. About 1820, however, much rejoicing was felt and expressed here, when a new mail route was opened through Williamstown from Greenfield to Troy, a hack service to run twice a week, good for passengers also. A turnpike had in the meantime been built over the Hoosac Mountain, following so far as possible the line of the Indian trail. This route continued substantially unchanged till the opening of the Troy and Boston Railroad in 1853. Very early in the present century a turnpike had been carried over the Taconics also by the Berlin pass to Troy; and old Mr. Whelden

drove a stage thither for passengers and bundles every other week-day for many years. Of course the railroad put a stop to that conveyance also. Lasting much longer, indeed until about 1890, was a stage route for both passengers and mail from Williamstown over the southern watershed through Lanesboro to Pittsfield.

But what about our first postmaster, William Starkweather? He served from January, 1798, till July, 1803. He was not among the early comers hither, but he married the daughter, Polly Sloan, of one of the very early comers, Samuel Sloan. Because he was a Justice of the Peace, and tried petty local causes, as did also his son Augustus in the same place a generation later, he was commonly called "Squire" Starkweather, and appears to have been the first citizen of the town to carry that coveted prefix to his name, unless David Noble may have popularly preceded him in this. The military origin and subsequent circumstances of Williamstown made the military titles to be much desired and very common. Starkweather's father-in-law was General Sloan. General Skinner was a contemporary. Colonels were thick, and majors still more so. Captains and lieutenants were so numerous as to have but little distinction on account of their titles. Scarce is ever costly. But Squire Starkweather, though he bore a coveted civil title, and became the first postmaster (doubtless more through General Sloan's influence than his own), did not bear a very good reputation, and neither did his petty court of justice. Two very old ladies of the village, both natives, and both of sound mind and memory, concur in this statement.[1] Particulars of the transgressions, whether personal or civil, have not come down from that, the first decade of the century, to this the last. Still it is worth noting that priority in a recognized title of honor, and in the possession of an important public office, confers no exemption from the operation of a universal moral law. As a man soweth so shall he also reap.

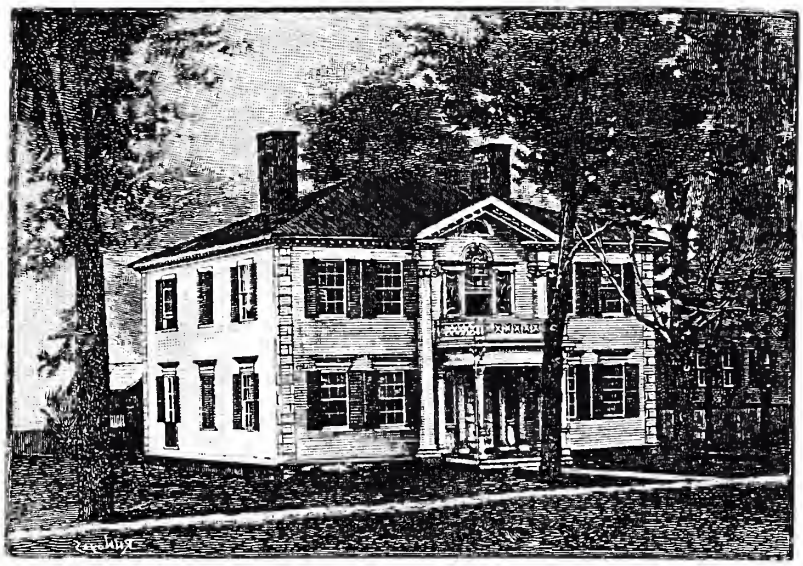
Two of Squire Starkweather's sons became alumni of the College, William in 1809 and Henry in 1825. Both of these young men studied law, and the older of them practised at times before his father as a justice; and as Robbins Bulkley, the elder, sometimes appeared there as a deputy sheriff of the county, and Erastus Noble as a constable, the court was shadowed by the shadowy reputation of its officials, and the epithet "den of thieves" is known to have been sometimes popularly applied to it. What has chiefly caused the Starkweather family to be remembered and honored is the mar-

[1] Mrs. Mary Talmadge Hosford in her ninety-second, and Mrs. Lucy Bridges Smedley in her eighty-eighth year.

riage of three of the daughters to three of the graduates of the College, each of them all remarkable men and women. Homer Bartlett of the class of 1818, and one of the signers of the already quoted letter to Amos Eaton, and later for eleven years one of the faithful trustees of the College, married Mary Starkweather in 1823. In the town record of births, Sept. 11, 1794, her Christian name, as well as that of her mother, Feb. 12, 1766, is put down as "Polly," showing that while Mary and Polly were regarded as identical names, the latter was often used by preference of the parents at the beginning of the child's life. Parsons Cooke of the class of 1822, doctor of divinity, preacher, and editor, "defender of the faith" in both capacities, married Hannah Sloan Starkweather, whose birth is recorded March 18, 1800. She was exactly one month younger than her husband, and was named from her grandmother, Hannah Douglas Sloan. A classmate of Cooke's, and later for ten years joint editor with him of the *New England Puritan*, was J. E. Woodbridge, a grandson of Jonathan Edwards, after whom he was named, and upon whom in some sense his mantle was supposed to have rested, though there was certainly a vast difference between the two men; he married Catherine Starkweather in 1834. Augustus Starkweather, born in 1796, continued to a good old age as the sole representative of his family in town.

Squire Starkweather was well-to-do in this world's goods, and he owed much of his position to this circumstance. He subscribed £20 to the new meeting-house in 1796, though he was never a member of the church, nor did his wife become such till 1801. His house was assessed by the United States in 1798 as worth $1840, nor was there any other private dwelling valued then at so high a figure. The Mansion House, built and kept as a tavern, alone surpassed it in estimation on that list, fortunately preserved, namely, $3220. Daniel Day's house at the foot of Consumption Hill, comes next below Starkweather's, namely, $1495. Both of these houses are still standing, considerably transformed, and the Starkweather one slightly transferred in place; but it is plain that the Day house was finer, and much more ornamented externally; why, then, should it have been taxed at a smaller sum? Obviously because at that time a situation on or near the "Square" enhanced values very much in comparison with one on the lower and alluvial level at the east end of the village. The Square was designed to be the centre of life and business and worship from the original survey of the town in the spring of 1750; because the broad Main Street at its rectangular bisection by the North and South streets at once constituted and

was named the "Square"; because also the original house-lots were numbered from this bisection, and the lots reserved to the ministry and school were located there; and because, further, without any real or lasting dispute, the first meeting-house of 1766 was placed there. The four corners thus constituted, with their natural extensions in both directions, continued to be the practical centre of things in the village till the second meeting-house burned down in 1866; and, consequently, land-parcels in that neighborhood tended to bear a higher price than corresponding lots in other parts of the village. All this was changed by the erection of the third meeting-



"DAY HOUSE"; THEN DEWEY HOUSE; NOW "D. U." HOUSE.

house in the intervale between the first and second village eminences, as those are reckoned from the east.

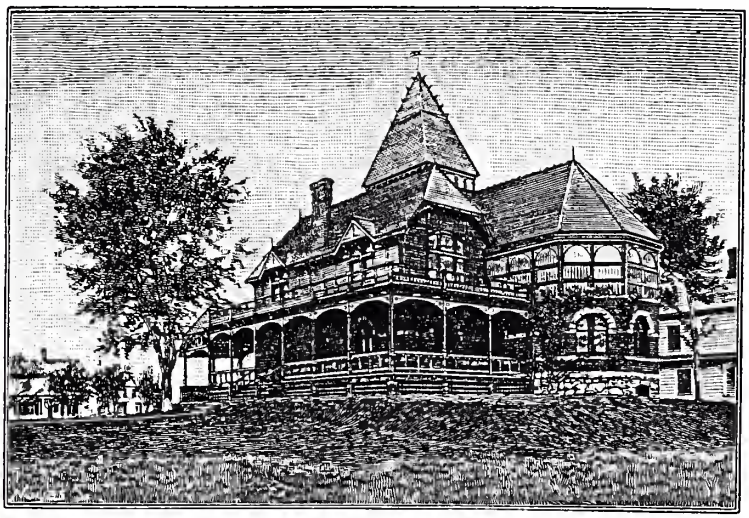
William Starkweather built his house on House-lot No. 2, near the junction of North Street with Main, and built his store of two stories nearly in line with his house a few rods nearer the Square, that is, to the south of the house. Both house and store fronted the east, and stood directly opposite the Mansion House across North Street. The house was a large two-story one, double, with a hall running through the middle east and west, and the two tenements quite distinct both below and above. It was a handsome house when built, painted white, with immensely strong white oak timbers, and perhaps relatively deserved its tax of 1798; but, situ-

ated on the clay, for which the entire house-lot was famous, the walls gradually fell out of plumb, the exterior became weather-beaten and wood-colored, and the two tenements were rented at low rates to relatively poor families. Henry Starkweather, the youngest son, settled in mercantile business in New York, where his daughter married John T. Hoffman, afterward mayor of the city and Governor of the State. These political successes of the son-in-law indirectly enriched the father-in-law, and the latter purchased the homestead, moved the house several rods nearer to the store, turned it round endwise to the street, and fitted it up in its present location. A fire in 1853 made considerable changes necessary in the rear part of the building; Morton Gavitt made further changes and additions while he owned the premises; and the Kappa Alpha Society now own and occupy it, as shown in the wood-cut, as an annex to their own fine establishment.

The old store was moved away to the west on Main Street many years ago, to become for a time the home of Rev. H. R. Hoisington, an alumnus of Williams in 1828, a returned missionary from Ceylon, and later the home of "Uncle Jerry" Hosford of delightful memory, and of his wife, still living with her two daughters in the neighborhood. When it became necessary to take down in 1892 this old store and dwelling, in order to make room for Mr. Proctor's palatial residence, its timbers were so sound as to make it worth while to carry them a mile or more to the north, and to put them partly into a new barn and partly into a new house near the Hoosac River, owned and occupied by Mr. Russell. Besides this House-lot No. 2, on the northern end of which was the bed of clay that yielded the bricks for both the West College and the (original) East College, burned down in 1841, Starkweather and his heirs owned a good farm adjoining the Prindle place, and not far from the Petersburg Pass, both of which farms have lately passed into one, and are now under the skilful tillage of their owner, George Brookman.

William Starkweather kept the post-office in his store on the corner so long as he was postmaster, that is, till July 1, 1803, when Ezekiel Bacon, son of Judge John Bacon of Stockbridge, became our second postmaster. John Bacon, a graduate of Princeton College in 1765, was pastor of the Old South church in Boston from 1771 to 1775, where his son, Ezekiel Bacon, was born in 1776, and the family moved that year to Stockbridge. The father entered upon civil life, both legislative and judicial, though he still occasionally preached, and became very prominent and influential. The son was graduated at Yale in 1794, and commenced the practice of

law in 1798 in Williamstown, but moved to Pittsfield in 1806. In that year he was chosen State Senator from Berkshire, as his father had been before him; and like his father also, a few years earlier, in 1807 he was elected a member of Congress, receiving, it is said, every vote in Pittsfield and nearly every vote in the congressional district. He was a firm Democrat in contradistinction from the contemporary Federalist, and continued in Congress for four terms, serving on the Committee of Ways and Means, and becoming its chairman in the trying times of 1812–13. He will long be remembered for his eminent service in securing through his controlling influence with the President the appointment of Judge Story to the Supreme Bench of the United States, before that afterward renowned



CHAPTER-HOUSE OF KAPPA ALPHA.

Part of Starkweather's house in extreme right, old Store extreme left.

jurist knew that he was a candidate. Bacon had a poetic temperament, and near the close of a remarkably useful life, that is, in 1842, he published a volume of poems, dedicated to his old friend, Judge Story, and entitled "Recreations in a Sick-room." We shall learn more about Ezekiel Bacon's remarkable probity in the account soon to follow this of General Skinner's defalcation as Treasurer of the State. His name was on Skinner's bond, and he ceased to be postmaster in April, 1807, which was the last year of Skinner's service; and his retirement was very likely in some connection with the developments in Skinner's financial affairs, then beginning to be

made. It is almost certain that Bacon kept the post-office where Starkweather had kept it, that is, in the store on the corner, and where Bacon's successor is known to have kept it.

Henry Clinton Brown, commonly called Major Brown, because he was once tendered a major's commission in the United States Army, was the son of Colonel John Brown, of very distinguished and patriotic memory, who was killed in the Revolutionary battle of Stone Arabia, in 1780, when Henry C. was only five months old. The father was an alumnus of Yale, 1761, a lawyer in Pittsfield, the most active patriot in Berkshire County, of which he was a native in 1744. Mrs. Brown, intending to rear her son to his father's profession, put him into the Free School at Williamstown when he was about a dozen years old. Impaired health finally compelled him to relinquish the purpose of becoming a lawyer, and he was trained a merchant, establishing himself in business at Williamstown, and becoming the third postmaster here in April, 1807. August 12, 1804, he married here Tryphosa Sutton, a daughter of Burrall Sutton, who was also a merchant on the Square, perhaps in company with his son-in-law, the postmaster. Both, at any rate, occupied parts of the Starkweather store. This connection brings into notice again for a little the opposite corner of the Square, the house on House-lot No. 1, then owned and occupied by Sutton, which was assessed for taxing purposes in 1798 at $402.50. This was the old Smedley corner. The then gambrel-roofed house enclosed in its L the old "regulation house" built by Nehemiah Smedley not far from 1753, and occupied by him for nearly twenty years, when he purchased the farm on Green River at the east side of the village, and built the large farmhouse now standing there. Burrall Sutton had not been resident here long, and very little is known about him or his family, except his two daughters, Mrs. Brown and Mrs. Drake Mills. One day the town was shocked by the news that Burrall Sutton had committed suicide in his store in broad daylight. The body was immediately carried across the Square into his own house, where Mrs. Esther Bulkley Sabin happened, as a neighbor, to be at the time, and the late Dr. H. L. Sabin, her son, has told the writer of the consternation produced, not only in the home but also throughout the town, by the catastrophe. There is no intimation by tradition or record of any earlier suicide in Williamstown. The circumstances of his family gave point to the universal surprise and sorrow. Mrs. Sutton gave birth about three months afterward to a daughter, named Abby, who, as the wife and widow of Mr. Drake Mills, a merchant of New York, had a strange career, suggesting

insanity in her own case and in that of her father also. A daughter of Mr. Mills married Fernando Wood, twice mayor of New York. The following from a New York newspaper gives the ending of perhaps the strangest and saddest story furnished by the annals of Williamstown.

> Fernando Wood's last wife is still living, but is hopelessly insane. Her mother, Mrs Drake Mills, was, if not insane, at least very eccentric. She was very rich, and during the latter years of her life lived in a small room on the top floor of a second-class hotel. She took great delight in annoying Mr. Wood and his wife, with whom she was not on good terms. She had the finest diamonds in Washington, and her victoria, drawn by a magnificent pair of banged chestnut horses imported from England and driven by an old coachman of Lord Napier, was a swell affair. She was very fat and common looking, but when she drove out she was dressed in the gayest colors and her lap was covered with a robe of ostrich plumes. She fell out of the window one night while under the influence of liquor and was found in the area of the hotel in the morning. She left a will, in which she bequeathed Mr. Wood a dollar gold-piece "to remember me by," she said.

Henry C. Brown represented Williamstown in the General Court for the years 1810–11, and the following year was appointed high sheriff of the county of Berkshire, and removed to Pittsfield, where he continued to hold this office acceptably to the people for twenty-seven years, till his death in 1838, that is, from the age of thirty-two till that of fifty-nine. The vacancy he was called to fill in 1812 was caused by the appointment of Sheriff Larned to the colonelcy of the Ninth Regiment of the United States army. Mrs. Tryphosa Sutton Brown died in 1814, in her thirty-fourth year. The distinguishing characteristic of Sheriff Brown was a genuine courtesy, exhibited alike in his intercourse with his equals and with those in the lower walks of life. He is said to have been active in all benevolent undertakings, and a supporter of everything that tended to the elevation of morals. He left behind him daughters, who came to fill unusually high places in society. It is perhaps proper in this connection to append a list of the high sheriffs of Berkshire from the time of the organization of the county in 1761 to the present.

Elijah Williams	Stockbridge
Israel Dickinson	Sheffield
John Fellows	Sheffield
Caleb Hyde	Lenox
Tompson J. Skinner	Williamstown
Simon Larned	Pittsfield
Henry C. Brown	Pittsfield

Thomas Twining	Sandisfield
Edward F. Ensign	Sheffield
George S. Willis	Pittsfield
Graham A. Root	Sheffield
H. B. Wellington	Pittsfield
John Crosby	Pittsfield
A. F. Fuller	North Adams

In the meantime, while these events were transpiring in the town and the county, the thread of the College affairs was being obscurely but continuously and strongly spun. The loss of Professor Mackay was severely felt, but there was no one then fitted to take his place, and tutors continued to carry on the bulk of the instruction till 1806. Among these tutors was Gamaliel Smith Olds, an alumnus of 1801, a scholar and teacher able to bear comparison in almost all points with Amos Eaton. He was a tutor from 1803 to 1805, and was then appointed Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, the duties of which department he performed with great acceptance for two years, when in consequence of a disagreement with the president, equally sorry to them both, he resigned his position. He was only the second professor the College had had. President Fitch had been dealing with temporary tutors from the beginning, with the sole exception of Professor Mackay, 1795–99. It is only too plain from the copious account given of the causes of this resignation by Professor Chester Dewey, who succeeded Professor Olds in 1808, that the president was chiefly to blame for the troubles which came upon the College in that year, and which proved as untoward to the institution as to both of the chief participators in them. This story is instructive, and it must here be clearly brought out in all its aspects, because it was the first decided manifestation on Williams ground of a tendency on the part of a president to assume authoritative functions never conferred on him, never designed by charter or trustees to be exercised by him, and never actually put in practice by any president then or since without a deadening moral effect upon all parts of the institution itself.

The signification of the term "college," both etymologically and customarily has frequently been mistaken by college officials to the detriment of all parties concerned. The word means, and always meant, "a body of colleagues," and can have no other meaning. The Act of the Legislature of Massachusetts in 1793, quoted entire in a previous chapter, created twelve men expressed by name, "together with the president of the said college for the time being," a body politic and corporate by the name of the "President and Trus-

tees of Williams College." One of the twelve men thus mentioned, Tompson J. Skinner, was empowered in the Act itself to call a first meeting of the body, when the twelve chose Ebenezer Fitch "president of the college for the time being," and thus a colleague with themselves. At the same meeting they chose one of their number vice-president, Stephen West, who continued in that position for nineteen years. At the same meeting, also, they passed a vote "that Messrs. Skinner, Swift, and Noble be a committee to counsel with the president." They established also the specific conditions of entrance to be met on the part of all students; elected one of their own number, Sedgwick, Professor of Law and Civil Polity (although he never entered upon his duties as such), and two tutors; and furthermore enacted a code of laws "not differing materially," says Dr. Durfee, "from those now in use."

This code of laws created another body of colleagues, subordinate in certain particulars never very exactly defined theoretically, to the body corporate created by the State, but still expressly empowered by the latter to act independently and fully within the spheres of instruction and practical administration. This in some sense subordinate, but in other senses primary and substantial, body of colleagues is the president and faculty, consisting of all the officers of instruction, as well the tutors as the professors. The peculiarity and the safety of the president's position is that he alone is a member of both bodies alike, a colleague of the trustees and a colleague of the faculty. It results from this, and the inference is of importance practically, that the president represents the trustees in the board of the faculty, and equally the faculty in the board of the trustees; but he is in no sense whatever the embodiment of the one board or of the other. He is president of both boards, but the boards themselves are entities independent of him except in this one particular.

Besides these two, there is a third and a very much looser "body of colleagues," connected with and covered by the word "college." Webster's Dictionary gives the following definition: "A society of scholars incorporated for purposes of study or instruction; as, the College of the Sorbonne." This use of the word is more ecclesiastical than secular, more European than American, more suited perhaps to past times than to the present; still, the students under process of collegiate instruction in New England have always been assumed in common language to be a part of "the college"; it has always been felt, even if not asserted, that the students had certain rights and privileges in connection with the governing and instruc-

ting boards, over and above all that is involved in the commercial contract, namely, to receive and to pay for instruction, and to be obedient to proper rules on the one hand as well as to receive courteous and kindly treatment on the other. In short, although all this has been and is still in cloud-land, it has been assumed and acted upon that current students, and even the graduates as a body, were in some sense a substantial part of the institution proper; that they were colleagues to a certain extent and for certain purposes associated for the time being with the other and more distinctly defined boards. As early as 1821, at one of the most depressed times in the history of Williams College, there was formed here at Commencement a "Society of Alumni," for the express purpose of coöperating with the other two boards in promoting the general interests of the institution. This society still exists. Its organization was first suggested by Emory Washburn of the class of 1817, afterward Governor of the Commonwealth. It has been extremely useful in furthering the ends of its formation, whenever its legitimate work has not been meddled with and poisoned through the jealousy of certain members of one or other of the more distinctly governing boards. It was a decided step in the way of recognition of this real relation of the body of graduates to these other boards, when, in 1868, the privilege was accorded to the Society of Alumni of choosing by ballot at prescribed intervals, and for a limited time of service, five out of the seventeen members of the Board of Trustees, in order that they might have as a body a distinct representation of their own in the chief governing board. This was to be, and in general has proven to be, a *bona fide* election by the alumni of one of their own number, each to serve for five years, into a board, twelve of whom hold a life-tenure received from the board itself.

It is greatly to the credit of Amherst College, which at its beginning came out of the loins of Williams, that, first of the colleges, it gave a formal and substantial recognitiou to the undergraduate body as a part of the governing force of the institution. The corporate idea can no further go. The alumni as a body have had nothing like the practical scope and sway at Amherst that they have had at Williams; on the other hand, the student body as such have had as yet no such influence at Williams as they have been allowed to take and carry at Amherst. It would be very wrong, of course, to apply to President Fitch in the first decade of the century standards of estimation that prevail in all the colleges in the last decade of the same; but it was necessary to say as much as

this, in order properly to convey to the reader certain causes and effects within this college at the earlier period.

We have no information, except in an entry of President Fitch's Journal, bearing date April, 1802, of what may properly be called the first college rebellion. Though we have already quoted this entry entire on a previous page and in another connection, it is so significant in its bearing on what may be called the second college rebellion in 1808, that we give it again here. "We have lately had trouble in college. The judgments we drew up and published to the classes respecting their examinations in March gave offence. Three classes in succession were in a state of insurrection against the government of the College. For ten days we had a good deal of difficulty, but the Faculty stood firm and determined to give up no right. At last, without the loss of a single member, we reduced all to due obedience and subordination. Never had I occasion for so much firmness and prudence, not even in the great rebellion of 1782 at Yale. Most of the students are now much ashamed of their conduct. The present generation, I trust, will never burn their fingers again. They have found that we will support our authority." The "faculty" at that time consisted only of the president and three or four tutors. All of the latter became in after life unusually prominent men. It is creditable to the president that, in his private Journal, he should ascribe the firmness and the success to the "faculty." The hopefulness, not to say exhilaration, of the latter part of this entry, was destined to be pretty soon clouded over. Indeed, the sky of the College never afterward became wholly clear and bright so far as the president himself was concerned. Happily, we possess a candid and copious account of the College troubles of 1808 from the pen of Chester Dewey, a graduate of 1806, a tutor for two years, 1808–10, and then a distinguished professor for seventeen years more.

In the spring and summer of 1808, there was an attempt of the Sophomore class to prevent the continuance of some of the officers of College after the Commencement. The students supposed the tutors to be elected annually, and that, by a petition to the Trustees against a re-election, the desired end would be secured. To effect this object they enlisted the interest of two members of the Senior class, then about to graduate. So much was said and done by these two Seniors, that the Faculty obliged them to make some acknowledgment of the impropriety of any such interference on their part, before they could be permitted to perform their parts at Commencement, and receive their degrees. Though the Seniors believed a change of Tutors to be important, they were sensible that it was not their part to meddle with such a matter, and the affair was settled with them. The Commencement passed off pleasantly, and as the

tutors remained in their office, it was supposed the whole matter was settled; and the students returned after vacation, with the intention, as they said, of going on in peace and good will.

Professor Olds had felt that the students were too much disposed to present petitions on subjects over which they had no control, and in which their interference was entirely improper. This practice he wished to have broken up, and this he designed to effect. He felt that the Tutors had been injured by the course of the students, and that the Faculty were abused by it. He had led the Seniors, by direction of the Faculty to make their acknowledgment in the case, and he expected to bring the class more particularly concerned in the petition to do the same. The Faculty agreed on the course to be pursued, and the President and Professor Olds presented the subject to members of the offending class, which was now under the care of the Professor. When the acknowledgment of the wrong and the renunciation of the practice were proposed, *each individual refused* to put his name to the paper. The Junior class was now, therefore, in direct opposition to a measure resolved on by the Faculty. Recitations were suspended in that class, and the whole College was in a state of high excitement The expulsion of some of those most deeply implicated was feared.

When the state of things was reported to the Faculty, the President, with the advice of one of the Trustees, refused to sustain the officers in the attempt, [which was quite as much his attempt as theirs] and disclosed, that he had been mistaken in the facts, or he should not have consented to require the Juniors to make the proposed acknowledgment. He took a stand in favor of the students, and against the Professor and Tutors. He said the matter had been managed by Professor Olds, in whom great confidence had been placed, and who had great influence with the Faculty and students; and that Professor Olds had come to conclusions, and had led them to adopt measures, which the true state of the facts, and the feelings and intentions of the students, did not authorize. He therefore told the Professor that the proposed measure was not proper or called for, and must be given up. Professor Olds felt that his honor was compromitted, that he could not hold a respectable standing in the eyes of the students, and that he must be sustained, or leave the College. In a few hours the resignation of the Tutors was sent to the President, and soon after that of Professor Olds.

The college was then without any officer except the President; and as the vacancies could not be supplied immediately, a recess of four weeks was given to the students, and they returned to their homes.

A few were disgusted by the procedure, and took dismission from the College. At the end of the recess most returned, and Chester Dewey, John Nelson, and James W. Robbins, having been called to the tutorships, the remainder of the year was employed in quiet and profitable study. For two years the students pursued an unexceptionable course in all things. Order, peace, and good feelings ruled.

Professor Olds felt that he was greatly injured by the decision of the President, and his failing to sustain him when the trial came. The President, whom the Trustees judged to have decided correctly, felt that he had been led into a mistake by the representations of Professor Olds, not as intending any error, but carried beyond the facts of the case by the influence and strong feelings of the Professor. He regretted that he had not earlier scrutinized the case, but believed he had now taken the only wise because the only right course.

Professor Olds doubtless misjudged on the dishonor of his situation. So high was the estimation of his talents by the students, and so great his influence with them, and so strong their attachment to him, that they uniformly declared many times in the year or two following, that they should have entertained all respect and regard for the Professor, as they believed he had erred honestly, and with the best intentions. By resigning and leaving the college, he lost much of their respect, as it seemed to charge them with a criminal intention, which they disowned. There was another apology for Professor Olds, to be found in the fact that he had labored to support the Tutors; and as they could not consistently remain, he was bound to share with them the results.

To any one well experienced with the men and the ways of a New England college, the above account written many years after the events by Professor Chester Dewey, who became Olds's immediate successor here, will seem remarkably balanced and candid. To any such one also, it will seem as clear as daylight that a morally great and magnanimous man would have taken a different course from that pursued by President Fitch. Instead of throwing the entire *onus* of the difficulty upon Olds and leaving him in the lurch, he should have taken the main part of it upon himself, inasmuch as Olds had done nothing and said nothing officially without his concurrence and open participation. If he had said frankly to the students, — "*we have all acted in this matter under misapprehensions to which all men are not only liable but prone also, — we on our part unanimously as you unanimously on yours, — now, as the new year has already begun prosperously, we take back the requirement of acknowledgments on your part, for we are now convinced that you acted in good faith, and you must cease* (*as probably you have ceased*) *all opposition of any kind to the tutors, who are in their place for the second year by legitimate authority, and from under whose instruction* (*whether good or not*) *you as a class have wholly passed;*" — one thousand to one the difficulty could have been removed in ten minutes. But Ebenezer Fitch was not a man of sufficient moral largeness to see the best way out in such a case. Indeed, there is only one way out in such a case. And that is, for a man to acknowledge his own fault, when calling upon students to acknowledge and abate their own faults. Students are reasonable when they are dealt with reasonably by their teachers. The writer has seen this demonstrated a hundred times in his own limited experience. Nothing offends college students more or more justly than the assumption of infallibility of judgment and conduct on the part of their teachers.

For Fitch to express his "regret that he had not earlier scrutinized the case," when he had himself in connection with Olds pre-

sented the paper to the Junior class for their signatures and been a personal witness to their unanimous refusal, and when he had himself presided in the faculty meetings in which every step in the whole process had been matured, was to perform what at this end of the century is well named "*a crawl*," however it may have been denominated at that end. We may be sure, that the students had then some appropriate name for it, as they always have some word for such things.

The names of the two tutors, who were thus put by the act of the president into a wholly untenable place, were William Fitch Backus and Oliver Chapin. Backus had been graduated in 1802, and Chapin in 1805. The former was a nephew of the president's wife, and a brother of Gurdon Huntington Backus of the class of 1806, who will come before us in remarkably pleasant relations before we have done with the president. It may be, that the latter was swayed in a wrong direction against the tutors, for fear he might be thought to be swayed in their favor because one of them was a near relative. Nothing is known of the after life of this Backus, except that he studied law, and that he died in 1818. Chapin, on the other hand, lived to a good old age in his native town in Connecticut, and died highly respected in 1853.

Professor Dewey's account of the troubles of 1808 does not omit to mention, that the president in the thick of them counselled with one of the trustees, and that the whole body ultimately approved of his action in the premises. Who the individual trustee was, does not appear, though it is more likely to have been Israel Jones than any one else; for of the three local trustees appointed by the body in 1793 "to counsel with the president," two, Noble and Swift, were already dead, and the third, Skinner, was at this time under extreme personal difficulties in Boston, if not in actual durance there. As this is, however, the first recorded instance of any trustees being called in to advise on a current difficulty in the internal administration of the College, and as the advice given in this instance was just about as bad as it could be, it is proper here to note how ill-qualified in general our trustees have been from the beginning until now to give the right kind of counsel either individually or collectively to the executive officers of the College in such cases; and also to affirm in general on the best evidence attainable, that advice from that source, whether called for or proffered, has not proven itself in the later instances to be any better than it was in that instance. College trustees have a vastly important sphere of their own, and within that sphere they have usually shown themselves to be both compe-

tent and faithful; but when they have undertaken to adjudge penalties for college offences, or to determine whether given actions were under the circumstances offences or not, they have almost invariably made a botch of it. One or two detailed instances of this will be given further on in our story.

The effect on Professor Olds himself of this Parthian blow on the part of the president was presently and permanently unhappy. He was a fine scholar in college, and a good speaker, at a time when very little attention was paid to any phase of elocutionary work. His two years as a tutor were distinguished, as were also his two years as Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy. He himself had successfully adjusted the difficulty with the two Seniors, who had strongly supported the Sophomores in their zeal against the reappointment of the two tutors. He was probably somewhat elated by this success, and by his unquestioned popularity throughout the College. There is no record of any note of contrast struck by the students as between him and the president, — Olds in his prime at thirty and Fitch at his opening decline at fifty-two; Olds quick in mind and speech and Fitch slow-moulded in all things and ill-expressed in words, — but it is almost certain that such contrasts were drawn, and may have affected the professor to elate him somewhat and made the president more willing to give the other on occasion a pullback. The only fault that can be detected at this distance of time in the professor's action in the matter, is something pretty nearly universal in young and successful college teachers, namely, a propensity to cross the bridges before one fairly comes to them, to gain securities for the future as well as indemnities for the past. Now, guarantees for the future in any matter of college discipline are always hard to get and practically worthless when obtained, for this chief reason among others, that the college population is continually in flux, the verbal promissors of this year are not the tempted ones of next year. No college class can bind its successors in anything. Professor Olds had already gained in the way of discipline all that was possible to be gained under the circumstances. The Seniors had made acknowledgment of their fault, and had been graduated: the Sophomores had quietly become Juniors, had come out from under the instruction of obnoxious tutors, and had apparently ceased their agitation against them. Unluckily, but not altogether fruitlessly, since the example displays a principle, Olds, like scores of others, wanted to make

> Assurance double sure
> And take a bond of Fate.

When the crisis came, Olds withdrew from teaching, and studied theology, at first with Dr. West at Stockbridge, then the vice-president of the College, and afterwards at the newly established seminary at Andover, and was ordained at Greenfield in 1813, and preached there some three years, when the old teaching impulse recurred, and he was solicited to take a professorship in Middlebury College. For certain reasons now very imperfectly understood, though they gave rise at the time to some public controversy, he never assumed the duties of that professorship, but of another one at the University of Vermont, which he held for two years, till the establishment of Amherst College in 1821, where he taught for four years. Of course the old sores found no tendency towards healing so long as he was teaching in the strangely rival institution at Amherst. Later on in life he went to Georgia, and taught a few years in a college in that State. Returning north, he devoted himself to preaching, — for some years at Saratoga, and then at Circleville, Ohio, where he died in harness in 1848. Dr. Durfee in his "History of Williams College" applies to Professor Olds the following appropriate language: "His mind was of a high order. He was a fine linguist; and the whole system of mathematics taught in our colleges he had perfectly at his command. But his keen sensitiveness led him to terminate his connection with institutions in such a sudden manner, that many years of his life were sadly embittered. But his last years were spent in the service of the Church; and when he died, honorable testimony was borne to his character, fidelity, and usefulness."

The effect on the president of this decided disagreement with his only professor, and the latter's consequent retirement from the College, may perhaps best be seen in its effects on the College itself. On this point we fortunately possess testimony of the highest credibility. "From this shock," wrote Dr. Griffin in 1828, "increased by exaggerated reports respecting the extent of the disorders which prevailed, the College did not recover during the administration of Dr. Fitch. The institution was then at its height. The rooms in both buildings were nearly full, and the four classes then on the ground produced more graduates than any four successive classes have done up to this time, to wit, 115. The next largest number was 113, and consisted of the classes that were in college in the summer of 1808, when the difficulty began. The class that entered the fall after the rupture produced but 20; and the four classes that entered next after that event produced but 89. Other colleges had sprung up to increase the effect."

But it would not be fair at all to refer the gradual decline of the College, commencing in 1808, wholly to the causes within the institution itself which we have now been considering. President Fitch did not indeed show off well in these exigences; and it cannot be that he cherished a thorough self-respect in connection with them. There is something also of naturalness and probable truth in the imputation that has always been cast upon Professor Olds and his special friends, that their influence adverse to the College was exhibited in its declining numbers and reputation. Greenfield, where Olds was pastor, is a sort of gate to the College on the east; Amherst, after its foundation in 1821, in which Olds was four years professor from the start, could not but feel itself at first in antagonism with Williams, and certainly drew students from the central region of the Connecticut River, where the latter had always found its best recruiting-ground; and Vermont also, which had always been tributary to Williams, especially from the western slopes of the Green Mountains, was now trying hard to establish colleges both at Middlebury and Burlington, with both of which the connection of Professor Olds must have been more or less prejudicial to the older institution on the Hoosac.

But all of these concurring causes do not serve of themselves to account fully for the sharp decline of the College, emphasizing itself in 1808, and thereafter continuing pretty steady for many years. Although this connection has never been noticed before by any one, so far as the present writer is aware, yet he is perfectly confident that the defalcation of General Skinner as Treasurer of the Commonwealth, which came fully to light in June, 1808, at the very time when these troubles within the College were brewing to an overflow, had, in conjunction with the rest, more to answer for than all the rest put together. Skinner was at the same time the treasurer of the College, and had been from the beginning of the Free School. He was an original trustee of both. He had been responsible for the erection of the two college buildings, West College and East College. He was the chairman of the committee that constructed the meeting-house of 1798. He and his brother in company had built and then owned the Mansion House. He had become by all odds the most prominent citizen in the town in a business way, in a political way, and in a social way. He was almost constantly in one branch or the other of the General Court at Boston. He had twice been chosen to Congress from the Berkshire district before the old century went out. He had come to be tiptop in the militia, tiptop in Freemasonry, sheriff of the county, and judge in the

Court of Common Pleas. He was also at one time United States Marshal for the district of Massachusetts. In 1806 he was chosen by the two branches of the Legislature (such was then the custom) Treasurer and Receiver-General of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. He had no trouble apparently in obtaining sureties in the sum of $100,000. The names of his bondsmen follow, all but one of them citizens of Berkshire. The bond is dated the 18th of June, 1806, and his term of service commenced then.

Timothy Childs,	Pittsfield
Azariah Egleston,	Lenox
Daniel Brown,	Cheshire
Samuel H. Wheeler,	Lanesboro
William Young,	Williamstown
Ezekiel Baçon,	Williamstown
John Chamberlin, Jr.,	Dalton
John Pickit,	Sandisfield
Joseph Willson,	Tyringham
James Baldwin,	Egremont
Albert Smith,	Hanover, "Co. Plymouth."

There were eleven seals to this bond. William Dennison and Jonathan Allen signed it as witnesses. One of the conditions of this bond was that "within the year" the Legislature should by a committee examine and report upon the accounts of the Treasurer. By its own adjournment the Legislature did not pass upon these accounts within the year, though their committee examined them, and reported that they were correct. It was expressly stipulated in the bond, that unless the Legislature performed this duty, the individual sureties should be exempted from all pecuniary liabilities under it. Ezekiel Bacon, lawyer and postmaster at Williamstown, was by much the ablest man among these eleven signers, and he had occasion afterwards to make an unanswerable plea in equity against his own and fellow-signers' liability to the State. This plea was incorporated in a "Memorial of the Sureties of T. J. Skinner, late Treasurer of the Commonwealth, together with a view of their case, and the grounds on which they claim to be exonerated from their liability for his defalcations." This Memorial was printed at Pittsfield by Phinehas Allen, and was signed by Ezekiel Bacon, Albert Smith, Timothy Childs, and John Chamberlin.

Ezekiel Bacon did not sign the second bond of Treasurer Skinner, who was duly elected by "the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth for one year commencing the

1st day of June instant." This second bond is dated June 11, 1807. The names and seals to it are twelve in number, as follows: —

Timothy Childs	Pittsfield
Azariah Egleston	Lenox
Daniel Brown	Cheshire
Samuel H. Wheeler	Lanesboro
William Young	Williamstown
William Towner	Williamstown
John Pickit	Sandisfield
Joseph Willson	Tyringham
James Baldwin	Egremont
John Nichols	Gt. Barrington
John Churchill	Pittsfield
John Chandler	Monmouth.

John Read and William Smith sign as witnesses. The sum was as before, $100,000. This time Skinner calls himself of "Boston, County of Suffolk." Six names were common to the two bonds; four are found on the first bond only; six on the second bond only; and there are sixteen signers in all.

As the second year of Skinner's treasurership wore on and drew toward its close, it became evident to a gradually widening circle in Boston that something was the matter at the State treasury; but it was also evident to the same parties that the Treasurer had hopes day by day, — and even strong hopes, — if a little delay were conceded him, that his accounts with the State could be honestly adjusted. And it shows the strength of the confidence reposed in him by leading members of the Legislature and other leading men in Boston, men who had known him long and intimately, that these delays were secured to him and all proper indulgence shown him. But the crisis marched on like a warrior in arms. His last hope of being able to cover disappeared from the heart of the Treasurer. It was publicly announced by a committee of the Legislature that the treasury was in apparent default to the sum of about $70,000. Skinner's visible property, and that of his sixteen bondsmen, was immediately put under legal attachment in behalf of the Commonwealth.

The excitement soon became intense throughout the State. Berkshire County was in such a ferment as it had never been in before, and as it has never been in since. The sheriff and his posse visited nearly every important town in the county. The defalcation, though strictly personal, was given at once a political color, and became a hot ball tossed back and forth as between Federalists and Democrats.

Skinner was a Democrat, and so were all his bondsmen, and so were a large majority of the citizens of Berkshire. But Federalism in its partisan sense was still strong in Massachusetts, and particularly so in Boston. Caleb Strong, a Federalist, was Governor, 1800-07; James Sullivan, a Democrat, became Governor in 1807, and was reëlected in 1808; the Legislature had been Democrat in both the years when Skinner had been chosen Treasurer; but, after a very vehement struggle, the Federalists in 1808 obtained a small majority in both branches. The *Columbian Sentinel*, a Federalist newspaper in Boston, published the following editorials on the defalcation, the first on July 13, and the second three days later. The partisan bias is visible enough in both. On the whole, however, these are the best contemporary comments obtainable; and, as such, the readers of this book are entitled to them in full.

THE TREASURY ! !

It is a duty which we shall never neglect, however painful in performance, to hold those up to censure, who have violated a public trust. It deters others from enterprises, which equally involve their character and the public credit; and inculcates on the people the necessity of withholding their confidence from men, who have no better claim to it than confessions of their political faith.

We do therefore declare Tompson J. Skinner Esq., late Treasurer of the Commonwealth, a *Public Defaulter*. We are authorized that the Committee appointed by the General Court to examine his accounts and report thereon to the Governor and Council, have reported, *that there is a balance due and owing to the Commonwealth of more than* SEVENTY THOUSAND DOLLARS.

Whether Mr. Skinner from the contributions of bondsmen, or the successful issue of his speculations, will discharge this debt is as yet uncertain. But the measure of his disgrace does not depend on the amount of the national loss. The public money was confided to his care to be appropriated only to the public use. He has violated his trust by converting it to his own private use. He was to hold it to provide for the public safety, — has employed it to make his own fortune.

The Constitution of the Commonwealth declares, that no money shall be issued out of the Treasury but by warrant under the hand of the Governor, and with the advice and consent of the Council, for the defence, support, and protection of the people; and Mr. Skinner, in his oath of office, pledged himself to conform to the regulation of the Constitution. Where, then, we ask him, is the Sacred Deposit, which was appropriated by the people to the defence of their altars and firesides, to the support of their peace and government? Has the Governor and Council by warrant ordered our revenue invested in mercantile speculations, or in sharp bargains on the Exchange? Or have the taxes which are raised in this moment of public disaster and private embarrassment with so much difficulty, been wasted by the Treasurer in the schemes of his broker, and in the attempt to fill his own pocket out of the profits gained from the national capital?

The party who elected Mr. Skinner in the room of a man, whose virtues and talents are objects of much esteem and respect, ought to be responsible for the

injury as they are sharers of the disgrace. With the spirit of proscription they hurried an honest federalist from office, and in the rage of faction they betrayed the public money to a man, who has wasted it in his own speculations.

We can not repress our joy that the triumph of federalism has put an end to a system in our Treasury so destructive of public credit, and so threatening to the public safety. We congratulate our fellow citizens that the revenue of the Commonwealth is again committed to the care of those [the Legislature had then a very small majority of Federalists, though the Governor was still a Democrat] who have held it as a sacred deposit; that it will be no longer confided to brokers or those employed in trade; but will ever be safe in our Treasury, to afford us defence and protection on any and every emergency.

The patriotic hope of this Federalist editor that the treasury of Massachusetts "will ever be safe," has been indeed justified so far as the past ninety years go, and the hope may be here reiterated as reënforced by this long experience; but his basing of this hope on the coming back to power and perpetuity of the Federalist party was building on the sand; for the party waned in Massachusetts and elsewhere for seven years, and went out forever under the reverberations of General Jackson's guns at New Orleans. Three days after this editorial effusion in the *Sentinel*, that is to say, July 16, 1808, the same writer resumed his pen in the same paper, and gave to his contemporaries and to posterity the following:

The Treasury Again.

The sad catastrophe, which has ensued from the temporary triumph of *Democracy*, in our fiscal concerns, ought to warn the people of the danger of confiding in the leaders of the party. A few considerations will show the madness of trusting the interest of the people to those pretended friends of the people.

Mr. Jackson at the time of his removal from the Treasury, was entitled to a reëlection, if he had faithfully performed the duties of his office. The constitution permits a man to be eligible five years successively. There is an advantage in continuing for some time in office the same person, who is thereby able to go through the details of business with the greatest facility. It was proper however to guard against so long a continuance, as might enable a man to devise schemes for using the public money without fear of detection. Hence such a period was fixed as promised security from fraud, and at the same time induce men of talents to take so responsible an office without hazard of pecuniary loss by relinquishing private pursuits for public service.

Mr. Jackson's removal therefore was as contrary to the spirit of the constitution as it has proven injurious to the credit and character of the Treasury. If it was not an infringement of his legal claims, it was a violation of his moral rights. It was a measure dictated by the Sylla of his party, and for which he and his coadjutors must answer.

The appointment of Mr. Skinner was as bad as the removal of Mr. Jackson. No one pretended he had any knowledge, which rendered him competent to

manage with accuracy or method the complicated concerns of the Treasury. It was not his crime so much as his misfortune. But it was a substantial reason for refusing such a substitute for a man perfectly conversant with the duties of the office.

It was also known by the *leaders* of the democrats that Mr. Skinner had not shown such prudence or method in his own concerns as to recommend him to the management of the State Treasury. Such were his pecuniary embarrassments, that probably not one of those who made him the Cashier of the State would have loaned him money to discharge his private debts. The temptation to use any man's money in one's hand, when a sheriff is at our heels, is so strong, that it was criminal to deposit with such a man, however respectable, the public revenue.

The democratic leaders are therefore directly responsible to the people for all the injury our revenue or credit may receive from the defalcation of Mr. Skinner. His appointment also should be considered as full proof of all their struggles, and all their clamor.

Their politics form only a branch of trade, and the acquisition of the government, they call a successful adventure. They then sit to divide places of profit and honor among themselves, on the same principles and with the same feelings as joint merchants share the proceeds of a voyage. In this way, Mr. Skinner had the Treasury for his part, and in full for the capital stock he had advanced.

Those therefore who gave him his place, deserve most of the disgrace that attached to his conduct. He has fallen a victim to his own wants and weakness. But their support of him was the huckstering barter of a faction.

The attempt to reëlect Mr. Skinner for the present year was still worse than his original appointment. The *leaders* of his party all knew the suspicions that were abroad. They knew who were said to be his brothers — they knew the debt of some thousands of dollars he had paid in Berkshire — they had heard surmises of his bargains on the Exchange, and they understood how far his private funds were adequate to all these enterprises. They had heard too, that men of fortune had offered to pay the State five thousand dollars annually for the Treasury, *without a salary*, with the same privileges Mr. Skinner had assumed. But the leaders of the democrats still continued him their candidate, and used their influence, and gave their votes, to secure his reëlection. Nothing but the principle and perseverance of their opponents rescued our revenue from wider havoc.

The well-disposed and honest democrats who have followed the cunningly devised fables of unprincipled demagogues, are now called upon to consider, if they have not been deceived. They will think if the pretended love of the people of which they hear and read so much, is not the mere hocus-pocus dialect of political jugglers. By some legerdemain their revenue has flew out of sight, and we fear whether they will find any trick to get it back. They must feel too that the ruinous policy of the federal government [Jefferson's administrations] has stripped them of their ready cash, while a baleful policy at home will oppress them with unprecedented taxes, which they have no means of paying. Surely they will feel that this is Egyptian Slavery, and they will rescue themselves from bondage and disgrace, by restoring their confidence to men, who led them on to fame and fortune.

This editorial writer, while he does not exaggerate the wrong-doing of General Skinner as Treasurer of the State, uses a mess of bad logic in these articles by trying to make it appear that Skinner's party was responsible for his personal default; that his predecessor in the treasury, Jackson, was *removed* from office in order to make room for his peculations; that Skinner was a bad man when he was elected by the Legislature to the treasury, and that his fellow-partisans were worse men than he; in short, that a trick had been played upon the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Nothing can be farther from the truth than that. Skinner was a criminal in act while Treasurer, but not at all in purpose or premeditation. He was caught in speculations and consequent losses, which began ten years before he became Treasurer, and of which he became at last with others a victim, while dealing in perfect good faith in lands offered for sale in Northern markets under an unquestioned Act of the State of Georgia, which act was ostensibly repealed by a subsequent Legislature of that State, after the formal and legal rights in said lands had passed by sale into the hands of third parties. The Constitution of the United States had gone into practical operation in 1789. That instrument unambiguously declares: "No State shall pass any law impairing the obligation of Contracts." But the Supreme Court had not then adjudicated upon any case arising under this clause. The famous Dartmouth College case came before it much later in point of time. A brief account of the speculations in these Georgia lands, so called, seems to be required in these pages in order to exhibit the only possible, and at best but partial, exoneration of General Skinner.

The diary of Thomas Robbins, under date of March 8, 1796, has this entry: "Gen. Skinner arrived from Boston. Great loss there from speculation in Georgia lands." Robbins was then a Senior in College here, and had just engaged himself to Alice Skinner, a niece of the general. It would be incredible that Robbins should make such an entry as this in his journal, unless he himself had heard General Skinner expatiate on these speculations and losses; and equally incredible that Skinner should thus expatiate on them in his family unless he himself were specially interested in them. It may be, therefore, taken for granted, that Skinner, then and always much in Boston, had begun to dabble in Georgia lands as early as the spring of 1796.

But what were these lands? How came they to be offered for sale in Boston? What was the cause of the great excitement there in March, 1796? The following extracts from Hildreth's "History

of the United States," second series, will answer these questions quickly and satisfactorily. Vol. I., pp. 227 *et seq.*, under date 1789: —

The migration from the older districts to new lands, which prevailing pecuniary embarrassments had occasioned, had given rise throughout the United States to a great spirit of land speculation. The very first Legislature of Georgia, which met under the new Constitution, undertook to sell out, to three private Companies, the preëmption right to tracts of land beyond the Chattahoochee, — five millions of acres to the South Carolina Yazoo Company for the sum of $66,964, seven millions of acres to the Virginia Yazoo Company for $93,742, and three millions and a half of acres for $46,875, to the Tennessee Yazoo Company. It was one of the conditions of the sale that the money should be paid within two years; but, as the companies insisted upon paying, not in cash, but in the depreciated Georgia paper, a succeeding Legislature took advantage of that circumstance to declare the bargain at an end. All the purchasers did not assent to this view; but the controversy upon this subject was quite overshadowed by another, which sprang up a few years later, growing out of another sale of these same lands to other companies, and giving rise to the more famous Yazoo claims, of which we shall have occasion hereafter to speak.

These lands west of the Chattahoochee, which the Georgians claimed in sovereignty, with the exclusive right of preëmption from the Indians, were the district out of which the two States of Alabama and Mississippi have since been constituted. In the latter part of 1795, and in the first two months of 1796, as is related by Hildreth, Vol. I., pp. 582 and 642, these events happened.

The speculators had turned their attention to the lands claimed by Georgia west of the Chattahoochee and between that river and the Mississippi. These lands, it is true, were occupied at present by the Creeks, Choctaws, and Chickasaws, numerous and powerful Indian tribes. The title of Georgia to these lands was also very questionable, especially to that part of them below the 33d degree of north latitude, all the lands below that parallel being claimed by the United States, as formerly a part of the British province of West Florida. But this had not prevented the formation of four companies, including some very eminent citizens in various parts of the Union, to which the Legislature of Georgia, during the preceding winter, had sold the preëmption right to a vast portion of the tract above described. Those speculators had proceeded to sell out, at a great advance, to individuals and companies in the Middle States and New England.

At the present moment, attention in Georgia was chiefly engrossed, and the feeling against New England greatly excited, by the speculative purchases, already alluded to, of the preëmption right to the lands west of the Chattahoochee. Jackson, the Georgia senator, had resigned his seat, and procured himself to be elected a member of the State Legislature, for the very purpose of nullifying those sales, a business into which he entered with characteristic energy. The lands had been sold for the sum of $500,000 to four separate companies, the Georgia, the Georgia Mississippi, the Upper Mississippi, and the Tennessee. The right to become interested in these purchases to the extent of

two million, on the same terms as the original members, was reserved by the act to the citizens of Georgia; and it appeared that of the members of the Legislature who voted for the bill, all but one did, in fact, become interested, under this provision, in one or more of the companies. Upon this state of facts, together with other general allegations of corruption and of the inadequacy of the sum paid, the Legislature of the present year passed a new act [February], revoking the sale as unconstitutional and void, and directing the repayment to the companies of their respective amounts of the purchase money, if called for within eight months; the several amounts uncalled for at the end of that period to be adjudged "derelict and forfeit to the State."

As an additional evidence of the indignation of the Legislature, and a means, too, of destroying all proof of the existence of the grant, the original act authorizing the sale was ordered to be burned, and all the records relating to it to be expunged. The burning was executed with great formality. The two houses, moving in procession for that purpose, were preceded by a committee bearing the obnoxious parchments. A fire having been kindled in front of the State House, the committee handed the documents to the President of the Senate, he to the Speaker of the House, he to the clerk, and the clerk to the door-keeper, by whose hands they were committed to the flames.

The news of all these actions on the part of the Georgia Legislature in February reached Boston in the first days of March, and Skinner brought them to Williamstown in time for Robbins's record in his diary on the 8th of March. There had been no time for conference on the part of the holders of these purchased rights in New England, and no plan for concerted action. These came later. For the present, there was a plenty of indignation and clamor. The last extract from Hildreth will tell us all we want to know more.

Previous to this attempt to nullify the sale, the original purchasers, among whom were Patrick Henry, Judge Wilson, and other distinguished citizens, had already transferred their rights to others. These transfers had been made partly in South Carolina and the Middle States, but principally in New England at a large advance on the original purchase money. Nor were these new purchasers at all disposed to concede the right of the Georgia Legislature to nullify the contracts of their predecessors, especially in a case like the present, where the interests of third parties were concerned. Hence loud complaints of unconstitutional breach of faith on the one side, and of corruption and fraud on the other. When these same lands were subsequently sold by Georgia to the United States, Congress, as we shall see, was loudly called upon for an indemnity to the claimants under the Georgia grants; but this claim was very vigorously contested, and near twenty years elapsed before the matter was brought to a final settlement.

There can be no solid question (1) that these New England purchasers of Georgia land rights were foully treated by the legislative repudiation of 1796 on the part of Georgia; (2) that this repudiation was contrary to the letter and spirit of the Constitution of the United

States, although at that time there had been no judicial determination of the force of the "contract" clause of that instrument; and (3) that these innocent third parties had both a legal and certainly an equitable claim on Congress as a legislative body, so far forth as the United States came into possession of any part of these lands, either by purchase from the State of Georgia or by enforcing their own original claim to the lands lying south of the thirty-third parallel. There can be doubt that Skinner and his fellow-losers in Boston and the other parts of New England, during the ten years from 1796 to 1806, the time of his election as Treasurer of Massachusetts, nourished rational hopes of reimbursement in some form and to some extent from the United States government. His accounts with the State at the close of his first year as Treasurer, namely, June, 1807, were all correct, according to the report of a committee of the Legislature appointed for that purpose, which report, however, was not passed upon and approved by the Legislature itself, and thereby made legal and certain. It is altogether probable, nevertheless, that Skinner did not tamper at all with the funds of the State until the second year of his treasurership. How he then dealt with them so as to become a defaulter at its close, we do not know, nor is it a matter of any importance. What we do know is, that his fall came about in connection with these land speculations, entered upon in good faith years before he became Treasurer, and that at the last he had in Boston advisers and fellow-sufferers, and possibly confederates, in his troubles, whose losses had come from the same general sources.

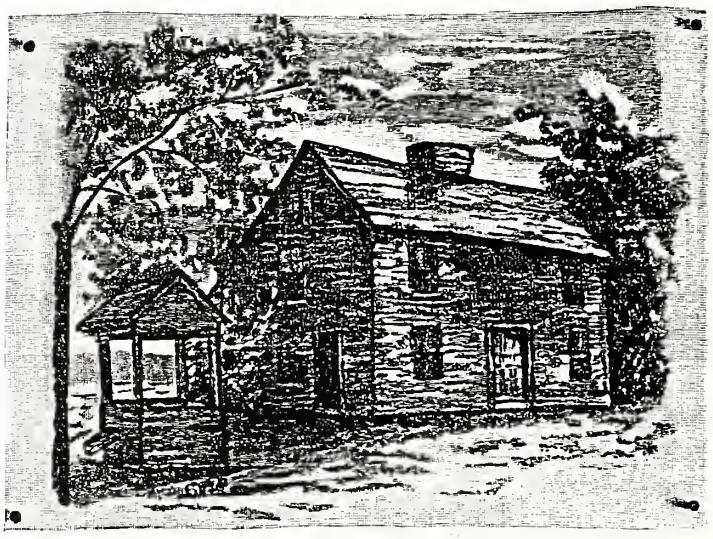
How would the doubtless exaggerated reports of the downfall of General Skinner have naturally affected the fortunes of Williams College under all the circumstances? He was the treasurer of the College, and had been from the very beginning. It was immediately and widely announced that no penny of the College funds had been compromised in any way by the course of the treasurer. So far so good. But Skinner was a leading trustee, and had been from the opening of the Free School in 1791. His prodigious failure could not but throw some discredit, and even some disgrace, upon the Board of Trustees. Again, he had been for twenty years in almost all relations the most prominent man in town; Colonel Simonds, Judge Noble, Rev. Seth Swift, and others of the old pillars had already recently passed away; now, might well reason young men in course of preparation for Williams College in the summer of 1808, instead of this forceful presence there in town and college, there will be a vacuum, nay, a kind of abyss,— we had

better turn our steps elsewhere. It is well-nigh certain that many young men reasoned in this way, not during that summer only, but in subsequent summers also. This reasoning was legitimate and inevitable. It undoubtedly had its effect on the numbers entered in 1808. And then when, after that term had begun, and the effect of the startling revelations at Boston had lost their sharpest edge, the reports went out from here on the wings of the wind of the trouble over the tutors, and that college had been dismissed for four weeks on that account; and the scholars carried back to their homes the news of both catastrophies conjoined, and what Dr. Griffin said twenty years afterward about the "great shock" at this time may well be believed.

Aside from the College, the sequels in Berkshire of Skinner's defalcation were melancholy enough. His sixteen bondsmen were nearly all pecuniarily ruined by it. Three of these were citizens of Williamstown at the time of their signature, namely, William Young and William Towner and Ezekiel Bacon. The first belonged to a Celtic-Irish family that joined fortunes with the five ship-loads of Scotch-Irish that came to Massachusetts from Londonderry in 1718. About one-third of all these passed in the autumn of that year from Boston to Worcester, where they settled down. This family were very numerous in that generation and in subsequent ones. Moses Young, himself born in Ireland, moved from Worcester to Brimfield, where he became constable and tax-collector; and there remain among his papers receipts from Harrison Gray, Treasurer of the Commonwealth, for moneys thus paid in by Young in 1764 and 1765. This Moses never came to Williamstown; but three of his sons and two of his daughters had made permanent homes here before the father's death, which fell Sept. 25, 1781. Moses, Andrew, and William were the names of the sons. The three all settled at the South Part, where some of their descendants still live on the ancestral lands, and all three were prosperous farmers. William, the youngest, born in 1754, went to Cambridge as a minute-man in 1775, as his powder-horn continues to bear witness; and he carried the same powder-horn into the battle of Bennington. He became prominent later in town affairs as a Justice of the Peace, bearing the coveted title of Squire. He was in the Legislature from Williamstown in 1792, '93, '95, and 1800–08, inclusive. He was on both the bonds of General Skinner, and he was a member of both the Legislatures that were concerned in approving or disapproving Skinner's accounts at the close of each of his years of service in the Treasury. Like Skinner, he was a Jeffersonian Democrat and a

Free and Accepted Mason. His house, which is figured below, and which is still standing intact, owned and occupied by his grandson, George Smith, had a lodge-room in the second story for the meetings of his fellow-Masons. His farm in the little village of South Williamstown was large and fine, and of course was taken possession of by the State; but before these surety matters were settled for good and all, Squire Young departed this life, and the State ultimately restored to his widow about one-third of the farm, including the house.

William Towner, another of Skinner's bondsmen, who came to Williamstown about 1790 from Stafford's Hill, where he was the



WILLIAM YOUNG'S HOUSE.

first physician, and who became distinguished here as a physician during the next twenty years, while his contemporary, Dr. Porter, became perhaps even more distinguished as a surgeon, entered likewise eagerly into politics, "at that time the all-engrossing concern of the day." He too was a Democrat and Freemason, a representative and senator at Boston, a general in the Militia, and a Justice of the Peace. He was the first resident of Williamstown known to be an Episcopalian, and as often as possible attended divine service at Lanesboro, then the nearest point of that form of worship. He was remarkably esteemed in all the relations of life by his fellow-townsmen and by the people of all the neighboring towns. He died in Pownal in 1813, while attending upon patients there scourged by

an epidemic of pneumonia. He died insolvent in consequence of his suretyship with his friend, General Skinner. He was a total abstainer from intoxicating drinks at a time when the physician called or calling was expected to help himself to any "refreshments," usually standing upon the mantel. A few days after his death, there came to his address in Williamstown, signed and sealed, a high commission in the active army of the United States, which, had he lived, he would undoubtedly have accepted; for he was a partisan of the War of 1812, and a personal friend of General Dearborn.

It is more than likely that Towner was recommended for this commission by another of the bondsmen of General Skinner, at that time possessing a great influence in Congress, and also over the mind of President Madison, namely, Ezekiel Bacon of Williamstown and Pittsfield. He was a man of extraordinary ability and of unusual popularity. He was the only lawyer, of distinction certainly, whose name was on the first bond. He believed himself and his fellow-signers to be legally absolved from the pecuniary responsibility of their suretyship, in consequence of the failure of the Legislature (by their adjournment) to pass formal approval on Skinner's accounts at the close of his first term, which approval was an express condition of the liability of his bondsmen; and he wrote out and published a legal argument to this effect, entitled "Memorial of the Sureties of Tompson J. Skinner, late Treasurer of the Commonwealth, together with a view of their case, and the grounds on which they claim to be exonerated from their liability for his defalcations." This memorial made a strong impression upon the bench and the bar and the people of Berkshire, and became the basis of the compromise ultimately entered into between the State and the bondsmen and their heirs, by which a certain part of the pecuniary indemnities were remitted. The ultimate loss to the State by Skinner's transactions was $22,000.

But while Bacon fully believed in his legal exoneration, he did not seek to evade his moral responsibility. He stood with the majority of his fellow-bondsmen, though it took most of the earnings and savings of his industrial life up to that time. It is said that one or more of the sureties forgot to be honest in their dilemma, and tried to conceal either themselves or their property; and it is known that a few of the rest were put on "the limits," as it was called, the authorities fearing that they might be tempted to do likewise. One of these latter was John Chamberlin of Dalton. But Bacon, then a member of Congress from the Berkshire district,

gained great credit by making no protest, although he made an argument, against yielding up his property to the State. The present writer has had the privilege of conversation and correspondence with Judge William J. Bacon of Utica, a distinguished son of Ezekiel Bacon. Judge Bacon writes: —

> I well remember the visit of my father to the bondsmen of Gen. T. J. Skinner at the jail in Lenox, for I went with him, although a boy of eight or nine years of age. My father's visit was one of sympathy with the bondsmen. He was himself one of the sureties, but refused "to go upon the limits," as some of them chose to do rather than surrender their property. He sacrificed a large part of all he possessed, and finally effected a compromise, and was released by the State, after suffering the loss of nearly all he had by his diligence acquired. I knew little about these matters then, and wondered why the men chose the jail limits, but I learned the reasons long afterwards; and have never ceased to honor my father's memory for the stand he took and the sacrifices he made for a man, who betrayed the confidence of his sureties, and who proved to be a base and venal defaulter to the State.
>
> The man who "stepped over the border," or in other words, fled to Canada, was, as is supposed, Barnabas Bidwell of Stockbridge. He ran away because he was himself a defaulter as Treasurer of the County of Berkshire. He was the father of Marshall S. Bidwell, who in after years came back to this country and settled in New York, where he rose to eminence as a lawyer, and was in all respects a most able and excellent man.

The bearing of Bacon throughout all these transactions was so unselfish and honorable, that when he came before his constituents for reëlection to Congress in 1809, he is said by Historian Smith of Pittsfield to have received every vote in that town, and nearly all the votes in the congressional district. He served three successive terms, 1807–13, was on the Ways and Means Committee, and chairman of it during his last term, which was a time of war and national financial difficulty. His single influence with President Madison at this time is said to have been sufficient to secure the appointment of Joseph Story, another Massachusetts Democrat, to the bench of the Supreme Court of the United States.

The revelation of the defalcation of Barnabas Bidwell, who was also a Democrat, to the county of Berkshire, and that of Skinner to the State of Massachusetts, were nearly contemporaneous; and it was made at once and for a long time after a ground of reproach to the Democratic party, and pushed as a means of loosening the hold of that party upon the Commonwealth. This was perhaps partly successful for a little time in the interest of the Federalist party, but nothing can permanently secure from dissolution in a free country any party that fairly plants itself upon special legal privileges to

the few at the cost of the many. The Federalist party, because it was such a party, was wiggling to its death in both State and nation. The reëlection of President Monroe did not exhibit even the shreds of a party in opposition to the fundamental political principles, which were developed by Thomas Jefferson in Virginia and by Parson Allen in Massachusetts at nearly the same time and in nearly the same way, namely, *No special privileges under the law to any individual or class of individuals,— equal rights and opportunities to all men so far as governments are concerned.*

But in Massachusetts, discussions and insinuations, blasts and counter-blasts, sometimes hot-tempered and sometimes ludicrous, continued for some years. The Congregational ministers, for an obvious reason, were almost unanimously Federalists, and ecclesiastical privileges had to take their turn in submersion with those of the political class. The credible story runs, that in those days at a Fourth of July celebration in the Old Colony, where one at least of Skinner's bondsmen resided, a minister by the name of Lincoln vented himself in the following toast: —

> "If Skinner steals, and Bidwell runs,
> And robs the State of half its funds;
> How many democrats must follow,
> To rob the Treasury all hollow?"

No cause is lost so long as it finds even an *impromptu* champion. A quick-witted Democrat present, not having the fear of the Church before his eyes, sprang to his feet with the following on his lips: —

> "It takes nine tailors to make a man;
> Now solve this riddle, if you can:
> How many priests like Parson Lincoln,
> Would make a saint that God could think on!"

Before passing finally from these town and college troubles of this first decade of the century, we must advert to an appeal of the College to the Legislature in 1805 for further assistance. The original chapel in the south end of West College was in some respects unpleasantly situated, and was inadequate to its religious purposes. A committee of the Legislature which investigated the condition and prospects of the institution under this appeal and petition made the following report, Feb. 9, 1805: —

> The Committee of both Houses, to whom was referred the petition of the President and Trustees of Williams College, praying the aid of government to enable them to build a chapel for the performance of divine service, and for

keeping the college library and apparatus, having examined the origin, rise, and progress of the seminary, from its institution to the present time, together with the aid heretofore afforded by the government, and the existing state of its funds, beg leave to observe, That the funds granted by the original donor and the government have, in the opinion of the Committee, been judiciously applied to the object of the institution, and with success exceeding the most sanguine expectations, and that the present state of the college affords a reasonable and pleasing expectation of its future extensive benefits to society, and that a chapel for the purposes above mentioned would essentially promote the same; and as the encouragement and grants of the government to that college have not been equal to those made to other seminaries in the Commonwealth, the Committee ask leave to report the following Resolve:

Resolved, For reasons set forth in the petition, that there be and hereby is granted one township of land of the contents of six miles square to be laid out and assigned from any of the unappropriated lands belonging to the Commonwealth, in the District of Maine, except the ten townships lately purchased of the Penobscot Indians.

It is certain that this resolve passed the General Court, although no record of it has ever been found. No chapel at any rate was undertaken to be built for more than twenty years after this; but in 1809 another township of land in Maine was granted "for further aid in support of Williams College, and for the erecting of other buildings for the convenience of the institution, and for sustaining a professor of the Oriental languages," and the sum of $9500 was realized from the sale of the two townships.

Recurring now to the College and its fortunes, during the upheavals of the War of 1812 and the political readjustments that followed it, we note that at the close of the four weeks' recess in the autumn of 1808, consequent upon the resignation of Professor Olds and the two tutors, College reorganized itself by bringing together three new tutors, who, with the president, were the sole teachers for two years, namely, Chester Dewey and John Nelson and James W. Robbins. Each of the three was a graduate of the College; and Robbins, who was a younger brother of Thomas Robbins, from whose diary copious extracts have been made, had been previously a tutor for two years, and came back at the earnest request of the president to help out in a case of difficulty. He only taught, however, a little more than a year, when his health failed, and he settled down to an honorable mercantile life in Lenox. John Nelson was graduated in 1807. He continued to teach here for two years. His home was in Worcester, where he taught at intervals both privately and in a select school. Among his pupils was George Bancroft, whom he taught Virgil; but the precocious boy could

shortly read Latin better than his preceptor. The writer has often heard his mother, Lydia Gray, a native of Worcester, who attended the select school, relate anecdotes of her amiable and excellent teacher, who was not over well grounded in English Grammar, which was her forte and pride. Nelson taught also for a while in the academy at Leicester, where he was settled in the ministry in 1812, and continued the pastor there until his death in 1871, at the age of 85 years. An adopted daughter of the Nelsons was the wife of John E. Russell, a public man of Massachusetts justly famous in his day.

The third of the new tutors in the stress of 1808, Chester Dewey, became a far more notable man than either of the other two. The families of Dewey and Noble are found planted together in Westfield as early as 1666, represented by Thomas Dewey and Thomas Noble. Branches of these two families migrated from Westfield to Sheffield, Obadiah Noble being the first settler of the latter town. Members of the two families came later from Sheffield to Williamstown, and became, perhaps, the two most prominent families here for fifty years. David Noble came just before the outbreak of the Revolution, and Daniel Dewey just after its close. Chester Dewey was born in Sheffield in 1784, entered college in 1802, pursued the full course, and was graduated with unusual credit in 1806. He studied theology with Dr. West in Stockbridge, and preached in Tyringham about nine months, when he was suddenly called to the College. He was assigned to carry on the instruction of the Junior class, the class that had been served by Professor Olds, and that had come into the difficulties with him and the president which have already been described. Half a century later, Dewey himself gave an account of what transpired at his first recitation: —

> When the students reassembled, the instruction of the refractory Junior class was assigned to Mr. Dewey; thus placing him in a most trying and responsible position. His opinion, early formed, was that it was not best for a teacher to say much about government, but so to influence students that they shall govern themselves. Accordingly, when he met the class for the first time, he frankly confessed to them his inexperience, reminded them of the unfavorable reports which had gone abroad respecting them, and assured them that the only way to counteract these reports, and do away their injurious influence, was by a faithful and manly performance of duty in future. The appeal produced the desired effect. They felt that they were thrown upon their individual responsibility. Subordination and order were at once restored; study was cheerfully and heartily pursued. Years afterwards, the Hon. Daniel Kellogg, one of the judges of the Supreme Court of Vermont, a member of the class, remarked: "I remember as if it were but yesterday, that first recitation of Mr. Dewey's, and his address to the class. He put us on our honor, and after that we would not for all the world have done a rebellious deed."

Besides Daniel Kellogg, there were in the class at that time Justin Edwards, Darius Lyman, William H. Maynard, Luther Rice, and several others, who made their mark in the world afterward. The note of the pitch thus given by Chester Dewey in his first official hour was kept up throughout a remarkably successful college song for nineteen years. He carried this class through their Junior year, and the next Junior class also, as their sole instructor; when he was elected Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in the place of Professor Olds, a chair he held for seventeen years. He was thus constituted the third in succession of regular college professors, — Mackay, Olds, Dewey. He alone of the three had time and opportunity of showing what a college professor can do under the best auspices. The impulses imparted here and elsewhere to the study of the natural sciences by Amos Eaton, were felt in their best form and degree and exhibited in their most attractive features by Chester Dewey. Benjamin Silliman antedated at New Haven by about five years such lectures on chemistry as Dewey began in Williamstown, and continued these and cognate lectures on botany, until both these departments were thoroughly established. These were his specialties; but, like Silliman, he considered as his field the whole body of natural phenomena, not then as now subdivided into many special sciences. Besides chemistry, Silliman took peculiar possession of geology, and Dewey of botany; and the latter ultimately made himself the authority in this country and in Europe within the botanical department of the Carices. One of the last years of his life was much occupied in classifying and completing his then unequalled collection of Carices, which he gave by will to his Alma Mater.

Visible and tangible nature was the chosen field both for study and teaching of Chester Dewey. He saw that the field was wide, and that no one man could do more than thoroughly to till one or two of its subdivisions, while maintaining, as he thought was needful, a general familiarity with all its departments. He saw also, that to do either of these two things well, there must be many coadjutors. Accordingly, he commenced a system of exchanging specimens throughout the country, and a system of meteorological observations, and interested many young men here and there as coworkers. He came to carry on a large correspondence with men whose scientific inquiries were similar to his own, not only in America, but also in England, France, Germany, and Norway. Throughout life his sympathies were youthful, his facility in accomplishing work remarkable, his vigor of mind and body unusual, and his industry

indefatigable. At the same time, he loved to impart as well as to obtain. He was a natural teacher, modest, genial, unselfish. He became, therefore, a leader of men along those paths which he himself trod. Unselfishness is the indispensable characteristic of good teachers and of the moral leaders of men. Self-seeking is a deadly blight in the college as in the world.

Wrote one who took his college course about the time when Dewey left the College, that is to say, in 1827, speaking of the years of his professorship: —

> During this time he held a prominent position in the management of the college, and during a portion of the time was acting president. His facility and success in the government of young men brought upon him special responsibilities, and constituted him the leader in emergencies. In doubt, his counsel was essential; in difficulty, his presence was indispensable; in any difference of sentiment, his opinion was final. He did much to advance the standard of scholarship and enlarge the course of study. In natural science he was untiring. The departments of chemistry and botany he established on a permanent basis. In religious experience, also, he exerted an admirable influence. The students came to him for counsel, guidance, and encouragement. He was the help of the inquiring spirit; he did not fail to speak the apt word to the impenitent; he prayed with the prayerful, and rejoiced with the forgiven. As a preacher of the gospel, Dr. Dewey was calm and gentle, yet earnest and impressive. He loved most to dwell upon the benevolence and love of God as manifested in the gift of his Son to die for sinners. But his presentations of the gospel were always copiously illustrated from the sphere of his scientific studies. He seldom wrote sermons; but he talked to the people out of a gratefulness of mind which could never be at a loss, with wonderful simplicity of language and expression. His preaching was full of instruction and edification.

This discerning and beautiful and wholly credible testimony of a contemporary, goes to prove a proposition important as toward understanding the life of a New England college, which has rarely, if ever, been laid down in books, and which Chester Dewey was the first to exemplify at Williams, namely, that a college professor in a department that suits him, and which he is at the same time shaping to his own mind without interference from any one, is in a position for gaining and retaining a stronger moral hold on the students than a president for the time being is likely to have, one may perhaps say than a president can possibly have. All the reasons for this can not be given in this place; these are some of them: the professor meets his students for the time being more constantly, more intimately, with a relatively less aspect of authority in all cases; he can adapt himself better in methods and approaches to individual characteristics among the students in his own classes; his circle is

smaller and can be in all senses more easily compassed; he can, if he chooses, see the men in their rooms in a sort of social way, and invite them to his own room; unknown to others he has opportunities of doing little kindnesses to individuals — to a student who is poor in purse or afflicted or needing in any way a paternal or fraternal word; he can make his classes sure by all proper self-revealings that he has no selfish ends whatever in his instructions, or in any part of his conduct toward them; and having a less general and a less wearing supervision and responsibility than the president for the ongoing of things, he is able in a more genial way to gain the confidence and affection of those to whom on his part he is bound and inclined to show the utmost confidence warranted by the circumstances. Unwarranted suspicions manifested toward students or colleagues is justly fatal to any man's influence in a college.

In ways like these, or ways implied in these, Professor Dewey came to wield an extraordinary moral power in the College and in the county. He forwarded the temperance, or rather the total-abstinence movement, that began to sweep over New England in the twenties. He lectured effectively on this subject as he had time and opportunity. Besides bringing into full momentum here that preëminence of the natural sciences over the other classes of studies, which, continued by Albert Hopkins and others, characterized the first third of the nineteenth century, Dewey began to give lectures on botany and chemistry to the Medical College in Pittsfield in 1822, and later to the similar college in Castleton, Vermont; and for a good many years he gave about four months each year to such work, thus forwarding the practical science and art of medicine. Yale College gave him the degree of Doctor of Medicine in 1825, Union College the degree of Doctor of Divinity in 1838, and Williams the degree of Doctor of Laws in 1850. Under peculiar circumstances, which, so far as they may be made fairly to illustrate permanent college principles, may be detailed at a later stage of our story, Chester Dewey resigned his professorship in Williams in 1827, and took charge of a high school or "gymnasium" in Pittsfield, modelled after the Round Hill School at Northampton, established in 1823 by George Bancroft and J. G. Cogswell. The idea of both these schools was taken from Germany, as was also the name, and imported a school of high grade for the training of boys, and particularly for fitting them for college on a superior basis to any that then prevailed in America. Bancroft failed utterly as a teacher, and Cogswell only went on with his school for five years; but Dewey for nine years had a great success with his Pittsfield Gymnasium. In 1836, however,

he removed to Rochester, and became influential in establishing and building up the "University" there. Here he lived for thirty-one years, honored by everybody, dying at eighty-three. His relations with Williams continued remarkably pleasant and intimate till the day of his death. His last visit here was at Commencement time in 1856; and the writer remembers with pleasure all the circumstances of meeting him then in company with Mark Hopkins on the outlook of the Astronomical Observatory. That was forty years ago.

The early intimate connection between Yale and Williams was kept up from time to time by various pleasant relations, and by none more, perhaps, than by the repeated visits to Williamstown of President Dwight, while on his justly famous "Travels." In the second published volume of these travels, pages 398–400, reference is made to two distinct visits here, and the impressions received, one of which has already been quoted in these pages relating to Seth Swift, the first minister, his discouragements and successes; and the other reference will now be given in part, which has been often quoted on account of its scientific aspects, and which deserves a permanent home in a book like the present.

In September, 1806, I passed through this town on a journey to Vermont. While I was here, President Fitch showed me an insect, about an inch in length, of a brown color, tinged with orange, with two antennæ, or feelers, not unlike a rosebug in form, but in every respect handsomer. The insect came out of a tea-table, made of the boards of an apple-tree, and belonging to Mr. [Schuyler] Putnam, one of the inhabitants, and a son of the Hon. Major-General Putnam, late of Brooklyn in Connecticut. I went with President Fitch to Mr. Putnam's [on Bee Hill], to examine the spot, whence the insect had emerged into light. We measured the cavity; and found it about two inches in length, nearly horizontal, and inclining very little, except at the mouth. Between the hole, and the outside of the leaf of the table, there were forty grains of the wood. President Fitch supposed, with what I thought a moderate estimate, that the saw-mill, and the cabinet-maker had cut off at least as many as thirteen more: making sixty in the whole. The tree had, therefore, been growing sixty years, from the time, when the egg was deposited in it, out of which the insect was produced. How long a period had intervened between the day, in which the apple-tree was cut down, and that, in which the table was purchased by Mr. Putnam, is unknown. It had been in his possession twenty years. Of course, eighty years had elapsed between the laying of the egg, and the birth of the insect.

After its birth, it was placed under a tumbler, and attempts were made, by offering it for sustenance wood of the apple-tree, and bread to prolong its life. It ate a small quantity of the bread; but, either for want of more proper food, or from being lodged in too cold a temperature, or from some other cause, it died within a few days. My own acquaintance with entomology is so limited, that I know not whether the observations which I am about to make, may not seem idle, and be really superfluous, to persons acquainted with this branch of

natural history. But, I confess, the fact opened to me a train of thoughts, in some measure interesting. I had often wondered at many things, relative to this class of beings; and had often heard men of a respectable understanding express their wonder, and their doubts, concerning the same things: particularly, the origin of many new *new* tribes of insects, which, within the last forty years, had visited these States: (tribes unknown even to the oldest men living, and, therefore, styled new;) the periods intervening between the appearance and disappearance of other tribes, which are well known; for example, the locust; the apparently absolute disappearance of still other tribes, together with several other things of a similar nature. I had long been satisfied with the vivacious nature of seeds. Here I was presented with full proof of the same nature in the eggs of insects. The egg from which this insect sprang, was unquestionably deposited eighty years before its appearance in a living form. Sixty of these years it existed in the tree, where it was laid. Perhaps it may be more unobjectionably said, that eighty years elapsed from the time, when the cause of its future animation was lodged in the tree, to the commencement of that animation. What is true of this insect, is in all probability true of many other species.

An interesting phase of this insect story either never caught the ear of President Dwight, or he did not regard it as of sufficient moment for record. Members of the family of Mr. Putnam heard at intervals extending over several days unaccountable sounds apparently issuing from this table. They harked and searched. The sounds would cease under movings of the table or parts of it, and then begin again. It became a mystery talked about, not only at home, but also among the neighbors on the "hill." At last, the insect opened for itself the orifice on the surface of the table described by Dr. Dwight. Out of utter darkness, it came forth into the light. From long confinement, it issued into brief liberty. Its persistent labor toward a living exit ended shortly in its exit from life. Its nature was indeed "vivacious," as Dr. Dwight says; but several questions arise here, besides the one to which he and Dr. Fitch seem to have confined themselves, that is, how long had this possible vivacity been in the tree and in the table? One might naturally ask, did it pay this particular insect, in order to achieve its transient notoriety or even what may be conceded a sort of immortality, to labor so long and so hard to dig itself out? What was the motive or impulse that led it to gnaw so persistently the well-seasoned apple-tree wood? Is not the question of its voracity quite as interesting as that of its vivacity? What influence upon its hidden activity (if any) to emerge into the full light of day, had the handsomeness of those colors then first displayed to the eyes of men? These questions are not put from the standpoint of entomology, nor scarcely from any other standpoint, except perhaps the

vague analogy they suggest with the painstaking labors of some men and women. Some things about it are certain: the incident excited the interest of one of the most inquisitive and honest minds of the country at the opening of the new century; it brought together again and repeatedly in pleasant curiosity two presidents of colleges, in most respects extremely unlike each other, who had been associated together at Yale in their younger lives, and who seem to have respected each other so long as the older and abler man survived; and it helped to connect for a while in agreeable relations (soon to become hostile) the simple people of Bee Hill with the College, since the Putnams sent for President Fitch so soon as the insect emerged, and also presented him with the remains when life was extinct, and often thereafter opened their doors and exhibited their table to more scholarly and distinguished visitors than had been accustomed to call at the farmhouse.

Perhaps Schuyler Putnam deserves at our hands a somewhat fuller recognition in this place. He came to Williamstown in 1805 from Brooklyn, Connecticut, where he was born, and where his more famous father died in May, 1790. His motive in moving to Williamstown was to avail himself of the advantages of the place for the education of his sons. Three of these, John Pope, Nathan, and Schuyler, were graduated here with credit in the class of 1809. The father's full name was Peter Schuyler Putnam, but he was named after General Philip Schuyler, under whom and in connection with whom Israel Putnam had served both in the last French and Indian War and in the Revolutionary War, and for whom he entertained the highest esteem. Schuyler Putnam inherited some of his father's qualities; he was social and generous and humane; and, like his father, he was an enterprising farmer. The son devoted himself particularly to cheese-making, all the work connected with which he did himself, and prided himself upon its perfection. He had a stamp bearing his own name, which he impressed upon his own cheeses; and these came to have a great reputation in New York City, which was his market, and always bore a price above the common. On his deathbed he gave strict orders that this stamp should be destroyed at once, which lets light in upon a highly commendable quality of the man. Coming down from Bee Hill to the village, he kept the Mansion House as a tenant under the Skinners for a number of years, and closed a somewhat eccentric career about 1824, as a tenant on the large farm of Captain Kellogg, which he contracted to carry on "at the halves," as the tenure was then called in New England. His body was buried at North Adams.

A total eclipse of the sun occurred in June, 1806, which stirred the poetic impulses of a boy in Cummington to try to describe it in rhymed pentameters. This piece is still extant in thirty lines, commencing: —

> "How awfully sublime and grand to see,
> The lamp of Day wrapped in Obscurity."

The poem is inscribed in the boy's handwriting: "Written by W. C. Bryant, just after the great total Eclipse of the Sun, in the Summer of 1806, — in his twelfth year." This boy on the 9th of October, 1810, was entered a Sophomore in Williams College. This was then the beginning of the college year. About a month before, he had attended with his father, Dr. Peter Bryant, the Commencement exercises of that year, when twenty-nine young men, the class that had had the trouble with Professor Olds and the tutors, received their diplomas. As he was at the time of his admission the most precocious and widest-read boy that ever entered the College, and as he became the most celebrated man and the one most likely to remain "in the choir of ever-enduring men," that was ever in the College as a student, though his residence continued but seven months in all, the reader will desire to construe for himself line by line and in its entirety the account of it written by Bryant in his autobiography sixty-five years afterward.

In the beginning of September, 1810, when the annual Commencement of Williams College was at that time held, I went with my father to Williamstown, passed an easy examination, and was admitted as a member of the Sophomore class. After the usual vacation I went again to Williamstown and began my college life. I found that kind of life on the whole agreeable, and formed pleasant relations with my fellow students and instructors. There were two literary societies in the College, to one or other of which every student belonged, the Philotechnian and Philologian, and, as my room-mate, John Avery, belonged to the Philotechnian, I was induced to join it. These societies had their literary exercises, in which I took a great interest.

My room-mate was a most worthy and well-principled person, several years older than myself, and I owed so much to his example and counsels that I have often regretted not having kept up a correspondence with him. He became in after life a minister of the Episcopal Church, and went to the Southern States, to Maryland, I think, whence, about the year 1835, he removed to Alabama, and died soon afterward. The students of Williams College were at that time mostly youths of a staid character, generally in narrow circumstances, who went to college with a serious intention to study, and prepare themselves for some of the learned professions, so that I have no college pranks to relate. The course of study in Williams College at that time was meagre and slight in comparison with what it now is. There was but one Professor, Chester Dewey, Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, a man of much merit, who had the charge of the Junior class. The President of the college, Dr. Fitch, superin-

tended the studies of the Senior class, and the Sophomores and Freshmen were instructed by two tutors employed from year to year. I mastered the daily lessons given out to my class, and found much time for miscellaneous reading, for disputations, and for literary composition in prose and verse, in all of which I was thought to acquit myself with some credit. No attention was then paid to prosody, but I made an attempt to acquaint myself with the prosody of the Latin language, and tried some experiments in Latin verse which were clumsy and uncouth enough.

Among my verses was a paraphrastic translation of Anacreon's ode on Spring. Moore's version of Anacreon's ode was consulted, and my room-mate suggested that these translations should be shown to two members of the Junior class, whom he named, and of whose judgment in literary matters he thought highly, and that they, without knowing the authorship of either, should be asked to say which of the two was the better. Both versions copied in the same hand were accordingly laid before them by Avery. He came back to me greatly pleased, and informed me that the two judges had given the preference to my translation. He added that they evidently supposed my translation to be that of Moore, and spoke of the other in an encouraging manner as quite creditable on the whole. He came away without undeceiving them.

My room-mate, for the sake of obtaining a more complete education than the course of study at Williams then promised, had resolved to leave the college and become matriculated at Yale in New Haven. His example, and a like desire on my part, induced me to write to my father for leave to take the same step, to which he consented. Accordingly in the year 1811, before the third term of my Sophomore year was ended [May 8th], I asked and obtained an honorable dismission from Williams College, and going back to Cummington began to prepare myself for entering the Junior class at Yale. I pursued my studies at home with some diligence and without any guide save my books, but, when the time drew near that I should apply for admission to Yale, my father told me that his means did not allow him to maintain me at New Haven, and that I must give up the idea of a full course of college education. I have always thought this unfortunate for me, since it left me but superficially acquainted with several branches of education, which a college course would have enabled me to master, and would have given me a greater readiness in their application. I regretted all my life afterward that I had not remained at Williams, where, considering that the expenses were less than at Yale, my father might have been willing to support me till I should obtain the degree of Bachelor of Arts.

The room that John Avery and Cullen Bryant occupied together in the interval of time sketched above, as their classmate Sedgwick well remembered fifty years afterward, was the inner room on the third floor of West College, east side, and was then and is still No. 11. The changes wrought in the building in 1854 did not in any respect destroy the identity of this room, nor indeed of any other room in the building. Two small bedrooms were cut off from the side of each of the large rectangular rooms as they were originally finished off, and the numbering of the rooms from one to thirty-two was not in any instance changed.

Some of Bryant's ancestors on both sides had shown unusual poetic impulses, and all were remarkably thoughtful and reading people. His father was a good judge of poetry, and a merciless critic of the boy's earliest efforts in that direction. He had moreover a good library both of prose and verse. "My father delighted in poetry, and in his library were the works of most of the eminent English poets. He wrote verses himself, mostly humorous and satirical. He was not unskilled in Latin poetry, in which the odes of Horace were his favorites. He was fond of music, played on the violin, and I remember hearing him say that he once made a bass viol, — for he was very ingenius in the use of tools, — and played upon it." Heredity had its full part in making Bryant a great poet; but the boy had in himself all the other conditions and prerequisites. In his childhood he used to pray that he might receive the gift of poetic genius, and write verses that might endure. "I presented this petition in those early years with great fervor, but after a time I discontinued the practice; I can hardly say why. Whatever I might innocently wish I did not see why I should not ask; and I was a firm believer in the efficacy of prayer." Corresponding with his desires was his diligence. He read books from his father's library with an amazing facility and a most extraordinary memory. Before he entered college (not yet sixteen), he had read every word in a list of books recollected by himself, the length of which list is the chief reason for its not being copied in this place.

He had mastered the rudiments of Latin and Greek with such ease and quickness, and had perused the preparatory books with so much pleasure and thoroughness, that he might doubtless have entered the Junior class here just as readily as he did the Sophomore. In that case he would have come immediately under the stimulating instruction of Chester Dewey, then just beginning his professorship after a successful tutorship of two years. Had he done so, in all probability he would not have left the College till his graduation. Besides his reading, and his much initial writing of verse, he had already eagerly commenced "in the love of Nature to hold communion with her visible forms." Dewey would have been a man after his own heart. Botany would have been equally the delight and inspiration of them both. Each would certainly have kept step with the music of the other. But it was not so to be. Providence knows best. Orange Lyman, the Sophomore tutor, was a staid and self-willed and stiff New England body, an alumnus of 1809, and during his life a home missionary in New York and Ohio and Illinois. "Experienced, judicious, grave," are words from his college obituary. Few im-

pulses from such a man could come to such a boy as was Cullen Bryant in 1810. The latter quickly mastered the daily lessons given out to his class, and then went about his miscellaneous reading, his college and society disputations, and his literary compositions in prose and verse.

The memorable thing about it all is this, that the boy showed no signs in his bearing or conduct of what must have been his conscious superiority over all those around him in personal powers and scholarly attainments. His modesty and self-poise under all the circumstances are nothing short of wonderful. In 1808 his "Embargo; a Satire; by a Youth of Thirteen;" had been published in Boston, and kindly noticed in the Federalist papers, and at least in one literary periodical there. The same, somewhat enlarged, and a few shorter poems added, passed into a second edition in 1809. Not long after Mr. Bryant's death, in 1878, the present writer felt so sure from the general principles of human nature, and from some knowledge of a satirical poem written by him just before he left college (rumors of which then first came to be bruited about), that there must have been some such tokens of self-consciousness noticeable at least by his classmates, that he wrote a letter of particular inquiry on this point to General Sedgwick. The following is the reply received: —

SHARON, CT., June 13, 1879.

PROFESSOR PERRY —

I have your favor of yesterday, and very cheerfully comply with your request in relation to my recollections of Bryant while he was in college. His membership was so short, that there is not much to be written about it. He entered our class at the commencement of Sophomore year in 1810, being then in his 16th year, and brought with him the reputation of being the author of two or three short poems bearing upon the politics of the day, which were deemed of remarkable ability as the productions of an author so young. He had not then reached the physical dimensions which he afterwards attained, but his person was remarkably well formed, and his head was covered with a prolific growth of dark brown hair. His room-mate was John Avery from Conway who was some ten years his senior; and they, as did other Sophomores, roomed in the West College. As I now recollect, their room was in the 3d story, north end, east side, next to the N. E. corner room of that story. I never heard of the satiric stanzas said to have been written by him on leaving college till since his decease. I was a member of the Philotechnian Society, and feel confident that if such a production had been read there, it would have excited a sensation which could not have been forgotten by me.

When I noticed the allusion to the poem in the commemorative address by Mr. G. W. Curtis, I took measures to obtain through Hon. E. C. Benedict a copy of them, and the enclosed letter from that gentleman shows the failure of my effort. As they are to be published, I suppose there can be no objection to my

seeing them, and I earnestly request that you will send me a copy of them on the return of Mr. Benedict's letter. Dr. Hallock did not become a member of college till several years after Mr. Bryant left.

The tutor of our class was Rev. Orange Lyman, who was afterwards settled in the ministry at Vernon, Oneida Co., N.Y. Bryant showed no superiority to his teacher or to the other members of his class, who were men of studious habits. He associated with the more orderly and industrious members of college, and was entirely modest and unobtrusive in his deportment. He affected no superiority and was not particularly distinguished from other members who studied faithfully, in any department of the course of studies then pursued by the class. The only example of his poetry written while he was in college which was known to the members was a *composition* read by him in fulfilling that imposed duty, which received the *examination* but not the *criticism* of Tutor Lyman; and a translation of one of the odes of Anacreon which he showed to a few friends. I had the reading of it, but have forgotten which of the odes of Anacreon it was.

These statements will assure you that there was nothing in the feelings or deportment of Mr. Bryant which is described in common parlance as *sticking up the nose*. The reason always given by Mr. Bryant for leaving college was that he intended to become a member of Yale and graduate there, but was prevented by the want of ability of his father to sustain the expense of his education there. I add as a matter of *conjecture*, that not improbably the influence of his room-mate, John Avery, persuaded him to that course. Avery was far in advance of many the other members of the class, when he entered Freshman, and kept in advance through the whole term of his membership. He left college at the same time with Bryant, and entered at the next term in Yale in the same standing that he had at Williams; and it is not improbable that his *example* if not his council persuaded Bryant to adopt the same purpose.

I believe I have answered your inquiries as far as I can. If there is anything further in which I can aid you, please command me at any time. Don't forget to send me copies of the stanzas, as I have set my heart on seeing them ever since I heard of their existence.

Very truly Yours

Chas F. Sedgwick.

There was at least one other man, who had "set his heart on seeing them" quite as firmly as had General Sedgwick. This man made a journey from Williamstown to New York, on purpose to see what could be gotten out of Rev. Dr. Hallock, then in his dotage. He was willing to repeat parts of two stanzas, all that he could then possibly remember, but he forbade his visitor to write down even these meagre lines. Mrs. Hallock, however, kindly wrote them down for him in an anteroom, and he returned assured that he had made *something* of a find. It was not long before he heard, vaguely indeed but credibly, that one of Bryant's brothers in Illinois, who had lost his house by fire and in it the original copy of the verses given to him by the poet, and then supposed to be the only copy in existence,

could repeat the lines by memory *verbatim* and entire. A correspondence was entered upon immediately, first, to obtain the address of this brother, and second, to obtain (if possible) a copy of the stanzas. Before this roundabout correspondence had had time to fructify, however, he received another letter from General Sedgwick, which the reader will be glad to see. Neither of these letters have ever before been printed.

SHARON, January 26, 1880.

PROFESSOR PERRY

I am very glad to have been able to furnish you with the manuscript we have all been seeking for a long time. It has occurred to me that you would like to know the circumstances attending the discovery.

Several weeks ago, Parke Godwin Esq., son-in-law of Mr. Bryant, opened a correspondence with me, to learn from me what I could tell him of Mr. Bryant's college experience. After our correspondence was finished, it occurred to me that Mr. Godwin might know something of the poem, and I addressed him a note making inquiry on the subject. He wrote under date of Jan. 7, — "There is such a poem in possession of Mr. Hallock of this city, of which I saw a copy many years since, but I do not think it was ever delivered or publicly read at Williams. Mr. Arthur Bryant of Illinois could repeat it from memory, but has no doubt forgotten it by this time."

I knew Mr. Bryant had a brother residing at Princeton, Illinois, and I thereupon addressed him a letter, stating that I was seeking for a humorous poem written by his brother when he left college ; and requesting him, if he had it in manuscript or in memory, to send me a copy. Within ten days I received a copy of the poem in full, and I copy *verbatim* the letter which accompanied it.

"PRINCETON, ILL., Jan. 15, 1880.

"C. F. SEDGWICK ESQ.

"*Dear Sir*, I send you the poem you wish to obtain written out *from memory*. I think it is accurate. As you will perceive, its tone is that of bitter sarcasm and censure, rather than of humor. Twenty four years ago I had the original copy in my brother's handwriting, but it was destroyed when my house was burned. Written under it was this memorandum, — 'Read in the Philotechnian Society March' — I have forgotten the exact date.

"Respectfully Yours,

"ARTHUR BRYANT."

Probably Mr. A. Bryant is the only person in the world from whom the poem could be obtained. W. C. Bryant's subsequent relations to the college were so intimate and friendly, that there is no wonder that he wished this early specimen of his young poetic talent should be suppressed. The sarcasm and censure of the poem was afterwards amply condoned by his munificent friendship to our Alma Mater.

Yours very truly

CHAS F. SEDGWICK.

The good classmate's natural supposition that Arthur Bryant's memory was the only repository of the stanzas in January, 1880, proved not long afterward to be in fault. There was another classmate, Charles Jenkins, afterward tutor in the College 1816–19, subsequently a pastor in Portland, father of Rev. Dr. J. L. Jenkins now settled in the same pastorate, left among his papers at his death in 1831 a complete copy of these verses, in the handwriting indeed of the classmate and endorsed in the same, "Written by W. C. Bryant, late a member of the Sophomore class in Williams College." Bryant beyond question gave to Jenkins on leaving as a personal keepsake the poem to copy and to possess. Among the latter's papers the copy slumbered for three-quarters of a century and more, when his son, an alumnus of Yale, very properly gave the poem to the press. Indeed, it is very fortunate that he did so; for otherwise, the *memoriter* version of Arthur Bryant would have gone on permanent record as a correct and unchangeable version. The present writer has compared critically the two line by line and word for word. The differences are only verbal, except in the first four lines of the fifth stanza, where they are substantive. Arthur Bryant or somebody else made a paraphrase of those lines, and made them much weaker, also with different rhymes and a partially different thought. On the other hand, in several of the verbal discrepances, the manuscript copy is clearly right and the printed one wrong. There are two obvious printer's errors. With much confidence that the following recension is as near the original as it can possibly be made, the writer submits to the readers its final form.

DESCRIPTIO GULIELMOPOLIS.

No more the brumal tempest sheds
Its gathered stores in sleety showers,
Nor yet the vernal season spreads
Her verdant mantle gemmed with flowers;
But fettered stands the naked year
And shivers to the chilling air,
And lingers dubious on the wing;
And often struggles to unclasp
Reluctant Winter's icy grasp
And greet the arms of Spring.

Hemmed in with hills, whose heads aspire,
Abrupt and rude, and hung with woods;
Amid these vales I touch the lyre,
Where devious Hoosack rolls his floods.

Dear vales, where every pleasure meets,
Fain would I paint thy slimy streets,
Extended views and wholesome air,
Thy soil with churlish guardians blest
And horrors of the bleak Northwest
Poured through the chasm afar.

Safe from the morning's golden eye
And sheltered from the western breeze,
These happy regions bosomed lie —
The seats of bliss and bowers of ease,
Far-famed spot whose fertile breast
Now droughts with lengthened blaze infest,
Now tempests drench with copious flood.
Alternate heat and cold surprise,
A frozen desert now it lies,
And now a sea of mud!

While rising on the tainted gale,
The morbid exhalations ride,
And hover o'er the unconscious vale,
Or steep upon the mountain side.
There on her misty throne reclined,
Her aching brows with nightshade twined,
Disease unseen directs her way,
Wields the black sceptre of her reign
And barbs her shafts with keener pain,
And singles out her prey.

Why should I sing its turbid springs
That trickle through its rocks of lime,
And why those domes where science flings
Her far-diffusing rays sublime,
Where through the horror-breathing hall
The pale-faced, moping students crawl
Like spectral monuments of woe,
Or studious seek the unwholesome cell,
Where dust and gloom and cobwebs dwell,
Dark, dirty, dank, and low.

Yet on the picture dark with shade
Let not the eye forever gaze
Where lawless Power his nest has laid,
And stern Suspicion treads her maze.
The storm that o'er the wintry waste
Rides howling on the northern blast,
In time will curb its furious way;
But that o'er Hoosack's vales which lowers
Will never know serener hours,
Nor open to the day.

1. This curious poem, although many of its expressions are much exaggerated in accordance with the nature of all successful sarcasm, is nevertheless of decided merit and of manifold value to posterity. Allusions to it made by George William Curtis in an oration on Bryant before the New York Historical Society, Dec. 20, 1878, the year of Bryant's death, awakened the public curiosity in relation to it, and particularly the curiosity of certain graduates of the College who knew Bryant well and were also desirous to know the College well in its early day. The local scenery, as it was in the first decade of the nineteenth century, was never better described, and never can be again.

> Safe from the Morning's golden eye [behind the Hoosacs]
> And sheltered from the western breeze [by the Taconics],
> These happy regions bosomed lie.

Another feature of the landscape as it was then, and almost as it was forty years later when the writer first became familiar with it, is perfectly hit off in the following lines: —

> Hemmed in with hills, whose heads aspire
> Abrupt and rude, and hung with woods;
> Amid these vales I touch the lyre,
> Where devious Hoosac rolls his floods.

No other poetic adjective so well as "devious" could describe the course of the river through Williamstown. Near to the site of old Fort Massachusetts the westerly course of the stream from the junction of its two branches in what is now the city of North Adams is sharply deflected to the south by striking on the rock-wall that defends the whole northern side of the valley, and thus is made to enclose the beautiful "Fort Meadow" as it is called. Like a wilful child once sharply corrected, the stream soon begins to work its way back to the same northern line of rock and slope, until, just before taking in on its southern side the Green River tributary, the Hoosac makes an almost right-angle bend to the northward, which general direction with many a "devious" loop it keeps thereafter till it slips so out of the town and the State. This last stretch of the Hoosac River in Massachusetts, having thus made an exit for itself through the high hills in some of the geologic ages, described indeed by Bryant,

> And horrors of the bleak Northwest
> Poured through its chasm afar,

is fondly called by us a century afterward the "Golden Gate," because there is the place where the yellow sunset lingers longest in our horizon-circuit.

2. So far as is now known, Bryant was the first in what has proved a long succession of varying *Vates* to pay emphatic tributes, poetic and dramatic, to the climate of Williamstown in March. Certain incidents and attachments of that climate, pretty uniform in itself considered, have grown a good deal more endurable during the century past. An extremely gradual evolution of dry sidewalks is one of the most considerable of the betterments. The general description holds good to this day: —

> But fettered stands the naked year
> And shivers to the chilling air,
> And lingers dubious on the wing;
> And often struggles to unclasp
> Reluctant Winter's icy grasp
> And greet the arms of Spring.

Two of the incidents or accessories of the March climate are savagely alluded to in these lines of Bryant, the springs of which old Father Time has already been able pretty much to dry up, — the impassableness of the walks, and the alarmingly prevalent epidemics of the springtime. General Samuel Sloan, whose family then occupied the best house in the village, which he had built for himself in 1801, and which is still the official home of the College president, was then giving in the sight of the students object-lessons illustrating also these lines of Bryant: —

> Now tempests drench with copious flood.
> Alternate heat and cold surprise,
> A frozen desert now it lies,
> And now a sea of mud!

Reliable traditions of eyewitnesses represent General Sloan as sending out his hired man with two long boards to accompany his daughters on making their village calls in the springtime, so as to lay down one board on the muddy ground, and while the girls were passing over that to lay down the other in front of it, and then to take up the hinder one and repeat the process till the muddy places were practically vanquished for that day. Clay and limestone go naturally together, as much so as pines and sand; and the writer knows the sites of three or four "old brick-kilns" dating back into the eighteenth century on the western end of the village plat; and there might have been twice as many more in other parts of the little hamlet, so predominant is the clayey soil over and alongside the lime rocks. Luckily the numerous brooks have always had the knack of bringing down plenteous gravel to the valley; gravelled walks to and around the College buildings came in early; the broad

and straight walk from the old East College through the centre of West College to the meeting-house on eminence No. 3, received copious gravel from year to year and decade to decade without ever becoming very firm ground toward its western end; for a generation or more the College gave the students an annual holiday called "Gravel Day," for *bona fide* personal work around the buildings, but it dwindled at last to a trifling class tax, and then both day and deed deceased. As the last years of the nineteenth century are dropping off in welcome to the earliest of the twentieth, asphalt sidewalks in long stretches are flanking the streets of the village in all directions, and macadamized highways of a permanent character (partly paid for by the State) are penetrating to all sides and corners of the town. Old things in this respect also have passed away, and behold all things have become new.

A prejudice or opinion, whichever it may be, against the wholesomeness of limestone water, especially to those who have not been accustomed to it, has always prevailed in Williamstown more or less, and is now tending to prevail the more under the careful judgment of Dr. F. W. Olds, Williams College 1876, who highly commends for sanitary purposes the Sand Springs water, the only water in the valley not impregnated with lime. Bryant's father was a practising physician; and it can hardly be that the mocking lines,—

> Why should I sing its turbid springs,
> That trickle through its rocks of lime,
> While rising on the tainted gale,
> The morbid exhalations ride,
> And hover o'er the unconscious vale,
> Or steep upon the mountain side, —

should not be at least an echo of medical opinions entertained at home. There is no successful banishing from this boyish poem the thorough conviction derived from some source, that for some reason or reasons the place as such was unhealthful, —

> Where through the horror-breathing hall
> The pale-faced, moping students crawl,
> Like spectral monuments of woe,
> Or studious seek the unwholesome cell,
> Where dust and gloom and cobwebs dwell,
> Dark, dirty, dank, and low.

At this late day, and under the almost wholly changed conditions of things, it is a matter of comparative indifference what a bright boy thought of externals in Williamstown in 1811. But what he thought of the people of the town, so far as he came in contact with

them; and what he thought of his teachers, and of the educational opportunities furnished by the College at that time, are matters of perennial interest. The poem yields but a single line of judgment on the people of the town: —

Thy soil with churlish guardians blest.

His chances of acquaintance with the farmers of the place must have been very meagre indeed. He came in October, he went in the next May, and he spent a considerable vacation about New Year's in Cummington. The writer is going to take all the risks of a pure guess as to the source of Bryant's opinion that the farmers around the College were "*churlish.*" Incidents that certainly happened at the same spot many times a few decades later may reasonably be conjectured to have fallen then under his own observation. Each West College room was heated in winter by its own very large brick fireplace. The quantity of wood naturally burned out in one of those immense apertures from October to April (the vacation excepted), in order to make the room even partially comfortable, was enormous to contemplate and particularly to pay for, although the best of wood was naturally cheap in those days. So cheap that a device became common among those "churlish guardians of the soil," namely, to delay bringing their ox-loads of four-foot wood into the college yard to sell to students, until the afternoon of some unusually cold day, the sun falling fast down behind the Taconics, when something like the following dialogue would take place between town and gown: "*There's a good load of solid body wood for you; and I guess you'll need some of it before morning.*" "What do you ask a cord for such wood as that is?" "*I'd ollers ruther sell it by the load than by the cord.*" "Why so? I would rather buy it by the cord than by the load, for then I know how much I am getting for what I am giving." "*You've come to college, and you haven't got eyes enough in your head to tell how much wood there is on a ox-cart! Come round this side of the load, and look at it!*" "Pitch it off, and pile it up here against the college, and measure it, and I will give you a dollar and a half a cord for it more or less." "*No, you don't! That will take an hour! I've got to get home to chore time! Whoever wants this load for a dollar and a half — just as it is — top, body, and middle, every stick, now or never, can have it: where's my whip — can have it — I must be heading for home!*" "Going to haul it back on to the hill, are you? It will not go so easy up hill as it came down! Better pitch it off! I and my chum here will help you cord it up! It won't take long: you don't want to lug it home."

"*You bet! Two or three families between here'n home want this load at that price! They said so coming down! Take it, or leave it, I'm goin' home!*" "What do you say, chum, had we better take it?" "I think so; it's going to be a mighty cold night." Off comes the load pell-mell; and three-quarters of a cord or less passes for a cord for the hundredth time at the same place and under similar circumstances.

Cordial as Bryant's relations became in his elder life to the College through several of its prominent trustees and professors, willing as he became to assist at its anniversaries, to contribute to its funds, to be enrolled among and to serve as president of its alumni; he never retracted even in semblance the biting words of his youth about its authorities and instructors. He never ceased to regret that he left the College in a huff, or that he left it at all; he always spoke in terms of warm praise of Chester Dewey as a lovable man and a persuasive preacher, though he did not come under his instruction at all in the classroom; but so far as the president and tutors were concerned, he apparently took back nothing from the harsh words of the "Descriptio."

> Let not the eye forever gaze
> Where lawless Power his nest has laid [Fitch],
> And stern Suspicion treads her maze [Tutors].
> The storm that o'er the wintry waste
> Rides howling on the northern blast,
> In time will curb its furious way;
> But that o'er Hoosack's vales which lowers
> Will never know serener hours,
> Nor open to the day.

Almost fifty years after these lines were written, and many years after some of these new relations spoken of above were knit, in a letter to Calvin Durfee of the class of 1825, who published a valuable sketch of the life of President Fitch in 1865, Mr. Bryant in answer to inquiries wrote the following: —

> At that time Dr. Fitch was president of the college, and instructor of the Senior class. I have a vivid recollection of his personal appearance — a square-built man, of a dark complexion, and black, arched eyebrows. To me his manner was kind and courteous, and I remember it with pleasure. He often preached to us on Sundays, but his style of sermonizing was not such as to compel the attention. We listened with more interest to Professor Chester Dewey, then in his early manhood, the teacher of the Junior class, who was the most popular of those who were called the Faculty of the college. Two young men, recent graduates of the college [Gray and Lyman], acted as tutors, superin-

tended the recitations of the two lower classes, and made their periodical visits to the college rooms, to see that everything was in order. The college buildings consisted of two large plain brick structures, called the East and the West College, and the college grounds, an open green, were between the two and surrounding them both. From one college to the other you passed by a straight avenue of Lombardy poplars, which formed the sole embellishment of the grounds. Concerning my fellow-students, I have little of importance to communicate. My stay in college was hardly long enough to form those close and life-long intimacies of which college life is generally the parent. Orton and Jenkins — I am not sure of their Christian names, and have not the catalogue of graduates at hand — were among our best scholars, and Northrop and C. F. Sedgwick among our best elocutionists. When either of these two spoke, every ear was open. I recollect, too, the eloquent Larned and the amiable Morris.

The four classmates named in this passage all became distinguished men, although "the eloquent" Sylvester Larned did not remain till the close of the course. Dr. Morris lived to found the Morris Professorship of Rhetoric, and became thus and otherwise a very considerable benefactor of the College. Rev. Dr. Azariah Orton bore the distinction of having been a prominent candidate here in 1830 for the professorship of "Rhetoric and Moral Philosophy," when Mark Hopkins was elected over him for the place. Orton was a nephew of Nathan Jackson, who became a singular and manifold donor to the College, becoming interested in the needs of Natural History here through the representations of Professor James Orton, a son of the other, almost equally useful and influential in Natural History matters at Williams and at Vassar. All these parties, the Jacksons and the Ortons, were in the direct line of descent from Abraham Jackson, the maternal grandfather of the founder of the College. Indeed, Ephraim Williams spent his boyhood and youth in the family of his grandfather at Newton.[1] Jenkins and Sedgwick have already been somewhat characterized on pages preceding the present. Sedgwick was the last survivor of the class of 1813. He was often at the College Commencements during his old age, which closed in 1882. His presence was always as welcome as his person was imposing. He was in the direct line of descent from General Robert Sedgwick, one of Cromwell's major-generals, as was also Judge Theodore Sedgwick of Stockbridge.

On the fiftieth anniversary of the graduation of this class of 1813, which fell in the thick of the Civil War, and Bryant could not himself be present, he sent by Sedgwick the following poem, which the latter read at the Commencement dinner: —

[1] See, for particulars, *Origins in Williamstown*, p. 221 *et seq.*

Long since a gallant, youthful company
Went from these learned shades. The hand of Time
Hath scored upon the perishing works of man
The years of half a century since that day.
Forth to the world they went in hope, but some
Fell at the threshold, some in mid career
Sank down, and some who bring their frosty brows,
A living register of change, are here;
And from the spot where once they conned the words
Written by sages of the older time,
Look back on fifty years. Large space are they
Of man's brief life, those fifty years; they join
Its ruddy morning to the paler light
Of its declining hours. In fifty years
As many generations of earth's flowers
Have sweetened the soft air of spring, and died.
As many harvests have, in turn, made green
The hills, and ripened into gold, and fallen
Before the sickle's edge. The sapling tree
Which then was planted stands a shaggy trunk,
Moss-grown, the centre of a mighty shade.
In fifty years the pasture grounds have oft
Renewed their herds and flocks, and from the stalls
New races of the generous steed have neighed
Or pranced in the smooth roads. In fifty years
Ancestral crowns have fallen from kingly brows
For clownish heels to crush; new dynasties
Have climbed to empire, and new commonwealths
Have formed and fallen again to wreck, like clouds
Which the wind tears and scatters. Mighty names
Have blazed upon the world, and passed away,
Their lustre lessening, like the faded train
Of a receding comet. Fifty years
Have given the mariner to outstrip the wind
With engines churning the black deep to foam,
And tamed the nimble lightnings, sending them
On messages for man, and forced the sun
To limn for man upon the snowy sheet
Whate'er he shines upon, and taught the art
To vex the pale dull clay beneath our feet
With chemic tortures, till the sullen mass
Flows in bright rents from the furnace-mouth,
A shining metal, to be clay no more.
O, were our growth in goodness like our growth
In art, the thousand years of innocence
And peace, foretold by ancient prophecy,
Were here already, and the reign of Sin
Were ended o'er the earth on which we dwell.
In fifty years, the little commonwealth,

Our league of States, that, in its early day,
Skirted the long Atlantic coast, has grown
To a vast empire, filled with populous towns
Beside its midland rivers, and beyond
The snowy peaks that bound its midland plains
To where its rivulets, over sands of gold,
Seek the Pacific — till at length it stood
Great 'mid the greatest of the powers of earth,
And they who sat upon earth's ancient thrones
Beheld its growth in wonder and in awe.
In fifty years a deadlier foe than they —
The wrong that scoffs at human brotherhood,
And holds the lash o'er millions — has become
So mighty and so insolent in its might
That now it springs to fix on Liberty
The death-gripe, and o'erturn the glorious realm
Her children founded here. Fierce is the strife,
As when of old the sinning angels strove
To whelm, beneath the uprooted hills of heaven,
The warriors of the Lord. Yet now, as then,
God and the Right shall give the victory.
For us, who fifty years ago went forth
Upon the world's great theatre, may we
Yet see the day of triumph, which the hours
On steady wing waft hither from the depths
Of a serener future; may we yet,
Beneath the reign of a new peace, behold
The shaken pillars of our commonwealth
Stand readjusted in their ancient poise,
And the great crime of which our strife was born
Perish with its accursed progeny.

Mr. Bryant himself attended the Commencement in 1869, six years after this poem with its confident predictions and aspirations had been read, and was elected president of the Society of the Alumni. Called up in this capacity by President Hopkins at the alumni dinner, who, with extraordinary felicity of language, spoke of him as one "having the wisdom of age in his youth and the vigor of youth in his old age," Mr. Bryant remarked, after a few words by way of introduction: —

It has occurred to me, since I, in the decline of life, came to visit once more this seat of learning, in which our youth are trained to succeed us on the stage of the world, that I am in the situation of one who, standing on a spot desolate with winter and dim with twilight, should be permitted by a sort of miracle, to look upon a neighboring region glorious with the bloom of spring and bright with the beams of the morning. On the side where I stand are herbless fields and leafless woods, pools sheeted with ice, a frozen soil, and the shadows of approach-

ing night. On the side to which I look are emerald meadows, fields of springing wheat, orchards in bloom, transparent streams, and a general sunshine. With me it is too late for any further hopeful tillage; and if the plough were put into the ground, its colter would be obstructed by the ice-bound sods. On the side to which I look I see the tokens of judicious cultivation and careful tendence, recompensed by a free and promising growth. I rejoice at the kindly care thus bestowed, and my hope and prayer is, that under such auspices all the promises which meet my eyes may be amply fulfilled, and that from these luxuriant fields a harvest may be gathered richer and more abundant than has ever yet been stored in the granaries of our land.

In bringing to a conclusion this section of our story, which might perhaps be called the Bryant section, it will be proper to insert here a final letter from General Sedgwick, to whom all are indebted for some of the best features of the section.

SHARON, March 8, 1881.

PROFESSOR PERRY

Dear Sir, — I fitted for College with the Rev. Ammi R. Robbins of Norfolk, Conn. My home was in Cornwall, Ct., about 7 miles from Norfolk, on the same farm on which the Hon. Theadore Sedgwick of Berkshire was raised. Mr. Robbins was a member of the Corporation of W^ms^ College and his advice was always in favor of that College for the education of his pupils. This probably had an influence with my father to send me there, although the fact that education there could be obtained at much less expense than at Yale gave W^ms^ a decided popularity. As I was but 14 years old when I entered College I was not consulted on the subject, my father taking the matter into his own hands. We rode on horseback to Williamstown to be present at the Commencement in 1809. There I was examined and admitted with some dozen others, a member of the freshman Class. The distance from my home to W^ms^town was 63 miles, which as travelling was prosecuted in those days occupied a day and a half. At the commencement of the next term my father took me to W^ms^ town with a wagon well loaded with furniture for my room, and as we were passing through Sheffield *Tutor* Dewey, who had taken part in our examination at the previous commencement, recognized me and asked for a ride with us to Williamstown, which was cheerfully accorded to him. Mr Dewey held the tutorship during our freshman year and at the Commencement in 1810 was appointed to the Professorship. He had, while tutor, the charge of the junior Class; and in those times, that was considered the *trying year* of the College course. There was no change in his method of teaching after he became Professor from what it had been while he was tutor. He was a *faithful* teacher, taking pains to illustrate every matter which came before the class at the recitations in a way to be easily understood. He not unfrequently exhibited his illustrations in geometry and kindred sciences by plans and figures on the floor, with chalk. He was married to a lady in Stockbridge (his first wife) during our Sophomore year, and his house stood on nearly the spot now occupied by the Chapel. He gave no Lectures while I was in College. He was not decidedly unpopular, but there was not that *fondness* connected with respect for his office which attached to Tutor Nelson whom all the College loved. His Recitation room was in the East College (since burned), North End, west side third story, middle room. The

room which he occupied in the College was the S.E. corner room 2d story of the same building. The only astronomical instruments which I ever saw was a small telescope, and an Orrery, which was contrived with a good deal of ingenuity to illustrate the revolution of the Planets round the sun and I think in some cases of the Satellites round their planets. Professor Dewey sometimes brought out the telescope on a pleasant evening upon the College green and gave the scholars opportunity to look through it at the moon and stars.

The tutors who officiated in College while I was there were Dewey, Nelson, Bushnell, Lyman, Emerson and Bancroft. Dewey and Lyman were the only preachers among them then, but Nelson, Bushnell and Emerson afterwards became preachers. None of them, during their tutorship, disclosed any very eminent ability, but all discharged well their official duties as tutors. Tutor Lyman instructed our class during Sophomore year, and during the first term and part of the second he was very unpopular with the class. At this time there occurred a difficulty between us and the freshmen, which at one time threatened serious collision and when the matter came upon the faculty Mr Lyman took decided ground in our favor, and from that time he enjoyed the warmest friendship of its members. We made him a handsome present in valuable Books when we parted with him at the end of the year.

College expenses were very much less then than now. The common boarding houses charged 9 shillings ($1.50) per week. The first-class boarding houses charged 10 shillings (1.69) per week and good board was furnished the students. I think the cash paid by my father for my education at Wmstown was about $600, and added to this was the expense of travel back and forth at the end and beginning of each term. I kept a horse during the two last summers of my College course, which I could procure well pastured at 34 cents per week.

This sheet is ended and the matters connected with my College life are exhausted.

Very truly yours

Chas F. Sedgwick.

The writer turns from the clear and pleasant portion of his task now completed, to what chronologically and on every other ground properly comes next in order, not without certain misgivings of heart or rather an unpleasant fear of disappointing and perhaps offending certain friends of his own and of the College by the manner of handling the portion that follows. The historical proofs are not as clear as they have been; and the historical tests strictly applied do not lead to those conclusions, which have been fondly accepted as settled by several of his predecessors, as at least partial inquirers into this prized part of the college history. With motives that were of the purest, and following evidences that certainly seem to be plausible, these inquirers have made more than the historical facts will really warrant — than the testimony of eye- and ear-witnesses will fairly bear out — of the early position of the College as "the missionary college," "the birthplace of American foreign missions." Especially since 1854, when Byram Green of 1808

revisited his Alma Mater and ostensibly identified the place of the too-famous haystack, has a loose logic been employed in the apparent behalf of the College, and historical proofs been adduced of its agencies and instrumentalities, which, when candidly poised, shrivel somewhat to the sight and shrink as to weight. The writer has probably proven, — perhaps overproven, — throughout this volume and the similar one that preceded it, that he would be among the last to derogate one jot from the just honors of his town and college; and he hopes to have proven, by the same means, that he prizes truth in history beyond all other possible qualities of its pages.

The exact truth of the religious and missionary significance of the early College, so far as that can be ascertained at this late date, will turn best on the story of Samuel J. Mills. As appears by an entry on one of the books of the college treasurer still extant, Mills entered college in April, 1806. He died at sea off the coast of Africa in 1818. The materials are fairly abundant from which to make out the state of things he found on coming hither, the sort of life and influence he had while here, and something of the germinating religious agencies he left behind him. Fortunately enough for the present purpose, we possess in a letter of Jedidiah Bushnell, a member of the first Freshman class organized on the ground and an alumnus of 1797, the means of fairly constructing the religious condition of the College from the very first. The letter was indeed written in his old age, but it is probably all the better for that, and certainly all the better for its writer, having had much to do in the meantime with the organization and development of Middlebury College both as a trustee and as a neighboring pastor. The reader will find a large reward in conning this letter in a penetrative spirit.

Respecting the religious state of things in college during my residence in it, I have no very favorable account to give. It was the time of the French Revolution, which was at that time very popular with almost all the inmates of College, and with almost all people in that part of the country. French liberty and French Philosophy poured in upon us like a flood; and seemed to sweep almost everything before it. Not that I believe, or ever did believe, that the greatest part of the students were in theory settled infidels; but I did fear at that time, and now as much fear, that a number of talented young men of the several classes did fix down on those infidel principles, from which they never afterwards were recovered. Some, however, who thus made Volney their oracle, and openly professed it, have renounced it since, and become pious and useful men. But French principles at college had a commanding influence, and bore the multitude onward in its course. The influence was so great, that it was very unpopular for a sinner to be convicted of sin, or be converted or say or do anything on the subject of experimental piety. There were two or three old professors of religion

whom the wicked very rarely treated with indignity ; but the moment the sinner began to have serious thoughts, the wicked would load him with ridicule and with shocking abuse. This spirit ran so high, that none dared manifest seriousness except those whom God truly made serious. Respecting the morals of the college, some infidels were moral men according to the common acceptation of that term ; but, as a general rule, the college suffered about as much in morals as it did in the theory of religion. Comparatively with colleges now in New England I think we were quite immoral.

Notwithstanding this state of things, there was a redeeming spirit in the college as long as I was a member of the Institution. There was some solid active piety in a few which remained unmoved. The number of professors of religion was very few ; but one in my class at that time who belonged to any church, — none in the higher classes. The classes which entered afterwards were larger, and contained several professors of religion, one or two instances of decided picty. This spirit of piety, though limited to a small number, had an enlightening and restraining influence on many, at times, beyond what is easily imagined, so that it gave comfort and hope. About three or four were deeply convicted or hopefully converted while I was a member of college. Others have informed me since, that they received impressions then which were never effaced from their minds, until they found the salvation of the Lord.

But that which in my judgement had the most influence of all things, under God, was a prayer-meeting every evening of the week at the ringing of the nine o'clock bell. One of the students opened his room for that prayer-meeting. The meeting was much in the form of our usual family prayer. We read the Scriptures, commented on the truth, exhorted one another. and closed by prayer. Our number hardly ever exceeded twelve, sometimes nine or ten, commonly six, seven or eight. We usually spent twelve or fourteen minutes in those meetings at a time. All were invited to come who wished. Some non-professors came ; some of them would come for a while, and then retire for a season, and then others would come. This meeting was sustained uniformly for four years during my whole college life, and I believe will be remembered with joy by some in another world. Those evening meetings were solemn, and sometimes soul-refreshing, and they constituted a rendezvous for any serious mind in college. As wicked as we were at that time, I do not recollect a single insult on the room during the time of our devotions, or when we held those prayer-meetings during the space of four years. The ground during the time of our worship, seemed in the view of all to be sacred ground, which was a wonder to all thus associated, and to me is a wonder now. I have always been glad that I was there at the time I was, and still hold the scenes that there passed in sweet remembrance.

In another paragraph of this same communication, not thought worth while to quote verbally, Bushnell speaks of a weekly religious conference in his time, generally though not uniformly kept up. This must have been sustained by some member or members of the faculty as then constituted ; and became the prototype of meetings in different forms under the same auspices that practically knew no intermission until just before the Centennial. There is no direct

evidence like this of Bushnell's, but a plenty of indications on every hand, that the state of things in college both religiously and socially continued substantially as he described it for at least ten years longer. Bryant's words are very significant as to the social disorders and laxity of government just previous to his time.

> Before my admission, it had been the practice for the members of the Sophomore class, in the first term of their year, to seize upon the persons of some of the Freshmen, bring them before an assembly of the Sophomores, and compel them to go through a series of burlesque ceremonies, and receive certain mock injunctions with regard to their future behavior. This was called *gamutizing* the Freshmen. It was a brutal and rather riotous proceeding, which I can, at this time, hardly suppose that those who had the government of the college could have tolerated; yet the tradition ran that, if it was not connived at, no pains were taken to suppress it. There were strong manifestations of a disposition to enforce the custom after I became a member of the Sophomore class, but the Freshmen showed so resolute a determination to resist it, that the design was dropped; and this, if I am rightly informed, was the last of the practice.

Samuel J. Mills joined college in April, 1806. He came out of a Dutch family very early settled in Windsor, Connecticut. His father of the same name lived to be ninety years old, a giant in his physical frame, and said to have been of a mental greatness equal to the physical, though strongly mixed with oddity. "Fun oozed out of him as freely as sap from a sugar-maple in spring-time." Even when rebuking the boys in the gallery of his church at Torringford for some apparent levity caused by the turns of his discourse, intending the reproof in all seriousness, he would sometimes intensify the merriment by the oddity of the terms of his rebuke. "But when he unbent, and gave himself to wit and story-telling, he was famous in all the region round about."[1] "*It was a bad generation of books!*" once exclaimed Henry Ward Beecher of that large number of Memoirs of remarkably pious youth published in Great Britain and in the United States during the early part of the nineteenth century. Rev. Dr. Lyman Beecher furnished these books to his youngest son for his reading; and almost all pastors in New England did the same thing. The present writer had access in his boyhood to no other sort of books than these from his deceased father's library. Among them, — the very same volume now lies open before him, — was "Memoirs of the Rev. Samuel J. Mills, late Missionary to the South Western Section of the United States, and Agent of the American Colonization Society deputed to explore the coast of Africa." Other specimen books of this class were "Remains of

[1] Letter to the author in 1885 from the late Increase N. Tarbox.

Henry Kirke White," "Life of David Brainerd," "Memoirs of Henry Obookiah," and "Memoir of Edward Payson." Beecher did not give the grounds of his unfavorable judgment of these books, but they may be confidently supposed to be: (1) The unlovable and unscriptural character of our Heavenly Father implied, if not delineated, in most of them. (2) The monstrously unreasonable and unthinkable theology of those times, which, while it made the salvation of every individual unchangeably depend on counsels and determinations had from all eternity among the persons of the sacred Trinity, made at the same time the scattered Christians of England and America responsible in a substantive sense for the desperate condition of the heathen world. And (3) the abnormal and unsocial display of the Christian virtues in individuals, who, for the most part, segregated from their fellows in strange situations, and also dying young, were worse than useless to common youth for purposes of imitation. It will hardly be believed in the twentieth century that, in the Christian churches of New England during the first half of the nineteenth, the Lord's Prayer was relatively unpopular as compared with the prayer of the "publican."

The first "revival of religion," so called, a phrase of great significance and of great beneficence in the history of New England, notwithstanding the narrowness of the current theology and the assumption of the clergy in knowing what never can be known on earth, came to Williamstown in the spring of 1805. The good pastor, a native of Kent, Connecticut, and a graduate of Yale in 1774, had preached faithfully for twenty-six years, 1779–1805, without seeing at any time any considerable fruit of his labors. But it was borne in from above upon the mind of the good man that he should live to see a revival of religion under his own ministrations. Political contentions had been a hindrance to his work almost from the first. The pews were very much divided in political sentiment, the chief seats, however, were thought to be occupied by Federalists, and the pulpit was unanimously Federalist, whether pastor or president preached; while a majority of the builders of the meeting-house, and a majority of the attendants on church worship, and the most of the leading men in town affairs, were Democrats. This distinction went down deeper into social and religious life than can be easily conceived of in these later generations. But Pastor Swift preached on, it was thought, with more pungency and power, and with less and less implied references to earthly, and therefore transient, differences among men. The whole surface of the barren soil seemed to be broken up by this sharp colter of 1805. Fifty-four new members

were united to the church in that year, and fifty-two in the following year; and in February, 1807, the good man died while the good work was still going on. But the College was not apparently at all affected by this town movement the first year, except to be stirred up to a bitter spirit of opposition. One young man in the Junior class, Algernon Sidney Bailey, from Worcester County, is said to have let his light so shine as to become a sort of terror to opposers both in town and college. A combined movement was made to mob him. It was his prayers that seemed to excite this personal bitterness. A small party had couched themselves in an out-of-the-way place, which he was to pass, with a view to offer indignity and violence to his person, when some of them were suddenly brought to a moral crisis in their lives. The ambush was broken up before the supposed passer-by had reached the place of offence.

This young man, Bailey, with a very few other students, and at the invitation of Mrs. Mehitable Bardwell, who lived near the bridge over the Hoosac, a full mile northwest of the College, set up a private prayer-meeting in her house, which had consequences of lasting moment both to town and college. Indeed, here is one of the many insoluble points of contact between town and college, which make it impossible to set forth the history of one separate from that of the other. It may well have been, though we have no information on that point, that it was thought likely, that Bailey would be wending his way northward to this meeting along the still, shaded road toward Bennington, when the futile scheme was contrived to waylay him. This meeting, however, could not be kept altogether secret. Though convened at a distance from the College, because it was not thought prudent to hold such a meeting there, and one could hardly have been held there at that time without ridicule and interruption, the meeting itself at Mrs. Bardwell's increased somewhat in numbers and much in interest throughout the summer of 1805. "This was a blessed meeting," said one who was a member of it, "and there I have always thought the College revival began." The careful reader will note the circumstances of origin as well as the date of this secret prayer-gathering at the small house by the Hoosac River. Much confusion and undesigned misstatement has arisen from confounding persons and mixing the dates of events about this time. These first meetings at Mrs. Bardwell's house were more than six months before Samuel J. Mills entered college.

Mrs. Bardwell was the nurse at the bedside of Colonel Benjamin Simonds and of his wife, Anna Simonds, both of whom died in April, 1807; and the Bardwells, who were then the nearest neigh-

bors of the Simonds family, moved shortly afterward into a house still standing in South Street, which itself had not long before been moved from the site of the present president's house to make room for this latter, then about to be built by General Sloan. When the Bardwells were fairly established in their new home, whether by a request of some students who knew of the former meeting-place or by an invitation direct from Mrs. Bardwell, her kitchen was put at the disposal of the students for a similar purpose during the winter months, Saturday nights being designated as the time. After a little, the family asked that the door into the sitting-room might be left ajar, and that a few neighbors might be invited in to overhear. This concession in the course of time changed the nature of the meeting somewhat. It became a neighborhood prayer-meeting led by the students, and continued for many years, until the breaking up of the household by the death of the husband, Obadiah Bardwell, and the removal of the widow to live with her daughter near by, Mrs. Noah Cook. But the meeting had become so prized in the neighborhood, that another good lady, Mrs. Benjamin, with her widowed daughter, Mrs. Perry, opened their house for its continuance, where it flourished without intermission for about twenty-five years. Either students or some professor in the College usually conducted the meeting. Its last conductor was George B. Perry, son of the widow just mentioned, still living in North Adams as an honored citizen and beloved deacon in the church.

To revert now to the college situation, it must be said, that the good work in the town commencing in 1805 took hold but slowly of the men in the College. The advent of Mills, in April, 1806, a freshman then twenty-three years old, brought a mature Christian into influential contact with classmates as a rule much younger. An extract from his diary under date of June 26, presents him and them in striking relations. "Attended conference this evening composed principally of the freshmen class. A very good meeting. Many very solemn; K. much cast down. It was very evident God was stirring with some of his disobedient creatures. The work is the Lord's and He is abundantly able to carry it on. Arise, O Lord, thou and the Ark of thy Strength! It seems to me that I never longed so much for the Sabbath as I do now. I am afraid the impressions of my classmates will wear off. But all things are possible with God." The biographer of Mills, Gardiner Spring, in telling the story of the boy's conversion when he was sixteen years old, that is, seven years before he ever saw Williamstown, quotes from a letter of the son to his father, "*that he could not conceive*

of any course of life in which to pass the rest of his days, that would prove so pleasant, as to go and communicate the Gospel salvation to the poor Heathen." The biographer adds: —

> From this same hour he never once lost sight of his darling object. Though but a youth of sixteen, he discovered a zeal in the missionary cause, an eagerness in the pursuit of missionary intelligence, and an enlargement of thought in his plans to become acquainted with the true state of the unevangelized world, which left little doubt that he was chained to his purpose by a superior power. It was a heart yearning over the miseries of perishing millions, that first led him to think of acquiring an education with a view to the gospel ministry. Having consulted his parents, and unfolded all his purpose, which, should God permit, was no less than to devote his life to the cause of missions in foreign lands; and having received their approbation and their blessing, he resolved on measures for changing his course of life. The Spirit of God came over him like Elisha in the field. While toiling at the plough, was his heart touched with compassion for the heathen world, and he bid adieu to his farm, to obtain an education on purpose to carry the Gospel to millions who perish for lack of knowledge. Thus in a retired field in Litchfield county, was the King of Zion beginning that grand course of operations which have produced such a mighty revolution in the American churches. Having put his secular concerns into other hands, and having previously connected himself with the church under the pastoral care of his father, Mills became a member of Williams College in Massachusetts in the Spring of 1806.

This unquestionable record puts a different phase upon certain events in Williamstown during the summer of 1806, from that under which these have been hitherto often exhibited. It is true, that the freshmen then studied geography in their summer term; and it is doubtless true, that this study together furnished Mills a happy occasion to expatiate with his classmates on the vast numbers and the desperate needs of the heathen world. That is one thing, and a good thing. But to represent the interest of Mills and others as springing up out of a casual geography lesson in West College, and this becoming the uppermost headspring of the vast stream of American foreign missions, is an abuse rather than the use of geography and history at once. Coming to Williams College, as he did, on purpose to prepare himself for becoming a missionary to the heathen, nothing is more natural and inevitable than that he should put himself into immediate connection with the few spiritually-minded Christians in college, like Bailey and Nelson; that he should have learned pretty soon about their place or places of secret conference and devotion; that he should have made the geography lessons on Asia and Africa a means of discussing, especially with his classmates, the duty and privilege of a missionary life; and that, considering his age and experience, he should have become (though a

freshman) a sort of leader in a circle, several of whom were members of upper classes. The point is, that things were already prepared for Mills and his work in college, just as he was later instrumental in preparing the way for others to enter the missionary field. It is certain, that there were two out-of-the-way places of meeting for prayer and conference in the summer in the fields not far from the colleges, besides Mrs. Bardwell's kitchen north of the river, before Mills arrived in town. Undoubtedly the most frequented of these then and afterward was a thick grove of original maples on General Sloan's land north of West College, nearly halfway between Main Street and the Hoosac River. The other was south of West College, considerably nearer, at that time even more sequestered, under an immense willow tree in the low ground, where now are growing as representatives of that eight or nine large willows. The original tree was struck by lightning in the night-time about 1864, and was partially destroyed. It is not likely that willow trees will ever cease to grow in that spot, and to be a reminder at once of the piety and impiety of the students about 1805, for the place is unsuitable for any building purposes, and the present trees are growing in the boundary-line between two distinct estates.

It so happened that a students' meeting in the first mentioned of these localities, and led by Mills, was specially remembered on account of its sudden interruption by a thunder-shower, and the accidental proximity of a haystack on the meadow, under which the five students present took refuge till the western sky was cleared. The brevity of the shower, the strangeness of their place of refuge, and the peculiarity of their topic of prayer and conference, all took hold of their imaginations and of their memories. They spoke of the occurrence to others, and often among themselves, until the whole thing became a sort of transmitted wonder. The relations of the haystack to the grove as a frequented place for secret prayer were only momentary, and never recurred; and yet the story and the subsequent traditions and exaggerations all seemed especially to fasten on the *Haystack*, probably on account of the inherent oddity of such a frail and transient structure proving a port of shelter in a thunder-storm. Locally, the whole matter passed out of mind and memory. Nobody here knew where the haystack stood, and very few had ever heard of any special haystack, when the following letter, dated "South Williamstown, April 26, 1852," was received by Professor Hopkins. The writer was an entire stranger to him, and to all then connected with the College, and proved long afterward to have been a Baptist layman from a distance.

In making inquiries this afternoon on my first visit to Williamstown, in relation to the spot where the haystack stood, so famous in the history of missions as the one behind which Mills and his associates prayed for the Divine guidance and blessing while maturing their plans for preaching the Gospel of the Kingdom to the heathen world, — plans which were carried out so successfully, — I regretted to learn that the place was unmarked by tree, shrub, stone, or monument of any kind.

Having learned that there had been among some ladies, — who are the world over always ready to every good work, — some desire manifested to mark the sacred place before it was entirely forgotten by some memorial, will you please take charge of the enclosed dollar (a gold one), and apply it in any way you may deem best suited to effect the object. It is little, but rain drops make the shower. If it does no more than purchase a cedar stake to mark the spot, it will not be in vain ; for long before that will have time to moulder, wealthy ones will have marked with marble the place where American Missions had their birth, and from whence went forth those who were chosen of God to commence the work of making every heathen heart bow at the blessed name of Jesus.

Professor Hopkins "took charge" of the dollar, was immensely interested in it, in fact, communicated its reception and purpose to many persons of his acquaintance, and instituted inquiries of old people and of old alumni in order to ascertain, if possible, the locality in question. But nothing of consequence was in this manner elicited. In the spring of 1854, after the gold dollar had lain two years as buried seed, a venerable-looking gentleman called at his study with the announcement, that his name was Byram Green, that he was a graduate of 1808, and that he was one of five students who had talked and prayed at the haystack meeting. None but those two were then present, but the writer will venture the assertion, that Albert Hopkins was glad to see Byram Green on that occasion. "*Can you tell me now where the haystack stood?*" "*I think I can, if there are any remains of a maple grove, that stood near there forty-eight years ago.*" "*Whereabouts was the place in general?*" "*North of West College, down toward the Hoosac River.*" "*What did you call the place in those days?*" "*We called it 'Sloan's Meadow.'*" "*Will you go down there with me, and see if we can identify the place?*" "*Most certainly I will.*" And they went.

The next day at the invitation of Professor Hopkins, Professor Perry joined the two in a visit to the identified locality, saw the stake which Green had set with his own hands the day before on the supposed site of the haystack, and witnessed also something of the uncertainty of the day before in his assertion of the precise spot. The whole region had greatly changed in half a century. Green was guided mainly by the position of three or four old maples then

standing, which he judged to be a part, or at least to indicate in general, the place of the old prayer-grove. So let it be. So it will be till the end of time. Within narrow limits, it is absolutely certain, that the place is rightly marked. It was Green's main errand to Williamstown at that time to render, if possible, this precise service. It was a good and great and timely service. But he rendered another, not long after, much better and greater and more timely, namely, to write out the following careful account of the prayer-meeting. In all the scattered archives of the town and college, wheresoever they may be kept and howsoever they may be gathered, very few are more precious than this letter and all that is implied in and between its lines.

You request a statement of the facts in relation to the prayer-meeting which was held under the haystack, by some students of Williams College, in July or August, 1806. That prayer-meeting becomes interesting to the christian community, because it was then and there proposed to send the Gospel to the pagans of Asia, and to the disciples of Mohammed. The stack of hay stood northerly from the West College, near a maple grove, in a field that was then called Sloan's meadow.

Samuel J. Mills, James Richards, Francis L. Robbins, Harvey Loomis, and Byram Green were present. The afternoon was oppressively warm, which probably detained all those from the East College that usually attended, and some from the West. We first went to the grove, expecting to hold our prayer-meeting there, but a dark cloud was rising in the west, and it soon began to thunder and lighten, and we left the grove and went under the haystack to protect us from the approaching storm, which was soon realized.

The subject of conversation under the stack, before and during the shower, was the moral darkness of Asia. Mills proposed to send the Gospel to that dark and heathen land; and said that we could do it if we would. We were all agreed and delighted with the idea, except Loomis, who contended that it was premature; that if missionaries should be sent to Asia they would be murdered; that christian armies must subdue the country before the Gospel could be sent to the Turks and Arabs. In reply, it was said, that God was always willing to have his Gospel spread throughout the world; that if the christian public was willing and active, the work would be done; that on this subject the Roman adage would be true, *Vox populi vox Dei*. "Come," said Mills, "let us make it a subject of prayer, under this haystack, while the dark clouds are going, and the clear sky is coming."

We all prayed and made Foreign Missions a subject in our prayers, except Loomis. Mills made the last prayer, and was in some degree enthusiastic; he prayed that God would strike down the arm, with the red artillery of heaven, that should be raised against a herald of the cross. We then sang one stanza, as follows: —

Let all the heathen writers join
To form one perfect book:
Great God, if once compared with thine,
How mean their writings look!

The prayer-meetings were continued during the warm season of that year, in the groves somewhere between the village and the Hoosac, and the subject of Foreign Missions was remembered in our prayers. The following is a list of names that usually attended, to wit: John Nelson, Calvin Bushnell, Byram Green, Rufus Pomeroy, Francis L. Robbins, Samuel Ware, Edwin W. Dwight, Ezra Fisk, Harvey Loomis, Samuel J. Mills, and James Richards. Others attended occasionally.

The next summer, 1807, the prayer-meetings were again held in the grove; two were added to our number, to wit, Luther Rice and John Whittlesey. I have several times seen the names of Hall and Rice numbered among those who were at the prayer-meeting under the haystack. That is an error. Rice was not a member of college until October, 1806. Hall was not a professor of religion at that time, and did not attend our religious meetings. He was made a subject of grace in the year 1808, about six or eight months before he graduated. After that he was active in the cause.

Up to this point Green speaks as an eye- and ear-witness, and his testimony is unimpeachable; but he added to the letter a couple of short paragraphs, the first beginning with the words, "Nothing can be more certain and direct than the connection between this prayer-meeting and the subsequent movements in this country respecting Foreign Missions," — in respect to matters of which he had no opportunity personally to judge, and which as matters of fact are at the least doubtful. Of the five men who prayed and sang under the haystack, only one, James Richards, ever went out as a foreign missionary. He sailed for Ceylon in October, 1815. He would doubtless have gone with the first party in 1812, had it not been for his own humility and some judgment of his compeers that he was not yet sufficiently prepared for the foreign service. In the meantime he studied medicine in Philadelphia. Richards was of very moderate talents, but of a very conservative spirit. His most memorable words were, that he was willing to work his passage to India on shipboard. On leaving his native land in company with eight missionary brethren and sisters he said, "I have been waiting with anxiety almost eight years for an opportunity to go and preach Christ among the heathen. I have often wept at the long delay. But the day on which I now bid farewell to my native land is the happiest day of my life." He died in Ceylon in 1822. Like Mills, and others at that time, Richards took a sort of mechanical view of the Gospel, as if it only needed to be *carried*, as in a trunk by anybody, even to such astute and intellectual people as are the natives of India. In this point of view the contemporary words of Mills himself are significant and saddening: "*I wish we could break out upon the heathen like the Irish rebellion, forty thousand strong.*"

Certainly the best mind by much, and probably the most useful life, of the five men of the haystack had Harvey Loomis, the dissenter at the time of the meeting and the home missionary of blessed memory. It is remarkable that home missions had its champion and exemplar in that first and much-lauded gathering of young Christian enthusiasts in 1806. There was a difference of opinion then, and there is a difference of opinion now. As soon as he had finished his theological education he went directly to Bangor, Maine, which was then a difficult and highly important field of ministerial labor. In November, 1811, he was ordained pastor there over a church which was organized there the day before, consisting of four members, and embracing all the male professors of religion then in the place. For one year he preached in an unfinished hall over a store; the next year a court-house was built with the double purpose of serving as a meeting-house and county house of justice; and in 1821 the first meeting-house in Bangor was erected for the use of his enlarged and constantly enlarging congregation. His practice was to preach twice on the Sunday, morning and afternoon, and to hold one conference meeting in the middle of the week. These meetings were never increased in number even in times of special religious interest, which times soon ceased to be special and became continuous, so that almost every communion witnessed additions and the church became strong and influential. His method of conducting his weekly conference was characteristic of the man. He sat in a chair in one corner of the room on the same level with the rest, and wished and encouraged every man present, whether a professor of religion or not, to take some brief part in the meeting. All who had a word for the Master were requested to utter it in their own way; and if any one had any objections to any point of the current faith and practice he was urged to present them, and they were always fairly met and as fully answered as the time and his ability allowed. Some years after his death a competent contemporary used these words of Harvey Loomis: —

> Few ministers have ever been loved and revered by their parishioners more than Mr. Loomis; and few have been more eminently successful in their labors than he. He had the advantage of a fine person and a natural grace of manner. He was rather tall, his form was commanding, his countenance noble, his expression full, his eye brilliant, his voice clear, and his utterance fluent. His enunciation was remarkable for its distinctness. He was a man of great firmness and decision, of uncommon moral courage, and of rare self-possession. No assaults of opposers ever found him off his guard, or unprepared for the emergency. A young lawyer wished for his minister's views respecting his favorite amusement of dancing. Mr. Loomis replied, — "I think that all things are not

equally important. Some things have a claim prior to others. Now, it seems to me the most important thing for you is to become a true Christian; afterwards you can dance just as much as will be for your enjoyment and usefulness."

Numerically foreign missions outvoted home missions four to one in the haystack meeting. A part of those present then and there formed, with a few others in college, in September, 1808, the "Society of Brethren," so called, a religious organization with a decided bent in its spirit and purpose toward foreign missions. Under various modifications and designations this society has continued in the College till the present time. As the old century is going out, its name is the Mills Young Men's Christian Association. Four of the members of this little Society of Brethren, namely, Mills, Richards, Rice, and Hall, not long after their respective graduations, went to the then newly founded Andover Theological Seminary, and all became members of a similar missionary society there, which Mills was instrumental in instituting, and which still exists in the seminary. The connection between the haystack meeting and the Society of Brethren, formed more than two years after, is not very direct, though it may have been substantive; and the same may be said of the connection between that and the Andover society; and when it comes to the connection of all three of these in order with the establishment of the American Board of Missions in 1810, instead of traceable causes and effects we come into a maze, in which it is difficult (to say the least) to find the clew. Samuel J. Mills was indeed a living factor in all four of these matters, and has gained a precious and lasting name in the field of Christian beneficence, while he never went on a foreign mission himself, nor was he well fitted by temperament or scholarship for any such task. He was the religious leader so long as he remained in college, for the reasons heretofore indicated; but when he went to Andover, while he was there also active and zealous and indefatigable, he met other young men more gifted than himself, more naturally leaders in great enterprises. Such an one, especially, was Adoniram Judson. The General Association of Congregational Ministers, meeting at Bradford, in June, 1810, received a delegation of four young men from the Andover Seminary, bearing a formal paper signed by themselves asking the advice of their Fathers in the church, and virtually offering themselves to go as missionaries east or west, under such auspices and conditions as the said Fathers might recommend. The paper was signed by —

Adoniram Judson	Samuel J. Mills
Samuel Nott	Samuel Newell

The Association at that meeting raised a committee from among themselves, which they entitled a Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. That Board, afterward incorporated by the State of Massachusetts, has done great and wonderful things both at home and abroad during the past ninety years. But it was almost helpless at first. After much consultation it was resolved to send one of the young men to England, with a view to ascertaining what assistance, if any, would be afforded to their mission by the London Missionary Society. Judson was selected to go as their representative most fit, and he went. In this connection it must be noted how baseless is the claim often put forth in ignorance by men prominently connected with the College and the Board, who ought to have known better, that American foreign missions took the precedence in point of time over those of all other modern nations. If this were so, why was Judson sent to the London Missionary Society, founded in 1792? And why should it be a matter of formal record, that "he was welcomed with great cordiality by the directors of the London Society, who engaged to take him and his three brethren under their care, and to allow them salaries, and employ them on a mission, if the funds of the American Board should not be competent for their support"? In fact, contrary to the expectations of the Board, Judson, during his absence, felt himself justified in entering into partial arrangements, at least, to become the missionary of the London Society in the East Indies. When Mills heard of this, he exclaimed in a letter to a friend: —

> What! is England to support her own missionaries and ours likewise? O shame! If brother Judson is prepared, I would fain press him forward with the arm of an Hercules, if I had the strength; but I do not like this dependence on another nation, especially when they have already done so much, and we nothing. I trust that each of the brethren will stand at their several posts, determined, God helping them, to show themselves MEN. Perhaps the Fathers will soon arise, and take the business of Missions into their own hands. But should *they* hesitate, let us be prepared to GO FORWARD, trusting to that God for assistance who hath said, Lo! I am with you always, even to the end of the world.

A timely legacy from a God-fearing woman, Mary Norris, wife of one of the founders of Andover Seminary, enabled the "Fathers to arise," and to send out to Calcutta in February, 1812, five missionaries, namely, Judson, Nott, and Newell, three of the signers of the missionary memorial of 1810; and Gordon Hall and Luther Rice, both graduates of Williams, Hall in 1808 and Rice in 1810. The biographer of Samuel J. Mills does not furnish us with the reasons

why the latter did not embark for India with his fellow-signers of the missionary memorial, but preferred to make two extended and hazardous missionary journeys on horseback with but a single companion in each, throughout the western and southern portions of the United States. New Orleans was the objective in both tours; and the larger part of the routes both going and coming was mere wilderness. Were these home missionary journeys in any sense the fruitage of the good seed-corn words of Harvey Loomis at the haystack prayer-meeting?

Mills was present at Washington at the organization of the American Colonization Society on New Year's Day, 1817. His thoughts had been strongly drawn to Africa as a place of missionary labor as early as his Sophomore year in college; and his more recent tours in the Southern States had brought him in contact with negroes both free and slave. The colony of Sierra Leone had been fully established by Great Britain in 1792, and more than a thousand blacks had been transported thither in that year from Nova Scotia. In 1816 the General Assembly of the State of Virginia had requested their Governor to correspond with the President of the United States for the purpose of obtaining a territory on the coast of Africa to serve as an asylum for such persons of color as had been or might be emancipated by the laws of that Commonwealth. How far the motive in these proposed negotiations for colonization was to strengthen slavery in the South by getting rid of the free blacks there, it is impossible to say; that that motive mingled in more or less, both at the first and afterwards, is evidenced by the fact that Henry Clay, a slaveholder, was president of the Society for many years, and that the antislavery people of the North were strongly prejudiced against it; but it is certain, that the men who actually organized and put the Society into operation, like Caldwell and Finley and Mills, were men of the purest philanthropy, who supposed that thus only could American Christian missions obtain a footing in Africa. In 1819, Congress voted an appropriation of $100,000 to aid in the work, and the next year the first colonists were sent out. But of course there were preliminaries to be attended to. An eligible place on the coast of Africa must be selected by somebody, and somebody must be sent out to explore the west coast in the neighborhood of Sierra Leone for such a place. This commission, replete as it was with responsibility, was put at once into the hands of Samuel J. Mills, with the privilege of selecting a colleague to share the arduous labors with him. His thoughts were directed to Ebenezer Burgess, a young minister of kindred spirit, who had

just before been a professor of mathematics in the University of Vermont. He accepted the appointment. The two left America for England in November, 1817; the next February they departed for the British Colony in Africa; and after two months of exploration on the coast to the south of that Colony, they selected what they supposed was a suitable place for a settlement, and took ship for home. On the sixteenth of May, Mills died at sea; his eyes were tenderly closed by his faithful colleague, and his body buried in the mighty waters off the coast of that Dark Continent, to serve as a means of enlightening which he had done what he could.

Years afterwards, when Ebenezer Burgess had been a long time pastor in Dedham,[1] he furnished the following tender, yet discriminating, characterization of his early companion in labor and perils: —

If we wish to do justice to Mr. Mills, we must not contemplate him as a student, a writer, a preacher, but as a philanthropist, wise in council, active, zealous, self-sacrificing, and devoted to good works. He did not claim to be a classical scholar, a lucid writer, or a popular orator. While his figure was manly, his apparel studiously neat, and his manner rather graceful, his voice was not clear, nor his eye brilliant, nor his language fluent. Unlike his father he had no wit. The prominent traits of his character, which gave him efficiency as a philanthropist, were such as these: He was sagacious to see what could be done and what could not be done. He embarked in no theoretic or impracticable enterprises. He had more than ordinary knowledge of human nature. He did not attempt to do himself any work for which he was incompetent; but he had the wisdom to solicit the able writer, the effective preacher, the noble statesman, the liberal merchant, to do each his appropriate work; and then he was willing they should enjoy all the reputation, while he was himself unseen. He was sincere as zealous in his philanthropy. He expended the little patrimony of his maternal grandfather. He did not consult his own wealth, ease, or honor. His compassion for man was tender and large. His love to the kingdom of Christ was a flame of fire, enkindling his prayers, and warning him to action amid the coldness of others. He wasted no time in despondence or complaints. He was prudent in the use of his tongue. He did not rail about the popular errors or vices, whether of nations or individuals. Slavery and war, drunkenness and sensuality, were almost never topics of remark. Intent on making the world better in the use of appropriate means, he did not expend his energies in ridicule or in tears. He was no bigot. He silently communed with the Baptist, prayed with the Methodist, loved the Moravian, and praised the Friend. His prayers were short; often saying, "We praise thee that we belong to a race of beings who were made by Jesus Christ, and for him, and are redeemed by his blood."

[1] The present writer taught a school in Dedham in two successive winters, 1848–50, during which seasons the Rev. Dr. Burgess was his pastor, and he had the privilege of becoming well acquainted with him and his interesting family of two sons and two daughters.

In parting finally with the men of the haystack and their coadjutors, it may be worth while to note two or three points relating to them and their work. (1) Adoniram Judson, the ablest and most successful of them all, himself also died at sea in April, 1850. It is a matter of profound thankfulness that American Christians have outgrown the intense sectarianism that made Andover Seminary and New England Congregationalists generally, when Judson and Rice became Baptists almost as soon as they became missionaries, look on them askance as if they had denied the faith and shut themselves out of the fold. (2) As the decades have rolled by, the words and life of Harvey Loomis have overtaken, even if they have not overshadowed, in influence and power the words and life of Samuel J. Mills. The American Home Missionary societies and benevolences are now on a grander scale, and are obviously producing more momentous results, than all the foreign missionaries' agencies of every name. Mark Hopkins, Williams College 1824, was for many years the president of the American Board, during the time of its highest and broadest efficiency; his eldest son, Henry Hopkins, Williams College 1858, is now one of the vice-presidents of the American Missionary Association, an organization of increasing and amazing potency for good. (3) It was not in the plan of God that the American Colonization Society, probably tainted in its source and certainly in its flow by the deadly slough-off of American slavery, should accomplish much (if anything) as toward the great ends of Liberty and Righteousness.

The identification of the place of the haystack excited a deal of interest among the alumni and other friends of the College. Steps were at once taken toward purchasing the land on which it stood, that is to say, the whole of "Sloan's meadow" lying between Main Street and the Hoosac, as toward the end of a "Missionary Park," so-called. This fortunate move reached its goal. The Whitman family, always warm friends and generous donors to the College, sold the land for $250 an acre. The park was laid out on broad lines, and came at first under the care of Professor Hopkins, but before long passed into that of Professor Bascom, to whom for the most part its beautiful paths and arboral adornments are due, and who as the old century goes out still presides alone over all of its steadily increasing beauties. As soon as the possession of the land was assured to the College, Professor Perry went to President Hopkins with a plan to utilize a small part of the Park, at one corner, for a college cemetery. It was his own idea. He felt strongly that such a place would come in time to be precious in its

associations, and that now was the time to secure it. Dr. Hopkins took no interest in the scheme, and at once discarded it; whereupon its proposer went to Professor Hopkins as the next most influential person in the premises, who listened attentively and assented heartily and entered practically upon the realization of the plan. This is the whole story of the origin of the College cemetery. It is the more deeply impressed upon the writer's memory, insomuch as his own first-born, Gray Perry, was the first to be deposited in its consecrated ground. A little before this primal interment, Professor Chadbourne had built a family tomb of brick in the southwest corner of the cemetery lot, and his own first-born child also, Abby Chadbourne, had been deposited beneath its broad arch. After the death of President Chadbourne in 1883 and his own entombment there, the trustees of the College erected the present massive stone front of the tomb, on which an appropriate epitaph is engraved. Already before the first half-century has expired, this piece of ground has gathered to itself manifold and hallowed associations connected with the sleepers there.

The semi-centennial of the haystack meeting was celebrated here in 1856 with elaborate and highly interesting exercises. David Dudley Field presided, and made the introductory address. The principal address was given by Professor Albert Hopkins, and occupied an hour and a half in its delivery. His theme was, of course, the haystack; and he subdivided it into, — (1) the times of the haystack; (2) the men of the haystack; (3) their relations to the problem of the ages; and (4) our relations and duties to the same problem. Short and significant addresses were then made by ten or a dozen distinguished men, among them Governor Briggs, President of the American Baptist Missionary Union. Perhaps the most weighty words of the occasion were those of Rufus Anderson, then the veteran Secretary of the American Board. A part of these are here transcribed: —

> Less than a year ago, it was my privilege to stand on the site of Antioch, where the first foreign missionaries received their special designation from the Holy Ghost. This historical association was to me the principal charm of that beautiful and interesting spot. Next to Jerusalem and the Sea of Galilee, I have most pleasure in the recollection of Antioch. But where am I now? The mountains yonder are not ranges of Lebanon, nor is yonder stream the Orontes. We are met in the New World. The historical events we commemorate occurred within the memory of some of us. Nevertheless they are important, and have and will have a place on the historic page. And they make this, rather than any and all other places, the Antioch of our Western hemisphere.
>
> We may not claim, that the foreign missionary spirit in our American

churches had its first development here. The proof is ample that it had not. But, so far as my own researches have gone, the first *personal consecrations* to the work of effecting missions among foreign heathen nations were here. Here the Holy Ghost made the first visible separations of men in this country for the foreign work whereto he had called them. The first observable rill of the stream of American missionaries, which has gone on swelling until now, issued just on this spot; and I am thankful the spot has been so well identified, and is so convenient of access, and withal so beautiful; and that it has now been secured and consecrated as a permanent memorial. The development and result of this movement meet our reasonable wishes. Samuel J. Mills rests near the shores of Africa. The grave of James Richards I saw in Ceylon. Gordon Hall sleeps among the Mahrattas of Western India. Hall died young; but a life of rare and consistent devotedness, illustrated by noble exhibitions of talent, give him a place in the highest rank of missionaries.

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions had its origin in the desire and request of young men of the Andover Seminary, including those just named, to be sent abroad as missionaries. These two things stand in the immediate relation of cause and effect. I am also persuaded, that the forming of the "Society of Brethren" here in this college in September, 1808, before even the conversion of Dr. Judson, and its removal to Andover Seminary early in 1810, or sooner, had much to do, by its weekly conferences and prayers, in maturing the plans of its members. Its leading object indeed, as we are assured, was "so to operate on the public mind as to lead to the formation of a missionary society." And its members corresponded on this subject with the men who actually became the founders of the American Board.

In leaving now this topic of the haystack and of American foreign missions, we must not forget to do ample justice to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in its constantly recurring gifts to the College in its times of need. While the last war with England was still raging the Legislature passed an act, Feb. 24, 1814, "for the Encouragement of Literature, Piety and Morality and the Useful Arts and Sciences," and appropriated the taxes due to the Commonwealth from the Massachusetts Bank, "for the ten years next to come," to Harvard, Williams, and Bowdoin. Of this fund Williams received "three sixteenth parts," which amounted to $30,000. In 1859 the State gave this College $25,000, and in 1868, $75,000. The total of all legislative gifts is $153,500, from the beginning until now.

In the same college class with Samuel J. Mills and Harvey Loomis, namely, the class of 1809, was graduated the first uncommonly distinguished man that the college sent forth among its alumni. This was a Hartford boy whose name was Samuel A. Talcott. He had in his veins some of the best blood of Connecticut. His ancestor, John Talcott, emigrated from England to Cambridge in 1632, and was in the original party that followed or made the old

"Bay Path" to Hartford, and settled that place in 1636. The second John Talcott greatly distinguished himself throughout New England as a military leader in King Philip's Indian War of 1676. His son, Joseph Talcott, was Governor of Connecticut from 1725 to 1741, the year of his death. The blood of John Ledyard, the world-famous traveller, and of Colonel William Ledyard, the Revolutionary hero, mingled with other strains in this Hartford lad, to the end of making even his childhood precocious and remarkable. He entered as a Sophomore here at sixteen, and was graduated at the head of his class at nineteen, and took the valedictory on every ground as a matter of course. But even as a boy he had contracted the habit of drinking intoxicants. These were always for sale at every tavern, and were exposed for social purposes on almost every private side-board. Deacon Benjamin Skinner in all those years kept the tavern just north of the Hoosac, which had been built and kept by Colonel Simonds, who was his father-in-law. Young Talcott probably boarded over there, as had Thomas Robbins and many another Connecticut student before him. At any rate, Talcott before his graduation became engaged to Rachel Skinner, as Robbins had been temporarily engaged to Alice Skinner, her sister. This tavern in those days (it is still standing) was a favorite place for parties and dancing and drinking. The Mansion House, close by the church in which the commencements were held, was equally open at all times for similar purposes. As the exercises of commencement were going forward in 1809, and the afternoon wearing away toward the valedictory, two or three friends of Talcott found him intoxicated, — too intoxicated to appear on the stage. No time was to be lost. One of them took strongly hold of each arm and trotted him down the street toward the Green River and back again, as fast as they could go. He was almost immediately thereafter called upon the stage, and delivered his oration with the accompanying valedictory with unequalled facility and eloquence. It has been said by many eye- and ear-witnesses that no such exquisite performance had ever been witnessed upon the stage before.

He married Miss Skinner in the autumn of 1809, and began the study of law immediately with Thomas R. Gold of Oneida County. We shall allow in a moment a classmate and friend to relate how he took hold of that study, and how he adorned that profession. John Ledyard Talcott was the only son of the first marriage, and he too became a distinguished lawyer of Buffalo. From a second marriage there was one son, Thomas Grosvenor Talcott, long a prominent citizen of Hartford. While the wretched drinking habit did not

prevent Talcott's rapid rise to the high places of his profession, it pulled away steadily at his eminence till it levelled it, and brought him down to his grave in 1836. The late Governor Briggs of Massachusetts used to tell in his fervent temperance lectures, and often in private conversation also, of a call he made on President Van Buren at the White House not long after the death of Attorney-General Talcott, when the talk turned on that official of the State of New York, and the President showed to him a picture of his friend, and expatiated on the extreme brilliancy of his career at the bar. He also mentioned the fact, that twice at least the Supreme Court of the United States had felt obliged to adjourn from day to day solely on account of the unfitness of condition to plead before them in important cases of the lawyer, who had come to Washington on purpose to do this.

W. H. Dillingham, a classmate and friend of Talcott's, said of him: —

This was one of the most extraordinary men of the age; and it is fitting that one who knew him intimately from boyhood should speak of his noble qualities as they deserve. He was born at Hartford, of a distinguished family, one of his paternal ancestors having been governor of Connecticut, and being connected on his mother's side with Ledyard, the traveller, and Col. Ledyard, who so gallantly defended Fort Groton in the war of the Revolution. He lost his father while yet a boy, and he received his early education from a clergyman of East Windsor, and afterwards at the Academy in Colchester.

He entered Williams College as a Sophomore in 1806, and graduated in 1809, at the age of nineteen. During this period and at this early age, all those extraordinary qualities were developed which marked his career, and so greatly distinguished him in after life, — towering genius and profound investigation; astonishing facility in acquiring knowledge, and a memory which never lost what it had once acquired; surpassing eloquence as a writer and speaker; a mind which could grasp and master whatever was most difficult in the abstruse sciences, and at the same time exhibiting powers of imagination, wit, humor, raillery, and sarcasm, which have been rarely equalled. To all these were added the advantages of a commanding person, unrivalled address, a head and eye and countenance, "the pattern of a man." He was in all respects most truly one of Nature's noblemen. His heart was generous to a fault, and he had a soul which knew not fear.

He was no sooner admitted to practice in the Supreme Court of New York, than he took rank with the oldest and ablest men of that distinguished bar, and was appointed attorney general of the State before he attained the age of thirty. He was twice reëlected to this office, once by a unanimous vote of the Legislature, — and held it during the greater part of nine years.

Talcott's epitaph to the memory of his first wife has seemed to many discerning persons one of the finest pieces of such writing in existence: —

HERE RESTS THE BODY OF
MRS. RACHEL TALCOTT
WHO WAS THE WIFE OF SAMUEL A. TALCOTT
AND DAUGHTER OF BENJAMIN AND RACHEL SKINNER

SHE WAS SUDDENLY CALLED TO ANOTHER AND WE
TRUST TO A BETTER WORLD ON THE 18TH DAY OF AUG.
1817 IN THE 33D YEAR OF HER AGE

HER HUSBAND HAS CAUSED THIS STONE TO BE ERECTED TO DESIGNATE
THE SPOT WHERE SHE REPOSES AND NOT IN THE UNNECESSARY
ATTEMPT TO COMMEMORATE HER WORTH FOR WITH THOSE
WHO KNEW HER (AND PERHAPS READER THOU ART ONE)
HER VIRTUES NEED NO REMEMBRANCER AND WITH THOSE WHO
KNEW HER NOT THE SIMPLE RECORDS OF TRUTH WOULD BE
MISTAKEN FOR THE LANGUAGE OF PANEGYRIC

Besides this daughter of Deacon Skinner and granddaughter of Colonel Simonds thus beautifully commemorated, and besides the eldest daughter of the family, Alice Robinson, already fully characterized on a previous page of this volume, the youngest daughter, Harriet, must now receive a few pleasant words at our hands. She married Austin E. Wing, an alumnus of the College in 1814. Wing was a lad from Conway, and after his marriage located in Detroit as a lawyer, and later in Monroe, Michigan. He represented the Territory of Michigan in Congress from 1827 to 1832. During President Polk's administration he was Marshal of the United States for the State of Michigan. Durfee says of him: "He was bold, energetic, and fearless, ardent in his feelings and friendships, of considerable mental ability, great executive capacity, and commanding influence." In 1828 Deacon Skinner made a journey to Monroe from Williamstown, whether only on a visit to his daughter, Mrs. Wing, or to make a new home for himself in his old age, has not been clearly ascertained; but he died and was buried there in the course of that year; and is said to have spent his latest breath in prayer for his two dissipated sons in South Williamstown, William and Harry, who lived much of the time with their half-sister, Mrs. Blair, and with their aunt, Mrs. Charles Sabin, who was Mehitable Skinner, a sister of the Deacon. Harry Skinner, after years of intemperance, reformed, and married a widow, who in early life had been his sweetheart, but who dared not marry him then on account of his habits. He too went West in his later life, and became a Methodist exhorter, steady and respectable. William also reformed after his father's death, but was never able to rally his powers into a life of much usefulness. Both of these men are

mentioned in an uncomplimentary manner in the last will and testament of their grandfather, Colonel Benjamin Simonds.

The four other sons of Deacon Skinner, all three of his sons-in-law, and two of his grandsons, were graduates of Williams College. All nine became lawyers, and all were distinguished men in their day and generation. Mrs. Harriet Skinner Wing died in 1836, and lies buried beside her father in the cemetery at Monroe. She left two daughters, Mrs. Mitchell and Mrs. Whittier, both educated here at the East and both still living at the present writing in Hillsdale, Michigan. These sisters have still in their possession a quaint old dress belonging to their mother, bought and made in Boston, while she was on a visit there at her uncle's, General T. J. Skinner, about ninety years ago, before his financial and moral fall. Deacon Skinner left behind him those permanent memorials, which commonly belong to a warm-hearted and unselfish and consecrated life. Though not highly educated in books, he was a good public reader, and when Judge Daniel Dewey was not available to the congregation in that capacity, he used to read on Sundays in the absence of a minister the printed sermon, as the usage was in those days. The credible tradition has nevertheless come down to our own times, that the printed word "microscope," then comparatively new, proved on one pulpit occasion too difficult for his powers of pronunciation.

It is time now to recur to Ebenezer Fitch, the first president of College, and to follow him to the close of his honorable career as such, and very briefly also to the end of his life, which came in March, 1833. We left him on a former page making probably the greatest mistake of his official life, in refusing to sustain Professor Olds and the two tutors in an act of college discipline, which he himself had led them in appointing, — alleging in his own behalf that he had not fully understood the circumstances and conditions. Instead of taking his own leading share of the blame for precipitancy (if there were any), and so relieving his colleagues for the assumption of a similar share of their own, he tried hard to pull himself out of all responsibility in the premises, and so left them in the lurch, that they felt compelled to resign their places at once. This necessitated a college recess of four weeks. In the meantime three new tutors were secured, two of whom proved to be excellent and popular teachers, and the College went on. This was in 1808. In 1810 Tutor Chester Dewey was appointed a professor, and continued to draw toward himself the confidence of the students in a remarkable degree, until his own resignation under a peculiar set of circumstances in 1827. But President Fitch never seemed to

recover his own moral hold after the fiasco of 1808. There was no immediate falling off in the number of students in attendance; there were no marked manifestations of his unpopularity on the ground, but there was something all the while in the way of favor and influence working away from him as toward Professor Dewey. The requisite conditions of ability and kindness being presupposed, it is always easier for a young man to gain and hold a genuine popularity in college instruction and government, than for an older man to do this. Dewey gradually became a successful college preacher and religious worker as well as a technical teacher, in contrast with the older and slower and less vital methods of the president in class-room and pulpit; the trustees (some of them) noticed on occasion the failing tact and lessening grip of the president, and he slowly became conscious of it himself; and then, as is usual and inevitable, followed the buzz in college and town and county, — those under-breath prophecies which alway fulfil themselves, — that some change is impending and necessary.

A much larger proportion of college students in those times than at present entered rather at the beginning of the Sophomore year than of the Freshman year. Most of those then entering here were fitted, not as now in preparatory schools, but by country ministers, themselves graduates of this College or of Yale, who were usually fairly able to fit boys for the second stage of the curriculum as then narrowly constituted both at New Haven and here. As a single example of this custom, Moses Hallock, an alumnus of Yale in 1788, and settled in the ministry of Plainfield in Hampshire County in 1792, fitted for college not only two of his own sons, Gerard and William A., both of whom were graduated here in 1819, and both of whom became distinguished men in matters of public activity and benevolence, but also an almost constant succession of other students both before and after that date, until about 1830. The decline in the influence of President Fitch from 1810 to 1815 (the date of his resignation) became manifest in the lessening number of students entering and graduating. The average number of graduates in the seven years preceding and including 1811, was twenty-seven; while the average for the six years succeeding that date was only twenty. The years of smallest entrance were 1813, 1814, and 1815. Had it not been for Moses Hallock and his "school of the prophets" in rugged Plainfield, the College would have dwindled to a small point. It was said by Judge C. A. Dewey, himself a graduate of 1811, that fully half or more of the entries in one of those three years were from Moses Hallock, "who never forsook us." It is probable, how-

ever, that some allowance should also be made for the falling off in entries and graduates during this period, on account of the excitements and disasters of the second war with England, falling in those years. The town and the county were strongly Democratic, favoring the war; the College authorities were strongly Federalist, opposing the war.

Dr. Fitch was in his sixtieth year when he left Williamstown. He had always led a life of care and anxiety. His early failure as a merchant in New Haven had left its legacies with him, both subjective and objective. The objective legacy was a debt, that cast its shadow over him for many years. His natural disposition was sanguine and buoyant; he was more hopeful for the future than the true state of things would warrant; at least five times in the course of his life kind friends came forward to relieve him in whole or in part from the burdens of almost constantly recurring debts; yet care and anxiety of course accompanied their contracting and their pressure; he became used to being in debt, which is a great misfortune to any man; and he maintained throughout his life a sort of half happy-go-lucky and half trust-in-Providence demeanor, which doubtless added an agreeable aspect to his society and authority, but which certainly detracted from his manliness and dominance over affairs. It has already been stated, that he married a widow (an old flame of his) with two children, whom he adopted and reared with his own numerous progeny. His income was insufficient to maintain and educate these in the style to which he had been accustomed; and he had neither the financial foresight nor the force of will to compel outgoes to come under income.

At a meeting of the trustees held May 2, 1815, the following vote was unanimously passed: —

> Whereas, The Rev. President Fitch has signified to this Board his determination to resign his office of President at the ensuing Commencement; and whereas, in consequence of the state of the funds, the Corporation have not been able to give him such a salary as his situation and the increased expenses of living for years past have required; — Voted, That there be granted to the Rev. Dr. Fitch the sum of twenty two hundred dollars; one thousand thereof to be paid him in the month of October next; six hundred thereof in six months from that time, and the residue in one year from October next.

By permission of the trustees, President Fitch immediately left the College for the summer, his regular salary continuing until the fall. Meanwhile Professor Dewey discharged the duties of the president to universal acceptance. Fitch returned in August, presided at the Commencement exercises, helped to induct the new

professor, Ebenezer Kellogg, into office as Professor of Languages, and remained in town but a short time in order to officially receive his successor in the presidency, and then took his departure with his family for West Bloomfield, New York, to which place he had already been called as pastor over a small Presbyterian church. He soon began to feel and to exhibit the enfeebling effects of old age. He continued, however, to discharge the regular and arduous duties of a pastor there for twelve years. His labors appear to have been abundantly blessed. In a farewell discourse to his people, delivered in November, 1827, he himself states some of the visible results of his pastorate: —

At the time of my installation, Nov. 29, 1815, this church consisted of forty-eight members. Of these, four have since died, five have been excommunicated, and seventeen dismissed. One has never since been in town, and, whether living or not, I do not know; another has been absent several years, though both, if living, still retain their relation to this church; leaving now in town only twenty of the original members.

Since my installation, one hundred and ninety persons have been received as members of this church, one hundred and forty-five of them upon their public profession of faith in Christ, and forty-four were received by letters of recommendation from sister churches. Of the whole number, one hundred and ninety, received since my installation, thirteen have died, four have been excommunicated, one was restored, and sixty-two regularly dismissed. The whole number of members now in the church is one hundred and thirty-three; twenty of these, however, have removed so far from this town as not to be able to worship with us on the Sabbath, or to attend the communion seasons of the church. During my ministry, fifty-seven adults and one hundred and fifty children have been baptized. During the same time two hundred and four persons have died in West Bloomfield, being, on the average of the twelve years of my ministry, seventeen each year; twenty of them have died during a little less than eleven months of the present year.

In reviewing the scenes and events of my twelve years' ministry in this place, I find many things to regret and deplore; and some which ought to excite my warmest gratitude and yours, and call forth our united praise and thanksgiving to God. I have great reason to regret the deficiencies and imperfections which have attended my public services; and my want of more zeal, fervor and faithfulness in discharging the various and important duties of the pastoral and ministerial office; and that so little success has attended my labors. For my own sinful deficiencies I ought to be humbled, and I desire to be humbled, before God and before you.

I see reason, also, to deplore some events which have taken place in this society; particularly and especially the introduction and prevalence of an unscriptural opinion and dangerous error respecting a most important point of doctrine, the real divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ. This opinion supposes him to be an inferior, subordinate, and dependent God, deprives him of his real divinity, and degrades him to the rank of a creature. It, of course, destroys

his atonement, and leaves the perishing sinner without help or hope. By the introduction and prevalence of this heresy, and by the death and removal of a number of able members of the church and congregation, the ability of the society to support the gospel is materially diminished.

The next year after his dismissal from the active duties of the ministry in West Bloomfield, that is, in the summer of 1828, and in the seventy-second year of his age, in company with his wife, he visited New England. He called at Williamstown and Pittsfield, and proceeded as far east as Boston, and on his return took Canterbury and Norwich and New Haven in his way. It was his last visit to the scenes of his childhood, and of his principal labors; and is said to have been a source of much satisfaction to him during the remainder of his days. A letter written by H. H. Childs of Pittsfield to Calvin Durfee in 1843, gives the recollections of the former respecting this visit. Childs was of the class of 1802, and Durfee of the class of 1825.

Boston, Feb. 11, 1843.

Rev. and Dear Sir: It gave me great pleasure to learn that you had prepared for publication a sketch of the life and character of the good Dr. Fitch, — the venerable instructor of my youth. It gave me a melancholy pleasure to meet him, in the fall of 1828, at that advanced period of life when of necessity the powers of body and mind were gradually failing. He seemed, however, cheerful and pleasant, and was very happy in meeting some of his former pupils and friends. He evidently felt that he had nearly finished his course on earth. He exhibited, however, a calm resignation to the will of his heavenly Father, and expressed a confident hope of a glorious immortality. This strong hope gave an unusual brightness to a face naturally beaming with kindness and benignity. I well recollect the deep impression, which his visit left on my mind, that I should see his face no more. It was his last visit to Berkshire. His friends were all happy to see him again, and he apparently received much comfort and joy in their society. Much of his conversation related to occurrences of bygone days, the mention of which interested and animated him much. As a token of the respect which we entertained for our venerable President, a few friends in Pittsfield presented him with some mementoes of their esteem, which he kindly and gratefully received, and which consisted of a suit of clothes, and something over a hundred dollars in money. Permit me again to express my high gratification that you have prepared for the press a work which will perpetuate the memory of a great and good man. Please accept my kindest regards.

With much respect, Yours truly

H. H. Childs.

A couple of years before this his visit to the eastward, he himself had received a visit at Bloomfield, the record of which is an honor to human nature, and perhaps equally creditable under all the circumstances to the visitor and the visited. In the class that was

graduated at Williams College in 1806, was a nephew of Mrs. Fitch, named G. H. Backus. He was poor while in college, and most of his expenses had been defrayed by his uncle, the president, who could but ill afford to do this in justice to his creditors. On taking leave of Williamstown at Commencement, the young man assured his uncle, that, if ever he should be able to do it, he would remunerate him for his kindness. Backus became a successful lawyer in Richmond, Virginia; and twenty years after his graduation, appeared at Bloomfield at nightfall. He was not recognized at first, but soon gladdened the hearts of the old people by an artfully delayed self-introduction. After tea the visitor turned the conversation on the matter of their present indebtedness. Evidences of this in the form of several notes of hand, and a memorandum of a mortgage on the dwelling-house, all held by persons in the immediate vicinity, were sorrowfully produced, and allowed to lie on the table over night. Rising long before the old people, the lawyer took a stroll over the little village, and returned to breakfast with a sprightliness which was an old characteristic, and which brought smiles upon features to which they had long been comparative strangers. Taking from his breast-pocket the papers they had canvassed the evening before, he laid them before his uncle, and said substantially, "There is every note you owe paid, every debt receipted, and the mortgage on your house cancelled; in the bank of the neighboring town I shall place $2000, the interest of which you shall have as long as either of you lives, when it shall revert to me." The old gentleman recounted these facts to Josiah W. Canning of the class of 1803, who was living in Williamstown at the time of the visit but just now referred to. E. W. B. Canning, his son, of the class of 1834, passed the anecdote down to those who are still living.

The recollections of many of his college pupils in relation to President Fitch were gathered many years after his death by Calvin Durfee and others. The readers of the present pages are likely to be struck by the kindly and even reverential tone of these recollections. They are to be taken of course with those grains of reservation that belong inherently to that class of testimonies. What is seen through a vista reaching back to one's youth, connecting with classmates and companions the like of whom were never seen by others, and revealing the outline of elders and sages wiser and better than anything the present can show, always catches gleams and halos and crowns of softened light. Those whose duty it is to make just estimates and comparisons that will wear, naturally yield allowances to such tendencies as these. The materials are ample

for a sound and lasting judgment on Ebenezer Fitch. His intellectual abilities were only moderate; his enthusiasms for learning were always chastened; he never took the risks for righteousness which strong, good men ever take; he blazed no paths for future progress either in education or religion; he looked benevolently and even paternally upon the young men of his day seeking an education in the small institution over which he presided, but he was able to give them no strong and lasting impulses along their chosen course, such as the born teacher always imparts; and, owing to his own lack of vital individuality, he could neither recognize nor stimulate the natural bent and individual traits of those students, who are always and everywhere the best worth educating.

But lest we do or even seem to do the slightest injustice by these deliberate judgments to the memory of a good man gone to his reward, there will now be appended two or three testimonies by different pupils under very diverse circumstances and at widely different times. Professor Dewey, who, as student and fellow-teacher, was intimately associated with him for ten or eleven years, and who exemplified in the last half of that time, what has been repeatedly and strikingly exemplified on this ground since, that a professor of sound mind and warm heart in a good department adapted to him, is under no disadvantage whatever as compared with a president in gaining and holding intellectual and moral power over the students, gave express credit, as one of the causes of the powerful revival of religion in the summer term of 1815, to the preaching of President Fitch in the weeks just preceding his leaving the College, which, said he, "was more than commonly pungent." John Nelson, who became a fellow-tutor with Dewey in 1808, wrote: "I shall never forget the first interview which I had with the venerable President Fitch. I entered college young and inexperienced, and with an overpowering dread of so high a dignitary as I then supposed the president of a college must be. It was with a trembling step that I entered the study of Dr. Fitch with my credentials in hand; but there was something so kind, so cordial, so fatherly in his greetings, that my heart went forth to him at once as to a guardian friend in whom I could safely trust. Nor did I ever find anything in the spirit, the conduct, or the bearing of my venerated president, which weakened or in any way effaced those early impressions. On the contrary, while he faithfully maintained the discipline of college, I ever found him ready to extend to all both the care and kindness of an affectionate guardian and friend. But I did not fully appreciate the domestic, the social, and the Christian, as well as the official ex-

cellences of Dr. Fitch, till at a subsequent period I became more intimately associated with him as a member of the College faculty, and a boarder in his family. During the two years in which I sustained these relations to him, I was more and more impressed with the rare excellences which composed his character. His attachment and kindness to his numerous family I found to be almost unexampled. His benevolence to the poor and suffering flowed forth in one continued stream. His hospitality seemed to be unbounded Christian hospitality. His intercourse with his friends was cheerful, free, and yet characterized by an all-pervading spirit of piety. As the head of a college, Dr. Fitch was diligent, faithful, and efficient. As an instructor he was clear, safe, and, to a good degree, able. As a preacher he was profitable and interesting, and sometimes powerful. Had he been less modest, less retiring, less at home, his reputation, no doubt, would have stood much higher."

John Woodbridge, of the class of 1804, and long time a distinguished minister of Hadley, wrote in his old age of Dr. Fitch as follows: — "I knew him only as the presiding officer and teacher, but I could bear witness to the kindness of his heart when I was in trouble. For his counsel and encouragement, given in my early years, I owe him a debt of gratitude. If he had any fault as a teacher and disciplinarian, it was the excess of lenity, more than needless severity. He was, perhaps, sometimes too irresolute and wavering for the full maintenance of his authority. His menace might have been sometimes more terrible than the execution. He might in some cases have entreated when a command was necessary. He might occasionally have wept when he ought to have inflicted punishment. This, at least, was said by some not very friendly to his administration."

In the summer of 1864, at the suggestion of some of the relatives of Dr. Fitch, and through the instrumentality of his biographer, Calvin Durfee, the remains of the first president were brought to Williamstown, and interred in the College cemetery under an appropriate monument procured by subscriptions of some of the alumni of the College. There was a pleasant ceremony on this occasion, and Judge H. W. Bishop of Lenox, a graduate of the college in 1817, whose recollections were only of the last year or two of Fitch's presidency, made the touching address that follows, with the presentation of which we take our leave of the first president of Williams College.

In the little box around which we are standing are the ashes of an eminently good and useful man. They are all that remain on earth of him who first gave form and vitality to the institution whose buildings crown the elevations of this

valley, and from which so many have gone out to enlighten and elevate mankind. Among those here, I am told, I am the only one who was a member of college during his presidency. Of his own and the succeeding generation, few remain. There are impressions made upon the heart which time cannot efface. The relics before us bring back again, in full force, the sentiments of reverence which the living presence inspired. I see his dignified form again, his grave and benignant features, his courteous demeanor, his happy smile, and feel again the veneration which the lapse of half a century has not extinguished. In September, 1814, I entered college. Dr. Fitch left it in September of the year following. I knew him only as a presiding officer. As such, he made the acquaintance of the students of the several classes. He regarded them as his children, and his government of them was that of a father. He was coercive, reluctantly and judiciously coercive, when persuasive kindness failed, and only then. He mingled with his pupils with cheerful, serene familiarity. His manners were those which high attainments give to a good heart and refined breeding.

He was a Christian gentleman. In the devotional exercises of the college he was impressively earnest and solemn. The supremacy and authority of divine truths, as revealed, were earnestly enforced. No one who heard him discourse upon their relative importance will ever forget how he placed them high above all scientific and literary attainments, and his urgent advocacy for their diffusion throughout the world. He dwelt with peculiar delight upon Christian missions, the good they had wrought, and their prospects. Initiated by such a man, it is no wonder that this college stands preëminent for its missionary zeal, — that Mills, and Hall, and James Richards should have become what they were, under the inspiring teachings of one so able and so devoted to the spread of the gospel. The impress which he made in this respect upon the college still lasts. This is most obvious to those who knew it early and know it now. May the mantle cast upon it by him whose bones are here, cover it forever!

I have always regarded Dr. Fitch as the real founder of this institution, — that had he not been, it would not have existed as it now does. He came here early, — a ripe scholar, apt, and eminently qualified to teach. He was thoroughly equal to impart all that an education then thought liberal required. No collegiate institution was near; increasing population and intelligence demanded one. He was qualified to supervise and control it. The materials for its inception were at hand. He suggested their use, and, in a good measure, directed their application. May he not, therefore, be permitted to share, without impairing, the just fame of him whose munificence is acknowledged by the name with which the institution has been christened?

I retain with a good degree of distinctness the impression which his preaching made upon my mind, and the characteristics of his eloquence. His sermons were no academic discourses, polished and elaborate, of lofty style and glowing imagery, challenging for the speaker the admiration of his audience. He spoke for truth's sake, not for his own. He loved the truth better than he loved himself. He preached it, that others might be brought to love it. This was the end of his preaching. To that end all his forces were directed. His sermons were full of the deep sensibilities of his own pure and affectionate nature, made active by the clear conviction of the truths which he enforced. He seemed impressed with the belief that his audience were to be influenced and drawn to the truth through

the affections, — that, the heart once touched, the reason ceases to cavil, and the will becomes submissive. In a word, his was the eloquence of Christian love, purifying all that is tender, affectionate, and holy in the heart.

To you, sir, whose active and disinterested devotion to the college, founded in no small measure by the good and learned man whose name and deeds we hope to perpetuate, I tender my cordial thanks and congratulations. You have brought from a distance, to be buried here amidst the scenes of his usefulness, all that is material which is left of him. We now bury "these sacred relics" at the foot of the very appropriate monumental marble which you have caused to be erected, and on which you have written his name and character. This was due to his memory, to the college whose first president he was, and is worthy of one enrolled among her steadfast and devoted sons.

In the name of the few surviving pupils of President Fitch, I thank you for this manifestation of your appreciation of his worth, and recognition of his eminent services in the cause of science, humanity, and Christian civilization.

Two sons of President Fitch were graduated at the institution, Mason Cogswell in 1815, who settled as a lawyer in Virginia; and Charles in 1818, who was educated in theology at Princeton, and became an obscure minister in several of the Western States. Before his graduation he contracted an engagement of marriage with a young lady in Williamstown, belonging to a prosperous and prominent family, whom he afterwards deserted in a manner thought by her and others to be dishonorable. Some years afterward he returned to town, and earnestly sought an interview and understanding with the lady he had slighted, who refused even to see him. Tradition has it, that some of his college classmates had persuaded him that he ought to marry a woman with a handsome property, who could afford to buy him a fine library and give him a good send-off into the ministry. He never found any such woman, nor did he ever gain any such send-off. The lady, however, in due time found an excellent husband, who brought to her a large property and a good name. Their son became an alumnus of the College in 1859.

Mason Cogswell Fitch had a son named William, who was educated at Princeton, and became a Presbyterian clergyman of repute in Louisville, Kentucky, and died young. In February, 1896, while on a visit at Princeton, the present writer made the acquaintance of a Mrs. Hale, who was a daughter of this Rev. William Fitch, and so a great-granddaughter of Ebenezer Fitch. Mrs. Hale was the mistress of a good old-fashioned farmhouse, situated on what has long been called the "Mercer Road," and flanked on three sides by a large and level and fertile farm, on which, not very far from the house, General Hugh Mercer of the

Revolutionary army was mortally wounded during the battle of Princeton. The brave Scotchman fell under several musket-ball wounds and particularly a bayonet-thrust in the breast, and was left on the field for dead. Being discovered alive, he was taken to this very farmhouse, in which he died after a week of extreme sufferings. Mrs. Hale showed to the writer the well-authenticated blood-stains upon the floor of the room into which he was brought from the field. The day was January 3, 1777. Trained to the medical profession in the University of Aberdeen, his native city, and having been in the battle of Culloden as an assistant surgeon, and himself severely wounded as a captain and companion of Washington in Braddock's battle at the Monongahela, he knew well what battle-wounds were, and pointing to his breast, he said to his aid-de-camp, Major Lewis, "This is what will kill me — not the others." His funeral in Philadelphia is said to have been attended by thirty thousand people, and his grave at Laurel Hill was crowned by a monument to his memory in 1840.

We come now to the second and far more serious crisis in the affairs of the College than that one in 1808 and following, in the course of which the College was transiently stripped of all its teachers, save one, and even this one went forward thereafter with lessened and constantly lessening influence. At the meeting of the trustees in May, 1815, the same meeting at which they accepted the resignation of Dr. Fitch and granted him a liberal gratuity, this motion was introduced and carried, namely, "That a committee of six persons be appointed to take into consideration the removal of the College to some other part of the Commonwealth; to make all necessary inquiries, which have a bearing on the subject, and report at the next meeting." This committee consisted of: —

Theophilus Packard	of *Shelburne*
Thaddeus Pomeroy	of *Stockbridge*
Joseph Lyman	of *Northampton*
Samuel Shepard	of *Lenox*
Daniel Noble	of *Williamstown*
Joseph Woodbridge	of *Stockbridge.*

What did this motion and committee-appointment mean? It meant, that an opinion had been springing up and spreading in various quarters mostly east of the Hoosac Mountain and along the Connecticut River, to the effect, that the location of the College in Williamstown was unfortunate, that the place was inaccessible, that the population of the town and its neighboring territory was small

and unlikely to increase, and that a college situated in the central part of the western half of Massachusetts, instead of one in its extreme northwestern corner, away from the centres of population and influence, and separated from them by an immense mountain wall, could be easily established and prosperously maintained, especially if the plant already set in Williamstown could be transferred over that barrier and placed as a nucleus in some town on or near the Connecticut River, accessible from a large and homogeneous circle of populous and prosperous towns. Precisely when and where this talk began, it is neither possible nor helpful to find out. It is certain that the first public expression of it was had in the trustees' meeting at Williamstown in May, 1815. The trustee who made the motion for a committee of inquiry, and who became thereafter the strongest champion for the removal, was Theophilus Packard of Shelburne. Shelburne is east of the Hoosacs. He became a trustee in 1810. He climbed over the mountain from the upper Deerfield to the upper Hoosac twice a year for many years. It is certain that the gradually developing consequences of the unfortunate occurrences in 1808 stimulated, even if they did not originate, the talk for removal. It is certain that President Fitch himself came to believe that it was the *situation* of the College rather than his own loosening *hold* upon it, that caused in good part its lessening numbers and lowered prestige. Of that, of course, he was not a good judge; but it is certain that, at the time of his resignation, a considerable majority of the trustees had come to share in this opinion, and that some of them held it more firmly than he did. The practical point of much importance to a correct judgment of the bitter controversies that came afterwards is, that at the outset nobody from abroad solicited Williams College to move itself over the mountain, but on the contrary all the initiatories were taken and maintained here by and among the highest officials of the Institution.

The report of the committee of six trustees was given in at the regular September meeting, and ran as follows: "That a removal of Williams College from Williamstown is inexpedient at the present time and under existing circumstances." Such a report settled nothing. The emphasis is obviously on the qualifying clauses, rather than on the main proposition; but different persons understood the report in quite diverse senses. It only served as a bone of contention and a spring of bitterness. What were the "present circumstances" under which it was deemed "inexpedient" to remove the College "at the present time"? The main circumstance

of the present inexpediency was the presence in Williamstown for inauguration of a new president of the College, chosen to succeed Dr. Fitch! And who was he? Under what circumstances had he been elected? And with what understanding and conditions had he accepted the trust?

The 2d of May, 1815, was indeed a fateful day in the history of college education in western Massachusetts. The origins of Amherst College were as much enwrapped in that meeting of the trustees in Williamstown, as were the destinies of the older College for at least two decades to come. Three apparently distinct actions of the board upon that day had widespread and epoch-making consequences, of which not one of that body had at the time even a glimmer. The withdrawal of Dr. Fitch in good heart under their liberal benefactions; the raising of the committee of six out of their own number to inquire and report on the expediency of a new location of the College to the eastward; and the conditional election of two men to the presidency, raising at the same time the salary from the hitherto uniform $1000 to $1400 a year, — contributed in the sequel to make that meeting the most memorable one in the century. Leonard Woods of Andover was chosen the new president, in case he would accept, and Hyde of the board was appointed as a committee to notify him; and Zephaniah Swift Moore, then of Dartmouth College, was contingently chosen, should Woods decline, and Packard of the board was in that case to notify Moore. Woods declined, and Moore accepted.

We must take the measure as well as we can of this man Moore, as he appeared at Williamstown in September, to be graciously inducted into his office by his predecessor, — the last official service of the latter to the College. The predominant, if not the exclusive, strain of blood in the new president was that of the Scotch-Irish in New England. On a still extant parchment hanging on a wall in the capitol building at Concord, there are 315 names subscribed to a memorial sent over to Governor Shute of Massachusetts in the spring of 1718 from Londonderry in Ireland, expressing the desire of the subscribers and of others to emigrate to that colony, provided they could obtain from his Excellency suitable encouragement. The following is the prologue to the precious list of names.

To His Excellency the Right Honourable Collonel Samuel Suitte Govenour of New England.

We whose names are underwritten, Inhabitants of ye North of Ireland, Doe in our own names, and in the names of many others our Neighbours, Gentlemen, Ministers, Farmers and Tradesmen Commissionate and appoint our trusty

and well beloved Friend, the Reverend Mr. William Boyd of Macasky, to His Excellency the Right Honourable Collonel Samuel Suitte Govenour of New England, and to assure His Excellency of our sincere and hearty Inclination to Transport ourselves to that very excellent and renowned Plantation upon our obtaining from his Excellency suitable encouragement. And further to act and Doe in our Names as his Prudence shall direct. Given under our hands this 26th day of March, Annog. Dom. 1718.

Among these names occur the four following in the following order, but each widely separated from the rest in the list itself: John Muar, John Moor, Thomas Moore, and James Moore, Jr. Besides these three varieties of spelling the same name, another prevailed after the immigration among some of these families, namely Mooar. The writer's college intimate and lifelong friend, George Mooar of the Williams class of 1851, who spent his life in California as a preacher and theological instructor, was out of one of these families settled in Andover, Massachusetts. Zephaniah Swift Moore, the second president of Williams College, was from another of these Scotch-Irish families. This fact and relationship, although it has never before been noted of him, was of very considerable significance in him personally and in his whole course and career in life. For these Scotch-Irish people, of whom he was and among whom he lived, possessed certain marked peculiarities, which distinguished them sharply for two or three generations and more or less distinctly till the present time, from the descendants of the Pilgrim and Puritan English throughout New England. The immigrants of 1718 — about one hundred families of them at that time — landed in Boston in August, and about one-third of them went directly to Worcester for settlement; somewhat less than one-third of them tarried in Boston and settled in the towns adjacent, particularly in Andover; and something more than one-third of them, after a winter in Maine where certain straggling families chose to make their permanent home, sailed back in the spring and up the Merrimac River and settled a large tract in southern New Hampshire, which they named Londonderry.

These people were almost purely Scotch in origin, but they had lived as Protestant settlers for several generations in the north of Ireland, and acquired in their isolated and peculiar situation certain traits of character, which distinguished them alike from their Celtic neighbors in Ireland, from their contemporaries in Scotland, and from the English people generally whether at home or in colony. They were fond of thinking and saying, that they combined some of the best traits both of the Scotch and the Irish. Two features made

them very obnoxious at first to their neighbors in New England. They were at least called Irish, and they were very stiff Presbyterians. The frame of their new meeting-house in Worcester was burned down in the night by a mob of their Christian brethren of the Old South Church. They were indignant, but they were helpless. The majority of them before long packed up their duds, and migrated elsewhere, particularly to Pelham, which joins Amherst. This mutual repugnance between the old-timers and the new-comers naturally prevented intermarriages between the two, so long as it continued. This rather served to emphasize the distinctive traits of each party.

On the score of general intelligence there was little or nothing to choose as between the two. Of the 315 names on the Shute parchment all but thirteen are firm autographs, — only these thirteen "make their mark." It may well be doubted whether a like proportion of literacy could at that time have been found in any other community of common people on the British Isles. It is a hard task to express in words even one's own conception of the essential differences between these large bodies of Christians as they gradually became interfused rather than assimilated with each other throughout New England. The writer is conscious of no prejudices for or against either of them. On the paternal side he is straight from London citizens and Puritan immigrants, — all English; while on the maternal side there is no straighter Scotch-Irishman living. So far as he knows, no writer hitherto has ever essayed to point out categorically the differences in question. He thinks he cannot be far wrong in propounding, that the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians had a moral advantage over their neighbors of the English and Puritan descent, —

1. In inquisitiveness into the nature of men and things, and in quick and penetrating intellectual activity in general.

2. In strength of personal conviction on almost all subjects, and a persistency of purpose through thick and thin, often amounting to obstinacy in common things and to bigotry in religious things.

3. In a sense of humor, and a readiness of repartee, which is a modern Irish trait also, and which these people possessed in such a degree and breadth as marked alike the social meetings of their ministers and the greetings on the road and everywhere of their poorest and most illiterate. These people indeed took life seriously, — too seriously, — but they enlivened it at many points, as scores of well-attested anecdotes display.

On the other hand, the more purely English portion of the population contrasted very favorably with the other, —

1. In personal habits and general customs of cleanliness, and in all the amenities of social life.

2. In the knack of acquiring and maintaining property, and in the somewhat corresponding knack of gaining and holding political influence as well in the Colonies as in the later States. The Scotch-Irish hated privileges granted by law to favored classes. Hence they were Anti-Federalists and later Democrats almost to a man. The English conscience in New England did not scruple to wrest justice by law from dissentients in behalf of the church and from the many in behalf of the privileged few.

3. In the point of discerning the best locations for permanent settlement, and then remaining stationary, and thus gaining the prestige that comes with time and a local ancestry. The Scotch-Irish families migrated a good deal from place to place. Individuals and single families scattered sooner or later into almost every town in northern New England. Their chief mass remained in southern New Hampshire. In Massachusetts, Andover and Blandford and Colerain and Pelham and Worcester continued to be pretty distinctively Scotch-Irish towns.

Lieutenant Judah Moore was the father of Zephaniah Swift Moore. He lived at the time of his son's birth, namely, 1770, in Palmer, another of the Massachusetts towns owing its origin wholly, like Blandford and Colerain, to Scotch-Irish families. As early as 1730 these people established a church in Palmer, which of course took on a Presbyterian form, and almost of course (considering a minor characteristic of the people) became a centre of small but persistent quarrels — tempests in a teapot. There is much curious reading in the early records of this church, which does not now particularly concern us, but we will give a single entry as a sort of sample.

> At a meeting of ye Inhabitants of this District, Legally Convened and assembled at ye Public Meeting House in said place, ye Meeting being opened, Andrew Rutherford was chosen Moderator. On the third article in ye warrant for said Meeting, voted that Mr. Kniblows be allowed four pounds, Sixteen Shillings, which is eight Shillings, Lawful money, for each Sermon he Preached on Sabbath Days, in this District, *Except three Sermons which we can prove he preached other men's works.*

In the years preceding the outbreak of the Revolution, when it is certain that Judah Moore was a settled resident of the place, the people of Palmer felt their spirit in common with the other settle-

ments of the Colony, and voted, "that this district will by all prudent means endeavor to discountenance the use of foreign superfluities, and to encourage the manufactures of the whole continent in general, and of this province in particular." The second article in the warrant for a public meeting to be held in the "public meeting-house," June 17, 1776, reads as follows: — "To advise and instruct the representative of this town, whether, should the honorable Congress, for the safety of the Colonies declare them independent of Great Britain, they, the said inhabitants, will engage with their lives and fortunes to support them in the measures, agreeable to and in compliance with the resolve of the General Court." Palmer furnished its proportion of the men and means for the war, and performed its part toward securing that independence for which it made so prompt and early a declaration. If there were any Tories among the Scotch-Irish in New England during the war, they have left little or no trace of themselves as such. John Stark, who was the most distinguished man of that race in that generation, had no difficulty in enlisting a regiment consisting mostly of these people in southern New Hampshire, and under the sole authority of that State, for the national battle of Bennington.

There is no evidence or probability that "Leftenant" Judah Moore was in the battle of Bennington; where his Revolutionary service in connection with other Palmer men was rendered, we do not know; but the proof is positive that he migrated the next year with his family to Wilmington, Vermont, and made a permanent settlement there. Wilmington is seventeen miles to the east of Bennington. Some of the New Hampshire soldiers passed through it on their way thither, and liked its position at the junction of the two head streams of the Deerfield River, and later returned to it to settle and abide. It is more than probable that some other Scotch-Irish families from Palmer moved to Wilmington with the Moores, and that the family of Colonel Thomson was one of these. Colonel Thomson at any rate was an intimate adviser of the father in Wilmington, and long afterward an earnest coadjutor of the son in Amherst. This son was in his eighth year when the father migrated to Vermont in 1778. In those rough times and in that new town, his opportunities for schooling were meagre indeed. He worked hard on the farm for ten years, at the same time exhibiting from his early childhood an uncommon inquisitiveness of mind and a great thirst for knowledge. He availed himself with eagerness of every opportunity, whether at home or at the district schools. When in or nearing his eighteenth year, he besought his parents if he might not

go to college. Judah and Mary Moore, always much esteemed for their intelligence and integrity and piety, could not see how it would be possible for them to send their boy to college. In their resources they were but common farmers. The Constitution of the United States, though framed, had not yet gone into operation. Political matters in Vermont were at that time strangely mixed and unsettled. The future could not be discerned.

In his own perplexity and in his son's eagerness, Judah Moore consulted his old friend Colonel Thomson. "Let him go if he wants to, you will get along without it and find no trouble." About five years later Thomson met the father on his way to Hanover to see his son graduated, and said to him, — "Well, how do you come out? as well as I said you would?" Replied the other, "Oh! when I have sold my old oxen, I guess I shall be able to pay all the bills!" The self-denials and sacrifices of parents and child, accompanying and conditioning the education of the latter, helped to prepare him in an essential point to become the president of two collegiate institutions, in which most of the students were to be poor.

In the meantime, if Z. S. M. were to go to college, he must first go somewhere to acquire the rudiments of Latin and Greek. Fortunately for him and for a few others in the region of southern Vermont, there had been incorporated in Bennington as early as 1780 an academic school, called "Clio Hall," not destined to a long life, and affording but slim facilities for preparation for college. In 1817, the "Union Academy" was incorporated in Bennington, that had for about forty years a useful and honorable career. Such as it was, Clio Hall furnished to young Moore for a short time some instruction in his preparatory studies. The neighborly relations between Bennington and Williamstown were at that time much more intimate than at present; and Moore while there must have heard a good deal about what was then going on here. About the time he left his home for Dartmouth College in the early part of 1789, the foundations for the Free School and a part of the superstructure also were laid, and several attempts had been made and abandoned to penetrate the limestone ledge for a well of water. Just about the time when he returned to Hanover for the beginning of his Sophomore year, the Free School was opened for pupils, and many Vermont boys immediately availed themselves of its opportunities. When Moore was graduated in 1793 at Dartmouth, Williams was already incorporated as a college. Whatever he may then have known of what was going on here, it is unlikely that he ever surmised what a great and honorable part he himself was to play on

this ground. His class at Dartmouth were graduated thirty-nine in number. Only three of these names are printed in the Triennial in small capitals, the token of unusual distinction, namely; Samuel Bell, Governor and United States Senator of New Hampshire, Z. S. Moore, a professor in one college, president in another, and founder of a third, and Erastus Root, Lieutenant-Governor of New York and Chief Justice of its Court of Appeals. Several of Moore's classmates were Scotch-Irishmen like himself, particularly Samuel Bell and Asa McFarland. As was natural under the circumstances, immediately after his graduation Moore took for one year the academy at Londonderry, then the great hive of his race. As he felt in him the impulse to teach, so he felt in him the impulse to preach. The two are at bottom one, and in the case of any individual who feels both impulses in their strength, it depends on providential circumstances which shall predominate in practice. Moore then went for two years to Somers, Connecticut, to the Rev. Dr. Backus to learn the art of preaching. Some knowledge of Hebrew was then supposed to be necessary in order to proclaim acceptably the Gospel in English. It is possible that Moore had studied Hebrew somewhat in Hanover; at any rate he studied it in Somers; and, after having been settled in the ministry for eleven years in Leicester, during all of which time he was a trustee and part of the time principal of Leicester Academy, he was called back to Dartmouth as Professor of the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages. This was in 1811.

It is plain to any one tracing his career with care, that Moore could never have become the man he was in the later and more important exigencies of his life, had he not had abundant experience as a preacher and pastor. The teacher in him was destined to outstrip at length the preacher and pastor; but he had native and acquired gifts for these also, which all the better fitted him to perform the gigantic tasks of his later life. No sooner was he licensed to preach in 1796, than he began to exhibit in the pulpit those rare analytical and expositive and hortatory powers that were so much prized in the New England of his time. He had a strong and striking face, as any one can see in the steel-plate impression of him in Tyler's "History of Amherst College," page seventy-three. He is said to have had very little action in the pulpit; and yet there was an impressiveness in his manner that fixed and held the attention of his hearers. His voice, though not loud, was clear and pleasant, and in animated conversation and in the pulpit pitched upon the tenor key. In the more hortatory portions of his discourse, his utterance became more rapid, and the sound of his voice shrill and

tremulous, showing that he felt deeply the force of the sentiments he uttered.

In person he was somewhat above the middling height, and came earlier than most men to his maximum weight, some 240 pounds, which he kept through life, and yet never appeared to be specially corpulent. His firm and closely knit frame and muscle gave him nothing of the air of obesity. He always wore what is called the "continental costume," that is, breeches and long hose, which were particularly becoming to his person, and which the clerical profession retained the use of longer than gentlemen generally. He was uniformly extremely neat in his dress. He was fond of music and an agreeable singer. His sense of humor in others, and the ability to exemplify it himself on occasion and in a quiet way, made him an agreeable companion, even with children, of whom he had none of his own, with students, and with the gravest of men in council.

After being licensed to preach, Moore occupied several pulpits with rare acceptance, particularly those in Tolland, Connecticut, and Peterborough, New Hampshire, and declined several flattering calls to settle. Peterborough was a Scotch-Irish town, and his relations to those people continued intimate. His first publication was a Thanksgiving sermon preached there in 1796. Providence had not yet thrown in his way a life companion and helpmate, and it was not the fashion in those days for ministers to settle until that conjunction had been consummated. He used humorously to relate how the whole future course of his life hinged on an apparent accident which was at the time grievously disappointing to him. He was visiting in Sutton (near Worcester) his sister, the wife of Rev. Mr. Mills, and was detained there several days beyond the intended period of his visit by the accidental lameness of his horse. While chafing under the delay, a Miss Phebe Drury from Auburn, which joins Worcester on the south, a friend of his sister's family, came to make them a little visit. Somehow he was able to while away the time better while his horse was getting well. In some connection with this, the horse having recovered, he was able not long after to ride to Auburn for a little visit. These peregrinations became known to the people of Leicester, which joins Worcester on the west, and as they were then without a pastor, they applied to him to supply their pulpit, which led to his settlement over that parish in January, 1798, taking with him Miss Drury, already become Mrs. Moore.

It so happened, that Ebenezer Adams, Dartmouth College 1791,

two years before Moore, was then teaching the academy in Leicester, which he continued till 1806. The two men renewed old acquaintance and now became fast friends. The pastor became deeply interested in the academy, in which he taught more or less from time to time in conjunction with his preaching; and the teacher both perceived and drew out under the clerical habit of the other his strong pedagogical impulses and powers. Adams went back to Hanover in 1809 as Professor of Languages. Two years later he was transferred to the chair of mathematics and natural philosophy; and he had influence enough over the trustees to secure the election of Moore to his own vacated place, and over Moore to secure his acceptance of the same. So it was that Moore went to Dartmouth after a successful pastorate of almost thirteen years. The elements were so mixed in him as in almost no other man, that one could scarcely say whether he were superior as preacher or teacher. The late Governor Emory Washburn, a native of Leicester in 1800, who fitted for college at the academy there, who entered Dartmouth in 1813, because both Adams and Moore were professors there, and who came to Williams in 1815, because Moore came here then as president, gives competent and delightful testimony at once to the pastor of his childhood and to the college president of his choice.

My acquaintance with him commenced with my earliest childhood and continued to the time of his death, — a period of some twenty years. A portion of that time was spent in his family, and the kindness which he always manifested towards me, warrants me in saying that I knew him well. At the commencement of this period, he was pastor of the church in Leicester, and I am scarcely able to say of which I now retain the liveliest remembrance, the kindly greeting and pleasant smile with which he recognized me in the street, his cheerful and entertaining conversation to which I listened in his visits at my mother's house, the plain, simple and hopeful manner in which he used to address us children in his visits to the Schools, or his solemn and impressive services on the Sabbath. The effect produced upon my young mind by the latter could not have been the result merely of his grave dignified manner, the pleasant musical voice, or the unaffected, earnest style of his delivery, though in all these respects he had few superiors. His sermons were always full of thought, simply and neatly expressed, with that clearness of arrangement which commanded the attention and impressed the memory of even young and uncultivated minds. The impressions of childhood were but strengthened upon a more familiar acquaintance with him in after life, especially as an officer of college. He was a man of the most systematic and untiring industry. Every duty had its place and was sure of being performed at its appropriate time.

His manners were quiet and dignified, and always self-possessed. He was never boisterous, even when most deeply excited or when administering the sharpest rebuke in the way of college discipline or personal censure. Yet with all this forbearance of manner, no man ever possessed a firmer spirit or a more

uncompromising resolution of purpose in whatever concerned a matter of right. He was calm and deliberate in forming his judgment; but when formed, he acted up to it, in everything involving principle, regardless of personal consequences. His qualities as a college officer were of a very high order. That suavity that attracted the love, was mingled with a consistent dignity which commanded the respect, of his pupils; while a remarkably quick perception of the personal traits of character in others, enabled him to adapt his deportment to whatever emergencies might arise. Incidents might be referred to of his ready power in quelling the excited passions that sometimes disturb college life, as well as in subduing refractory spirits on occasions where individual discipline had become necessary.

His favorite branch of instruction was metaphysics, and he was especially familiar with the writers of the Scotch school upon that subject. But whatever subject he taught, he made himself accurately and critically acquainted with all its details and leading text-books. Dr. Moore was a delightful companion in his own family. He was uniformly cheerful, kind, and observant to all. Though he had no children of his own, he made his house a pleasant resort for friends of any age. And I should be doing injustice to her who shared and promoted the attractions of his home, if I should omit to recognize the harmony and confidence which always subsisted between the heads of that family. He had a pleasant countenance, a mild, penetrating eye, with rather heavy eyebrows, a finely formed head without any particularly marked developments, a mouth with that compact outline that denotes energy, and a smile, that, while it relaxed this into playfulness, lighted up his eye into an expression of mirth, though he never indulged in boisterous merriment.

Emerson Davis, who was graduated in 1821 under President Moore, and who became in 1833 a trustee of the College, holding that place with unusual fidelity to its duties till his death in 1866, who was the fifth and last vice-president of the College, and who spent his entire graduate life (except a brief tutorship here) in Westfield as either a teacher or pastor, communicated in 1849 his recollections of Dr. Moore as follows: —

You have requested me to give you my impressions and recollections of President Moore. They are all exceedingly pleasant; and yet I must say he was a man of such equanimity of temper and uniformity of life, that I am unable to single out one act or saying of his that produced a deeper impression than others.

My first introduction to him was in the spring of 1818, when I was ushered into his study with a letter of recommendation for admission to Williams College. It was to me a fearful moment; but the cordial manner in which I was received, and his kind inquiries after his friend who had furnished me with a letter, made me at once easy in his presence. I found that he had the heart of a man; and through an acquaintance of several years to the time of his death, he manifested the same kindness and cordiality that he did the first time I saw him. He was a man of medium stature, rather corpulent, his complexion sallow, the top of his head nearly bald, there being a slight sprinkling of hair between

the forehead and crown. His voice, though not loud, was clear and pleasant, and in animated conversation and in the pulpit, pitched upon the tenor key. He was dignified in his appearance, serious in his aspect, instructive and agreeable in his conversation, kind and benevolent in his feelings, modest and unassuming in his manners, deliberate and cautious in coming to a conclusion, but firm and determined when his position was taken. If a student had at any time spoken against him, he would have been regarded as a rebel against law and order. In managing cases of discipline he was calm and entirely self-possessed. When he felt constrained to reprove students, either in the recitation room or chapel, he usually prefaced his remarks by addressing them as, "Young gentlemen"; probably that they might the more readily perceive the impropriety of their conduct.

In preaching, he had very little action; and yet there was an impressiveness in his manner that fixed the attention of his hearers. In the more animated parts of his discourse, his utterance became more rapid, and the sound of his voice shrill and tremulous, showing that he felt deeply the force of the sentiments he uttered. In his religious views, I know not that he differed from the great mass of the orthodox clergy of New England of his day.

Probably enough has now been said, and enough been directly quoted from his contemporaries who knew him personally, to give the reader a distinct and correct idea of the man and president; but there is yet another letter at hand, which will now be quoted entire, fully as much for the sake of the light that it throws upon the memory of the writer of it, as for the sake of any additional gleams coming therefrom to illuminate the subject of it. Ebenezer Emmons, a graduate of the College in 1818, and very intimately connected with it in one way and another thereafter until his death in 1863 in North Carolina, who was one year a student under President Fitch and three years under President Moore, wrote a letter in 1855 in response to a request for his recollections of the latter, which presents in an interesting way several phases of the College and of individuals connected with it while he was a student. The letter runs as follows: —

My Dear Sir: Instead of attempting anything like an outline of Dr. Moore's character, which you can easily obtain from other sources, I take the liberty to comply with your request by stating an incident in his administration of the College, of which I was a witness, and which strikingly illlustrated some of his most prominent characteristics.

The incident to which I refer, occurred in 1816, just after Dr. Moore entered upon his duties as President of Williams College. It was not only a new field to him, but there were some circumstances that rendered his entrance upon it peculiarly embarrassing. His predecessor, Dr. Fitch, though in many respects an admirable man, did not always evince the highest degree of firmness; and hence, it had been common for the students, when his decisions were not in accordance with their wishes, to make an effort, and generally not an unsuc-

cessful one, to procure their reversal. Dr. Moore came to the College when the three higher classes had been the subjects of this kind of training. In order to give governmental efficiency to the institution, he was instrumental in effecting a revision of its laws, and in introducing certain new regulations, which were designed to secure a more thorough and effective discipline. The new regulations took effect with the Sophomore class, of which I was a member. The class numbered twenty-one, among whom were several who have since attained to high distinction in the different walks of public usefulness. They felt as Sophomore classes are very apt to feel, a sufficiently deep sense of their own importance; and this was probably somewhat increased from the fact that the College was really in a tottering condition, and one in which it did not seem safe to enforce very stringent regulations.

A copy of the new code of laws was given to each pupil on his entrance into college, and soon afterwards he was summoned into the president's study, and questioned in the following manner: "Have you read the laws of the College?" "Do you approve of them?" "*Will you obey them?*" Of course an affirmative answer was returned. But to fix the matter more securely, he was then required to affix his name to his answer in a book prepared for that purpose. Two-thirds of the members of the class had passed through this ordeal, attesting their allegiance to the College government; but, in the meantime, this new regulation began to be talked about as an oppressive measure, especially in its application to the Sophomore class. The feeling that it was derogatory to their dignity began to run high, and, under the excitement, a class-meeting was called to decide upon the measures to be adopted to remedy the supposed oppression under which the class labored, and especially to vindicate its honor before the other classes. At this meeting speeches were made, which, in point of spirit were worthy of the times of '76. It was resolved to visit the president in a body, making a committee of twenty-one, with Selah Root Arms (now a highly respectable clergyman), for our chairman and chief speaker. The president received us politely, and almost immediately gave the chairman an opportunity to state the business of the committee. "Young gentlemen," said he, "what are your wishes? You must surely have some business of great importance to transact with me." "We have come, sir," replied the chairman, "for the purpose of getting our names expunged from that book," stepping forward at the same time a little in front of the row, and placing his feet squarely upon the floor. "Oh, indeed," said the president, "I am sorry for that; but you are no doubt willing to obey the laws of College." "Certainly, sir," said he; "but then our names are upon that book." "If that is all," answered the president, "you may be sure, that it will never hurt you." "But," replied the chairman, "we do not see why the Sophomore class should be singled out in this manner." "That," said the president, "is of little consequence, — you know we must begin somewhere; and you are only required to obey the laws of College, which you say you intend to do, and which all are required to do." "But," said the chairman, "our names are upon that book," — pointing to the very book on the table before the president, — "and it looks badly that we should be singled out in this way, when the Junior and Senior classes are allowed an exemption from the rule." "I repeat," says the president, "we must, as you well know, begin somewhere, and all the succeeding classes will be required to conform to the rule, so that your names will not stand alone

upon that book." Suffice it to say, it was evident that no progress could be made, and the Doctor's manner carried more weight even than his words. It seemed to be tacitly admitted that our case was a hopeless one; and besides we had become quite cooled off in his presence. But our spokesman made another rally, coming directly to the point, — "Must we understand then that our names shall remain upon that book?" "*Certainly*," said the Doctor, — his benignant face becoming momentarily suffused with a deeper tint. We left his presence as quickly as possible, satisfied that no impression could be made upon his firmness; and his polite reception and gentle bearing had quite disarmed us of all personal hostility.

Dr. Moore was consistent in his measures for the government of the College, and this first occasion for the exercise of his firmness and moderation had its influence throughout the classes, and I do not know that he was afterwards called upon to exercise those admirable qualities in a similar manner.

Here is a capital touch on the disciplinary power of the second president by a competent eye-witness, and one also who had had the great advantage of being able to compare him in this respect with the first. This graphic testimony is in harmony with all that can be learned from other sources about the two men at this point. From all the accessible evidence combined and compared, it is certain that Moore was the most successful disciplinarian among all the presidents of Williams during the first century of the College; and this proof is confirmed by the little that can be learned of Moore in this regard by his very brief presidency at Amherst. He was well adapted to be a college president in New England at that time. His coming here was beset with difficulties of formidable proportions. No year of his stay was free from their thickening shadow. After six years of assiduous labor to save the College from extinction, he went to Amherst in obedience to a call from thence, and in exact accordance with the terms of the understanding under which he came here in the first instance. Fifteen of the students went with him. The local opposition to his going at all, the strenuous efforts made to keep him, is irrefragable proof that he had done what he could, and that he had done a great deal.

In the meantime, his reputation as a teacher and preacher was extending all over the State. In 1818 he was invited to preach the Election Sermon in Boston. This was a great honor in those times. It was a summons from the General Court to give them instruction and edification. And it was not possible for them to go farther for their preacher within the limits of the state. Williamstown was just upon the uttermost bounds. A then almost impassable mountain intervened between Williamstown and Boston. How did the preacher get there, and get back again? A lively tradition in the

Smedley family makes possible an answer to this question after a wide interval of years. Levi Smedley, a prosperous farmer on the Green River, who has already been mentioned in a previous chapter, as driving, when a boy, a wagon of provisions to his father, Captain Nehemiah Smedley, the next day after the battle of Bennington, was the first citizen of Williamstown to provide for himself and family a two-horse vehicle, then called a "swell-body hack"; and the president invited the deacon to drive him to Boston and back in the new carriage, and to be his guest and companion while there. The deacon lived until 1849; and used to be fond of relating to his family incidents of the agreeable journey, and topics of the agreeable conversation of the president, something of the novelties of the city, and something also of the formalities and impressiveness of the Election Sermon. This sermon was printed by order of the General Court. All the people of the town, and the friends of the little struggling College, were proud of the compliment thus paid to their popular president.

The aggregate number of students graduated in the six classes under Dr. Moore was ninety-two, and the average fifteen. The average of the first three years was fourteen, and of the last three, sixteen. This indicates no great growth on the whole. There would, undoubtedly, have been a much greater growth, had the minds of the trustees and of the public been settled that the College was to remain in Williamstown. That question, however, not only continued an open one, but also seemed to open more and more towards the east. Moore's inaugural discourse in 1815 was not published, as it ought to have been, but it has been credibly described as an able and finished production, and as credibly asserted (and never denied) to have contained an expression of his views in favor of the removal of the College. His position was unequivocal from start to finish. His *heart* was over the mountain among his kinsmen on both sides of the Connecticut, his *judgment* was fixed that the College could not flourish in this narrow valley, and his *expressions* never wavered in regard to its removal.

At the Commencement in 1818, just as the Board of Trustees were about to adjourn, one of their own number, Packard of Shelburne, acting as an agent for Amherst Academy, presented a petition requesting the board to unite the College with a proposed institution to be located in the town of Amherst. Dr. Moore declared himself to be favorable to such a project. But the trustees were not ready. They made answer to the petition by this vote, "That the trustees of Amherst Academy have leave to withdraw the communication

which they have submitted to this Board." As soon as this vote was passed, Packard predicted to his fellow-members that the board would be summoned to attend an extra meeting in less than three months; which happened, as he said; and when convened in November, the president immediately submitted to them a proposition for the removal of the College, connected with the expression of his purpose to resign the office of president unless the proposition should be sustained. He stated at leugth that, at the time he accepted the presidency, he had no idea that the College was to remain at Williamstown, but had all the while supposed it was to be removed to some place in Hampshire County. His statements and his manner of stating them had doubtless much influence on the action of the trustees, expressed by the following vote, nine out of twelve voting in the affirmative, — Jones of Adams, and Noble of Williamstown, and Glezen of Stockbridge, alone voting nay.

Resolved, That it is expedient to remove Williams College to some more central part of the State, whenever sufficient funds can be obtained to defray the necessary expenses incurred, and the losses sustained by removal, and to secure the prosperity of the College, and when a fair prospect shall be presented of obtaining for the institution the united support and patronage of the friends of literature and religion in the western part of the Commonwealth, and when the General Court shall give their assent to the measure.

At the same meeting, "in order to guide the Trustees in determining to which place the college shall be removed, and to produce harmony and union," a committee consisting of Chancellor James Kent of New York, Judge Nathaniel Smith of Connecticut, and the Rev. Seth Payson of New Hampshire, was appointed and requested "to visit the towns in Hampshire County, and determine the place to which the college shall be removed; the Trustees pledging themselves to abide by their decision, provided the requisite sum be raised." The board then adjourned to meet at Pittsfield the next May, at which time and place this distinguished committee reported that the proper place to remove to was Northampton. The board itself at the same time prepared an address to the public, which was printed and extensively circulated, setting forth the reasons for the intended removal, and requesting donations to increase the funds and to promote generally the prosperity of the College at its new location, namely, at Northampton. The gist of this address of reasons is in the following paragraph: —

That, since its establishment in 1793, other colleges have sprung up about it, and had almost wholly withdrawn the patronage it had formerly received from the North and West. That, owing to the want of support, its funds have become

so reduced that the income falls short of the expenditures, and the trustees, for this reason, are unable to maintain the institution in its present state, and enable it to compete with other colleges. These circumstances have induced the Trustees, after mature reflection and deliberation, to think a removal of the college to a situation more central and more easy of access necessary to its support and continuance in usefulness.

It was now the springtime of 1819. The ball was opened. It is needful to notice that all action hitherto had been the action of the Board of Trustees upon this ground. They had taken the initiative in May, 1815. They had followed it up from time to time as their records show. There was in existence no party of the other part. Just four years later they took of their own motion the strong action now described. They issued a public address, announcing their determination, on certain specified conditions, to remove the College to the eastward, to the end of its own upbuilding. Their motives were pure, their opinions were strong, and all their actions open and above board. It was in the discussion and agitation that followed for two full years, in which everybody in the two counties became intensely interested, that parties were formed, ill blood engendered, criminations and recriminations passed, and at last the impression produced, not even yet absolutely dissipated, that, somehow or other, Hampshire had stolen a march on Berkshire, had purloined something, had gotten by indirection something that belonged to the other. Under this impression the really spotless memory of President Moore has been shadowed. In behalf of his own freedom from any such prejudice, the present writer can appeal to his direct agency many years ago in helping to affix the designation "Mt. Moore" to the peak next south of Greylock, as the name "Mt. Fitch" had been previously affixed by the Hopkins Alpine Club to the peak next north of Greylock, in the same gigantic line.[1]

Every vehicle of expression was employed, — published letters, printed pamphlets, newspaper editorials, and oral speech without end, — as the discussion waxed warm on both sides. In August, 1819, a large convention of Hampshire people was held in Northampton to take measures to effect the removal of the College to Hampshire. Dr. Moore presided over this meeting, and resolutions were adopted in favor of the removal, and committees appointed to solicit subscriptions for that purpose. In October following, a large convention of Berkshire gentlemen was held in Pittsfield, over which William Walker, then and for twenty-five years Judge of Probate for Berkshire, presided, for the purpose of expressing the views and

[1] See *Origins in Williamstown*, p. 31.

feelings of the county in opposition to the removal. Resolutions to this effect, and an address to the public, were reported and adopted. The core of the resolutions, and also of the address, are herewith literally transcribed.

It is the opinion of this meeting that nothing is necessary to preserve for Williams College, in its present location, the character of a highly respectable and useful institution, but the cordial coöperation of the friends of literature, science, and religion, in the western section of the State.

If the removal of the College should result in some peculiar losses, — if some widows and men of wealth were to suffer by it, — these losses might be endured; but we know not what would restore to the community that confidence that sweetens life and binds society together; nor where would be found that balm which would heal the wounds which this measure would inflict.

A month later, that is to say, in November, 1819, a meeting of the trustees in Williamstown passed two votes, both of which had far-reaching consequences, that could not have been at all divined at the time. The first of these votes made a proposition to the trustees of Amherst Academy, started in 1815 and incorporated in 1816, requesting them to unite their charitable funds with those of the College, in case it were removed to Northampton. This proposition received a prompt rejection, *unless the transferred location were changed to Amherst.* It was no longer, accordingly, a question merely as between Berkshire and Hampshire, — it had already become a sort of triangular question with Williamstown at the apex and Amherst and Northampton at either end of the base line. Nor was it then, nor did it ever afterward become, a simply *local* question. The founders and sustainers of Amherst Academy, the same class of men and largely the same men as the founders and sustainers of Amherst College, were not altogether the same sort of men in race, in religion, in persistency, as the men who founded and sustained the Free School and the College in Williamstown, or the men in Northampton and elsewhere in Hampshire County, who would have gathered to the support of the College, had it actually become established in Northampton. In Professor Tyler's excellent history of Amherst College, published in 1873, there are a number of expressions that would be mysterious enough, were it not for the present explanation, of which, perhaps, he was not then fully possessed. For example, this sentence on page 34, relating to the charter of the Academy, — "having been delayed by opposition in Amherst, and in the neighboring towns, of the same kind and partly from the very same sources as that which the college encountered in later years." Why should the charter of Amherst Academy have encountered

opposition in *Amherst* in 1815? or "in the neighboring towns"? And why should this have been of the same kind and from the same sources as that encountered by the college? This must have been, and was, something more permanent and powerful in human nature than questions of mere locality ever become. Take another example from the text on page 71, and particularly from the note to the passage: "President Moore and Professor Estabrooke, having publicly signified their acceptance and their assent to the Confession of Faith which had been prepared for the occasion, were then solemnly inducted into their respective offices." "Of this Confession of Faith I find no record, except that it was reported to the trustees by a committee appointed for the purpose immediately previous to the inauguration. The committee consisted of Z. S. Moore, Thomas Snell, and Daniel A. Clark." Why should there have been a special Confession of Faith "prepared for the occasion"? Why was it not published at the time? And why is there "no record" or trace of it to be found at the present time? Good answers are at hand to all these questions, and they will be given incidentally a little farther on. The only point to be specially noted here is, that the trustees of Amherst Academy in 1819, three years after their incorporation, had sufficient self-respect and *esprit de corps* to dictate terms both to their neighbors in Northampton and to their possible coadjutors in Williamstown.

The second, and even more important, vote passed by the Williams trustees at the same time with the other, was, that, "It is expedient to petition the Legislature for permission to remove Williams College to Northampton." And a committee was chosen to present the petition to the Legislature. This place for the removal had been agreed upon by their own Kent commission; and they had promised beforehand to abide by the decision. Moreover, fifty thousand dollars had been subscribed in a short time by the people of Hampshire and adjoining counties, to defray the expenses which would be incurred and the losses sustained by the removal. This fact went along with the petition to Boston. This petition and the accompanying documents were presented to both branches of the Legislature on Jan. 17, 1820, and referred to a joint committee of both Houses. The same day and to the same joint committee was presented and referred the remonstrance of the town of Williamstown against the removal of the College. This remonstrance was drawn up by Charles A. Dewey, a native of Williamstown, a graduate of the College in 1811, a citizen and lawyer of the town till 1826, a trustee of the College from 1824 to 1866, and a Justice of the Supreme Court

of the State from 1837 till his death in 1866. The remonstrance was passed upon and unanimously voted for at a legal meeting of the inhabitants of Williamstown, holden Dec. 27, 1819; this action attested and vouched for "as expressive of the feelings of the inhabitants of this town," by STEPHEN HOSFORD, *Town Clerk*. A subscription, amounting to $17,500, raised upon their own responsibility by the inhabitants of the town and county, in terms to be paid in the course of ten years to the College funds in case of non-removal, was laid before the Legislature at the same time with the remonstrance, and taken into consideration by the joint committee, to which the whole matter and all papers relating to it were referred.

As the petition itself had gone to the General Court as the action of the Board of Trustees by a vote of nine to three, the minority thought it proper to send a memorandum to Boston, giving the grounds of their dissent from the action of the majority. This memorandum was drawn up by Daniel Noble, and signed by him, by Israel Jones, and Levi Glezen, the three minority trustees. Daniel Noble was also a native of Williamstown, an own cousin of Charles A. Dewey, a graduate of the College in 1796, the first alumnus of the College placed upon its Board of Trustees, in 1809, and continued as such till his death in 1830, a citizen and lawyer of the town, and treasurer of the College from 1814 till 1830. In sending this memorandum to Glezen for signature, Noble wrote to him a letter, which is worthy to be preserved and perpetuated.

WILLIAMSTOWN, Jan. 7, 1820.

MY DEAR SIR:

I find the public are expecting a Memorial from the minority of the Corporation, in the case of the petition to remove Williams College. I should have been much gratified to have had this written by yourself; but not being able to see you, I have availed myself of a few hours' leisure, amidst my almost unceasing calls, to place on paper a few of my thoughts in the shape of a Memorial to the Legislature. I have been less particular than I should have been had we not had a very full memorial from this town, in which the subjects are discussed in detail; and this town memorial is to be printed. I wish you to examine the memorial which I send you, and put your own name to it. You will please leave room for Esquire Jones's name, yours second, and mine third and last.

We feel in tolerably good spirits as to the College question. We mean fairly and honorably to discharge our duty, and be prepared for any result. There has, on the whole, been a noble spirit of liberality manifested on the occasion. Whatever shall be the issue, I trust we shall retain a high sense of gratitude to our friends, in various directions, for the part they have taken upon this interesting occasion.

I am very respectfully yours,

DANIEL NOBLE.

All these formal documents, together with accompanying papers, and particularly, as it would seem from their report, a sketch of the early history of the College written for the Massachusetts Historical Society by President Fitch in 1802, were put into the hands of the joint committee, consisting of four able members of the House and three of the Senate, on the 17th of January. On the 1st of February, their report was rendered to the two branches of the Legislature. The Senate approved the report on Feb. 8, by a vote of 31 to 5; and the House concurred on Feb. 14, by a vote of 120 to 25. This was quick work, even for those working times. That it was good and thorough work, any one may satisfy himself by reading the report, which is much too long for insertion here, since it would occupy some fourteen or fifteen of these pages.

The two questions to which the committee addressed themselves, and both of which they fully discussed, although it would seem as if the first were more fit for a judicial than a legislative body, were: first, Is it *legal* to remove the College? and, second, Is it *expedient* to remove the College? The celebrated Dartmouth College case, involving essentially the same point as that involved in the first question, had been adjudicated in the Supreme Court of the United States just one year before, Chief Justice Marshall voicing the decision of that court in February, 1819, and sustaining Daniel Webster's novel and always much-questioned plea; namely, that a gift to a charitable institution of learning is a "contract," in the sense of the Constitution of the United States, between donor and trustees. To impair the obligation of a contract by any law of any State is forbidden by the national Constitution. That this construction and judgment influenced the minds of the committee is plain, although they make no verbal reference to it, because they say: —

> The committee have supposed it to be their duty to notice that Woodbridge Little of Pittsfield, and some persons in Williamstown, and some in Vermont, and some in the State of New York, have made donations to Williams College; and the committee suppose that they ought not to disregard the presumption that the *location* of this seminary constituted some part of the motive to this bounty, and the committee cannot but doubt the *justice* of removing, and consequently the *power* to remove this seminary to any place not contemplated by such donors, to be the site of the future use of their charities. The committee have expressed this opinion on the law with the most unaffected diffidence. But they have thought it their duty to express some opinion hereon, because the two Houses must judge of, and decide upon, the legal principles which arise on this petition, since this is not a case, as the committee believe, in which the opinion of the Supreme Judicial Court may be required. The [Massachusetts] Constitution authorizes the aid of such opinions, only in cases where no private rights are

involved. It is apparent that this subject relates to parties who may, hereafter, possibly become suitors in that court, and whose rights cannot be judged of until they are first heard.

The sailing of the committee on the second question, namely, the expediency of the proposed removal, was on smoother and securer seas. If the question had been at the beginning, whether Williamstown or Northampton were the better place, in which to found a new college, the opinions even then of well-informed and honest men might fairly enough have differed; notwithstanding the general concession of the advantages of Northampton, in point of its central position on the Connecticut, the denser population in and around it, superior facilities of access, and the attractions and stimulus of larger numbers of educated men; while, on the other hand, it might well have been urged, that a relative seclusion is favorable to literary proficiency, and to purity of morals, and that an education at a smaller expenditure of money was more likely to be attainable at Williamstown. But the present question is much distinct from that. Far other elements enter in than a mere Then and Now.

The committee are of opinion, that so important a measure as the removal of Williams College ought not to take place without a reasonable and unembarrassed conviction, that some great benefit will result therefrom not attainable in the present location. The committee are by no means satisfied that mere location determines the degree of estimation and respect in which any literary institution may be held. It is reputation that constitutes the attraction, and this is founded on the modes and means of instruction; and though it might be a very interesting question whether $50,000 or $100,000 should be originally expended at Northampton or Williamstown, yet considering the length of time which has elapsed since the establishment of Williams College in the place where it is, that a considerable part of its funds were given in contemplation of its permanancy there, and considering too that no change of very imposing cast is likely to be effected immediately, or before the lapse of some years, in the future usefulness of the institution, if at all, by removal, the committee come to the result, that it is neither *lawful* nor *expedient* to grant the prayer of the petition; and for these reasons respectfully report, that the petitioners have leave to withdraw their petition.

The speech of Josiah Quincy in the State Senate made in behalf of this report of the joint committee has fortunately come down to us in manuscript and entire. The year before his death, that is, in 1863, Quincy sent his speech with the accompanying documents to President Hopkins, as a matter of curiosity, saying, "The documents are precisely as I found them among my papers folded forty years ago." The committee of the trustees sent down with their petition were apparently present at the debate. Quincy hit them a good rap

in the course of his argument, which doubtless largely contributed to the majority in the Senate defeating the removal. We extract a short paragraph: —

> The trustees came all the way to Boston to make confession of a great crime. They tell us that so long ago as 1793 they perverted the Free School Fund, which the donor designed for the use of the poor people of Williamstown, to the use of their college, that it was a great violation of a sacred trust. It is very strange that these trustees all of a sudden should be filled with so great a compunction on the subject of returning these funds when all concerned are satisfied with their possessing them. What can be the object of this extraordinary penitential confession? Do they want absolution? No, that is not what they want. What can be their object? In consideration of their confessing one crime, they ask your indulgence to be permitted to commit another. They tell you in so many words that we have for seven and twenty years been perverting to our own use and contrary to the will of the donor one half of our present funds, in consideration of which we pray liberty *to abscond with the residue!*

This well-reasoned report of the joint committee of the Legislature, approved by large majorities in both branches, brought the agitation for the removal of Williams College to a dead standstill. All parties to the controversy had taken the ground distinctly, that but one college was needed or could be sustained in western Massachusetts. Williams had now been established twenty-five years. Its foundations could not be legally removed. Therefore, ran the expected and partially drawn inference, that the western end of the State will now unite to sustain the college already formed on its extreme border, as the rest of the State had already gathered around Cambridge, on its extreme eastern border. The people of Northampton and its vicinity on the river took this general view of the case, then, and for long after, showing a strong disposition to patronize the western college. But the general phases of the question soon broadened from out the mere matter of place and moderate foundations already laid to the westward, and developed considerations of race and religion and even of theology. Scotch-Irish Presbyterians settled in Worcester in 1718 in large numbers, and thence and by gradual accretions from their sort of folks in the north of Ireland diffused themselves over the whole of western Massachusetts, — sometimes going in colonies so as to constitute townships, as in the case of Pelham (which is next to Amherst) and Colerain and Palmer (which are in the neighborhood); and sometimes migrating in smaller groups for contiguous new settlements, and more rarely as individual families or farmers. Their names do not shine so much as subscribers to the "Charity Fund" connected with Amherst Academy, which became

the basis of Amherst College, because they were too poor for the most part for subscriptions and payments in money.

But when it came to the erection of the first college building in 1820, still standing on the ground as "South College," and labor and materials and provisions for the workmen were solicited by the committee, their opportunity had come. "The stone for the foundation was brought chiefly from Pelham by gratuitous labor, and provisions for the workmen were furnished by voluntary contributions. Donations of lime, sand, lumber, materials of all kinds, flowed in from every quarter. Teams for hauling, and men for handling and tending, and unskilled labor of every sort, were provided in abundance. Whatever could be contributed gratuitously was furnished without money and without price. The people not only contributed in kind, but turned out in person, and sometimes camped on the ground and labored day and night, for they had a mind to work like the Jews in building their temple, and they felt that they too were building the Lord's house." Noah Webster, the lexicographer, then a citizen of Amherst, and president of the board of building, an eye-witness, and a man never given to exaggerations, used this language: "Notwithstanding the building committee had no funds for erecting the building, not even a cent, except what were to be derived from gratuities in labor, materials, and provisions, yet they prosecuted the work with untiring diligence. Repeatedly during the progress of the work, their materials were exhausted, and they were obliged to notify the president of the board, that they could proceed no further. On these occasions the president called together the trustees, or a number of them, who by subscriptions of their own, and by renewed solicitations for voluntary contributions, enabled the committee to prosecute the work. And such were the exertions of the board, the committee, and the friends of the Institution, that on the ninetieth day from the laying of the corner-stone, the roof timbers were erected on the building."

In early May, 1821, at a meeting of the Trustees of Amherst Academy, it "Voted unanimously that the Rev. Zephaniah Swift Moore be, and he is hereby elected President of the Charity Institution in this town. Voted that the permanent salary of the President of this Institution for his services as President and Professor of Theology and Moral Philosophy be $1200, and that he is entitled to the usual perquisites."

In early June, in his letter of acceptance, dated at Williamstown, President Moore says: "Previous to receiving any notice of your appointment I had made up my mind to resign my office in this

College next Commencement. Providence had clearly made it consistent with my duty to leave then, if not sooner. I have ascertained, so far as I have had opportunity, the opinion of those who are the friends of evangelical truth with respect to the necessity, prospects, and usefulness of such an Institution as that contemplated at Amherst. I have much reason to believe there is extensively an agreement on this subject. In my own opinion, no subject has higher claims on the charity and benevolent efforts of the Christian community than the education of pious young men for the gospel ministry. Their classical education should be thorough, and I should be wholly averse to becoming united with any institution which proposes to give a classical education inferior to that given in any of the Colleges in New England. On this subject I am assured your opinion is the same as my own, and that you have determined that the course of study in the Institution to which yon have invited me shall not be inferior to that in the Colleges of New England. I am also assured that you will make provision for the admission of those who are not indigent, and who may wish to obtain a classical education in the Institution."

Dr. Moore had left town in the spring vacation, without a thought of any such thing on the part of the students as their losing their president, least of all to Amherst. Almost all of them had a high veneration for him. As it was settled that the College could not be legally moved from Williamstown, it had never apparently occurred to them that the president would move away without it. At the commencement of the summer term, almost immediately after writing the above letter of acceptance, he came into the chapel and announced to the students that he had received such an invitation; and that he had accepted it, with the provision that he should perform the duties of his office at Williamstown till the ensuing Commencement, and then remove to Amherst. Said an eye-and-ear witness: "This fell upon the students like a thunderbolt. One would have supposed, from the strong attachment which the students felt for the president, that the whole would have resolved in a body to follow him. There came up at once, however, a division of feeling among them. The students then numbered about eighty, of whom nearly one-half resolved to go to Amherst, or to other colleges. The rest determined to remain at Williamstown. Some who despaired of Williams College were unwilling to go to Amherst, because it was a new college, and could not of course afford equal advantages with the older institutions. Hence they went to other colleges; and at the commencement of that year the number of

students in Williams College, small as it was before, was diminished nearly one-half."[1]

During this last term of Moore's presidency on this ground, there was much more debating than studying. College undergraduates are generally a remarkably consequential set of men. Like Atlas, they bear the world upon their shoulders. One party of the students thought that their abandonment of the College would destroy it as a public institution; and the other, that the College could not die while it enjoyed their own powerful presence and patronage. Moore, of course, was quietly awaiting the time of his demission. It was not his duty or purpose to interfere essentially with the semi-anarchy that prevailed in College throughout the summer term. It was no time for discipline or authority while college foundations were breaking up. Studies went nominally forward in all the classes. At the time of the Senior examination, four weeks before Commencement, when always a part of the trustees came together to examine the class preparatory to graduation, the venerable Dr. Hyde of Lee, then and for twenty years the vice-president of the College, called the students together in the old chapel and addressed them. Regretting the loss of the president so much valued, he remarked that, though the president was about to retire, the guardians of the College would remain; and they were determined, by the help of God, *that the College should be sustained.* This declaration by such a cautious man at such a time had a considerable effect in restoring hope and zeal. But when the first acts of the trustees at this meeting and their issue became known the clouds returned for a while. As their custom had been previously in case of vacancy, they elected two alternate candidates for the place, Professor Goodrich of Yale and Professor McCauley of Union College. Both in turn declined. The students knew nothing of any further action of the trustees in order to obtain a president until Commencement Day.

In the meantime, prospects on College ground continued gloomy enough. President Moore was remaining simply to preside at the Commencement exercises, and to help induct his successor, if one should be found. Some members of the Senior class had just asked for dismissions, in order to take their degrees at other colleges; others were now wavering. Under these disheartening circumstances, the Senior class called a meeting of their own members in order to determine what to do. This proved to be, probably, the most important class-meeting that ever was holden on this ground. Two members of the class, Emerson Davis and Erastus C. Benedict, ad-

[1] Parsons Cooke, a graduate of 1822.

dressed the class. They spoke with a noble determination to sustain, so far as they were able, the honor and reputation of the College at all hazards. They declared their intention to remain and to have a Commencement; that, if left entirely by themselves, they would still be graduated in the usual manner; and that, if necessary, they would perform all the several parts which had been allotted to their classmates. When was ever such courage and resolve under thick difficulties lost upon compeers? They rallied to a man. The parts were all acceptably rendered by those to whom they had been originally assigned; fifteen men took their degrees upon the stage in due form at the hands of President Moore, and in the presence (as it happened) of his distinguished successor.

The two Seniors, Benedict and Davis, who took such a stand at the critical moment in behalf of the College, lived to find a rich and long reward upon this ground for their youthful and enthusiastic service. Both became tutors, Davis immediately and Benedict two years after graduation. Davis became a trustee in 1833, and in that capacity was never absent from the Commencement, nor from 1845 when he went on the Standing Committees from the Senior examination, until his death in 1866. He was vice-president of the College also, fifth and last, from 1859 so long as he lived. He went from his tutorship here in its second year to become principal of the Westfield Academy, and was settled in a lifelong ministry there in 1836. Being relatively near at hand, a good scholar and a prudent counsellor, he was relied on more than any other one of the trustees for special attendance and for special service. In 1861 he presided at the Commencement exercises on account of the absence of President Hopkins in Europe. He was a very corpulent man in person, very considerate in counsel, always very popular in Williamstown as well as in Westfield, and always particularly welcomed and honored here by his classmate and colleague-trustee from 1838, Dr. Henry L. Sabin. Benedict too became a trustee of the college in 1855, and continued active and faithful as such till his death in 1880. He played also a very prominent part in the intellectual and professional and educational life of New York City during a long and highly honored career.

That Commencement Day of 1821 became memorable for other reasons than these just referred to and implied.

(1) It was the time of the first steps toward the formation of the Society of Alumni. A public call was then issued, Aug. 25, 1821, in the following terms: "Williams College. A meeting of the Alumni of Williams College will be held at the College Chapel, Sept.

5, at 9 A.M., to consider the expediency of forming a Society of Alumni. The meeting is notified at the request of a number of gentlemen educated at the institution, who are desirous that the true state of the College may be known to the Alumni, and that the influence and patronage of those it has educated may be united for its support, protection, and improvement. A general meeting is requested."

The meeting thus notified assembled pursuant thereto, and the following preamble and constitution were adopted: —

For the promotion of literature and good fellowship among ourselves, and the better to advance the reputation and interests of our Alma Mater, we the subscribers, graduates of Williams College, do form ourselves into a society, and adopt the following constitution:

ART. 1. This Society shall be called the Society of the Alumni of Williams College.

ART. 2. This Society shall meet annually at the College, at the time of the annual Commencement.

ART. 3. An address shall also be delivered at each meeting by one of its members chosen for that purpose.

ART. 4. The officers of this Society shall consist of a President, Vice-President, Secretary, and an Executive Committee of three members, to be chosen by ballot at the annual meeting.[1]

Asa Burbank, class of 1797, was the first president. John Woodbridge, class of 1804, delivered the first oration in 1823. For forty years and more an alumni orator seldom failed to appear at Commencement; and for sixty years the Society itself in its varied agencies in behalf of the College, and especially the alumni meetings at Commencement, were the most efficient and far-reaching and enjoyable of all the moral forces of the institution.

(2) It was also Moore's last official day in Williamstown. He is said to have presided and to have performed all his parts with noticeable dignity, and to have welcomed upon the stage at the beginning of the afternoon exercises with striking decorum a man taller than himself and even more punctiliously dressed, and better calculated every way to impress the senses and imagination of a crowd. This was Edward Dorr Griffin. He was then fifty-one years old, at the height of his popularity as a preacher and a revivalist. He had been quietly elected by the trustees to take the now twice rejected presidency, and had come on to see for himself before he decided the

[1] There were two or three further articles of little consequence, specifying the duties of the officers, and so on.

question. He looked around upon the interior of a large meeting-house full in body and galleries with common people, who were attentively listening to exercises in which they seemed to have themselves a part. He saw upon the stage some ten or twelve venerable-looking men, who were charged and seemed to be charged with heavy responsibilities at that moment. They were the trustees. The eldest of them in point of service was Alvan Hyde of Lee, then vice-president of the College, and feeling more the weight of the occasion than any one else present. About one-half of these men were clergymen, and most of the rest were lawyers. No one of them all went back in point of official life to the original board as organized in 1793. It was the second generation of trustees.

Griffin had practised for many years the art of being consciously looked at, — of making an impression upon others by posture and gesture and bearing. Doubtless on that decisive afternoon he scanned with eager curiosity the words and actions of the man whose position he had been invited to assume. Moore and Griffin were both born the same year, 1770. Both were corpulent in body, both scrupulous in dress, and both intellectual-looking. But Moore did not disclose in his countenance the whole of his mental and moral make-up in the sense in which Griffin did. Moore was by much the deeper man. On this afternoon, when they saw each other at close quarters for the first and last time, Moore had the moral advantage over Griffin, not only in securer gifts and a deeper insight, but also in a more settled and restful spirit. Griffin had never been long at a time quiet and restful in his work. In the twenty years just then preceding, 1801–21, he had been twice settled and unsettled in the gospel ministry in Newark; inaugurated as Professor of Sacred Rhetoric in the new Theological Seminary at Andover, and had shortly resigned and quitted the place in a kind of disgust; and had been both installed and dismissed as a pastor of the Park Street church in Boston. Now he had come on from a second loosening up of his ties in Newark, in order to see whether it were worth his while to try something new in Williamstown.

But Moore was in a very different frame of mind. He had consciously done all that he could do, and probably more than any other living man could have done in the time, for the smitten Institution upon the Hoosac. He had spent six full years in the very fulness of his powers to accomplish that for Williams which he did not believe at the outset could be effectively accomplished. He had succeeded better than he had expected. He had more than satisfied the anticipations of his colleagues of the Board of Trustees.

They were very desirous that he should remain. The people of the town, who had been most intimately associated with the College in all things, and with whom Moore had made himself pleasant and popular in the best senses of those words, were very desirous that he should pitch his tent and continue to dwell with them. Besides various personal and spiritual reasons, there were property reasons a plenty, why the common people were anxious he should stay. The value of their farms depended very largely on the prosperity of the College. Any markets for their products outside of the valley itself were distant and difficult to reach. The pecuniary interests of the people were bound up in their pride of the past of the Free School and the College, and in their hopes of the future of these. Moore had done his best, and had done his all; and his mind was clear, that nothing further could be really achieved by anybody as towards a permanent building up of the College.

This is negative. But Moore had positive grounds of good cheer on that Commencement Day, which probably made him the happiest man upon the stage, as its hours wore away. He had received and accepted an invitation to become president of a literary and religious institution, whose foundations had just been laid by and among his own people, the peculiar Scotch-Irish-American Christians, who were just entering upon the second century of their individual and corporate existence in New England; whose tenets were and were to be religious in a commanding, if not exclusive sense, not even as yet aspired to, still less fairly grasped at, in the older institution bordering on and accessible to and already colored by the broader and looser principles of Dutch New York; and whose form and superstructure were to be moulded from the very start by his own skilful and experienced, and no longer hesitating hands. His heart was over the mountains. His kindred were there. They were there, who construed the vital conditions of human life and destiny under somewhat different terms — "ein bischen anderen Wörtern" — than those then used by the devout descendants in New England of the Pilgrims and the Puritans. There is a sense in which Amherst College came out of the very loins of Williams through this great and good man, Zephaniah Swift Moore; its very first college building, for example, was and remains an exact copy of the very first college building in Williamstown; while there is another sense, in which the very first breathings at Amherst and its most persistent and characteristic spirit from that day to this, were drawn from (as it were) a different and a deeper lung than that rising and falling under the inspirations and expirations in the secluded valley to the westward.

These pages have no call to delineate in detail the origins and the developments at Amherst. That work has already been admirably done by the admirable Professor Tyler. At the same time it is not possible for any one to gain a thorough understanding of the beginnings and increasings at the Hampshire institution, without comprehending their radical relations with the previous and preparatory happenings in Berkshire. Moore is common property in the two counties. Each has perhaps equal summons to do him honor. He died in Amherst within less than two years after crossing the mountain from Williamstown in company with Theophilus Packard the day after the Commencement of 1821. His widow survived him there until 1857, and nourished assiduously the property he left by will to the institution, the "Moore scholarships," so called, the income of which is steadily increasing by putting a part of the annual interest to the principal, and the number of the beneficiaries, college candidates for the Christian ministry, is increasing also from time to time. There never was any real and rational ground for a feeling, that has been traditionally kept up in Williamstown almost till the present time, and that has found some expression in books and pamphlets illustrative of Williams College history, namely, that somehow or other, by somebody or other, the older institution was wronged or worsted by the newer one in the course of these troubles and overturnings. There is evidence that no unkind feelings have ever been cherished at Amherst toward Williams under color of those early occurrences.[1] Moore's last will and testament throws additional light upon the pure motives of the man, and upon the extraordinary difficulties surrounding the establishment of any institution at all at Amherst, and so indirectly upon the religious fervor and the indomitable perseverance of the poor people, who, humanly speaking, created it. The will expressly provided that, *if the institution should not be incorporated by the Legislature of the State*, to which incorporation tremendous opposition had already been developed at both ends of the State and even in Northampton and other leading towns in the middle, the funds should be diverted into another charitable direction; and further, if the institution, though incorporated, *should ever become extinct, or should not give a thorough course of classical education* like the other colleges of New England, then the gift was to take a diverse direction altogether. These clauses of his will show

[1] I am glad of an indirect opportunity of acknowledging the courtesy of the entire body of Amherst students in inviting me to lecture before them on the subject of Free Trade. A more intelligent and appreciative audience of students I have never addressed.

(1) the high estimate that Moore put upon classical education; (2) his uncertainty whether the new institution would be incorporated, or perpetuated, even if it were; and (3) the absence of any possible motive of selfish aggrandizement in going to Amherst.

A few days after this notable Commencement of 1821, the word began to spread from lip to lip in Williamstown, and then in other towns throughout the county of Berkshire, that Dr. Griffin had accepted the presidency at Williams, moved thereto largely by what he had seen upon that stage and by what he had learned in talk from trustees and others on the spot. It was good news indeed to Berkshire folks. It lifted the spirits of every farmer and church-goer in Williamstown. They knew indeed very little about the requisites for a successful college president, because those requisites had certainly not then been ascertained by anybody scarcely even in outline; at the present time the multiform inductions of two centuries in New England have not yet passed over into firm generalizations upon this subject; for the risks of an experiment seem to attend and overshadow the induction of each new college president, and in at least one half of the cases relative failure is the actual result. In those early days the chief criterion pointing to a possible college president was his power as a pulpit orator. That striking gift once conceded, boards of college control seemed to think there was no need of looking farther. The choice of Jonathan Edwards as president of the college at Princeton in 1757, while he was the missionary preacher at Stockbridge, is a good illustration of this prevailing criterion; and portions of his own reply to this choice and offer from Princeton exhibit more sound sense of the actual conditions of success in an average college president, than any forty letters known to the writer conveying to average candidates such choice and offer, and from them conveying acceptance of these.

STOCKBRIDGE, Oct. 19, 1757.

REV. AND HON. GENTLEMEN,

I was not a little surprised, on receiving the unexpected notice of your having made choice of me, to succeed the late President Burr, as the Head of Nassau Hall.

I am much in doubt, whether I am called to undertake the business, which you have done me the unmerited honour to choose me for.

The chief difficulties in my mind, in the way of accepting this difficult and arduous office, are these two: first, my own defects, unfitting me for such an undertaking, many of which are generally known; besides others, of which my own heart is conscious.

I have a constitution, in many respects peculiarly unhappy, attended with flaccid solids, vapid, sizy and scarce fluids, and a low tide of spirits; often occa-

sioning a kind of childish weakness and contemptibleness of speech, presence and demeanor, with a disagreeable dulness and stiffness, much unfiting me for conversation, but more especially for the government of a college.

This makes me shrink at the thoughts of taking upon me, in the decline of life, such a new and great business, attended with such a multiplicity of cares, and requiring such a degree of activity, alertness and spirit of government; especially as succeeding one so remarkably well qualified in these respects [Burr was Edwards's son-in-law], giving occasion to every one to remark the wide difference.

I am also deficient in some parts of learning, particularly in Algebra, and the higher parts of Mathematics, and in the Greek Classics; my Greek learning having been chiefly in the New Testament. The other thing is this; that my engaging in this business will not well consist with those views, and that course of employ in my study, which have long engaged and swallowed up my mind, and been the chief entertainment and delight of my life.

My heart is so much in these studies, that I cannot find it in my heart to be willing to put myself into an incapacity to pursue them any more in the future part of my life, to such a degree as I must, if I undertake to go through the same course of employ, in the office of president, that Mr. Burr did, instructing in all the languages, and taking the whole care of the instruction of one of the classes, in all parts of learning, besides his other labors. If I should see light to determine me to accept the place offered me, I should be willing to take upon me the work of a president, so far as it consists in the general inspection of the whole society; and to be subservient to the school as to their order and methods of instruction, assisting, myself, in the immediate instruction of the arts and sciences, (as discretion should direct, and occasion serve, and the state of things require,) especially of the senior class; and added to all, should be willing to do the whole work of a professor of divinity, in public and private lectures, proposing questions to be answered, and some to be discussed in writing and free conversation, in meetings of graduates and others, appointed in proper seasons, for these ends. It would be now out of my way, to spend time in a constant teaching of the languages; unless it be the Hebrew tongue; which I should be willing to improve myself in, by instructing others.

Edward Dorr Griffin, when he was chosen president of Williams in 1821, stood in a high and just repute as a pulpit orator. So far as this was a qualification for such a post in such a place at that time, then was he well qualified for the position. He had gained no other reputation, and never afterward acquired any other. His childhood fell in the troublous times of the Revolution, and they were nowhere more troublous than in central Connecticut. His health was too feeble to be put to hard work on the farm of his well-to-do father, and consequently he was kept almost constantly at school till he entered Yale College at sixteen, where he was graduated in 1790. Delicate health in boyhood did not prevent his developing a gigantic body in early manhood, full six feet three in height, well proportioned throughout, and without any undue obe-

sity, weighing at the maximum two hundred and forty pounds. The only feature that was decidedly lacking, in comparison with the rest, was the nose; he had a small nose; and this was significant in his case, as it almost invariably is in others, of a lack of certain manly and executive qualities. He had a voice of immense compass and of remarkable melody: he could bellow like a bull of Bashan, if he only had occasion; and he could pronounce the word "Mesopotamia" with almost the witchery of Whitefield himself. The effect of his personal presence upon strangers, whether singly or in crowds, was uniformly impressive to a high degree; he was completely conscious of this fact, and had a good right to be; and he studied constantly for himself, and came to be an excellent critic of others, in the whole region of oratorical posture and gesture, action and repose. His countenance was bright, and full of actual or possible sympathy with audiences, of whatever kind and under whatever dominating emotions. His eyes were small and not deeply set in the head, but they kindled easily, and, under provocation of strong thought and feeling, into great brilliancy. When he came to Williamstown in 1821, the hair upon his lofty head was as white as it ever afterward became; and there was accordingly an aspect of venerableness as well as of brooding benignity and of a dominating personal power, that helped to make up this striking impressiveness.

He was said to be proficient in all the studies of his college course, and to have been graduated with honors; but he seems to have kept up no studies in his post-graduate life except the theological ones; and indeed "theology," so called, was his pride and his life-work, and he had no doubt that the Bible held the data, and his own mind the logical power, for the construction of a complete statement of all the ways of God with man. This is perhaps scarcely to be wondered at in his case, because Jonathan Edwards, a man beyond all comparison with Griffin abler and humbler and purer-minded, had written a half-century before what he called a "*History of the Work of Redemption*, a body of divinity in an entire new method, being thrown into the form of a history; beginning from Eternity, and descending from thence to the great work and successive dispensations of the infinitely wise God, in time; till at last, we come to the general resurrection, last judgment, and consummation of all things; concluding my work, with the consideration of that perfect state of things, which shall be finally settled, to last for Eternity. This history will be carried on with regard to all three worlds, Heaven, Earth and Hell; considering the connected,

successive events and alterations in each, so far as the scriptures give any light." This extract is from Edwards's letter to the trustees of Princeton. The monstrous and baseless assumptions in it of ample knowledge of the "three worlds" and of the two Eternities, spring from a total misunderstanding of the origin and nature and divine purpose of the Bible. Griffin had no more question of his own ability to construct a perfect "Doctrine of Atonement," than Edwards had of his to write (the words are his own) "the most beautiful and entertaining History of Redemption." When Nathaniel Emmons, an older and more profound divine than Griffin, published his own view on the Atonement, which only differed from Griffin's as tweedledum from tweedledee, the latter wrote to the former:—

MY DEAR BROTHER: I have read your Sermon on the Atonement, and have wept over it.

Affectionately Yours,

E. D. GRIFFIN.

To which Dr. Emmons replied:—

DEAR SIR: I have read your letter and laughed at it.

Yours,

NATH'L EMMONS.

It ought, perhaps, to be added in passing, for we have no concern with the "theologies" of that time or of any time except as they bear on the fortunes of a small country town and college, that these treatises and sermons, and scores of others like them, sprung, as it were, from an underlying philosophy now discredited everywhere, were matters of mere speculation, having very little reference to the words of our blessed Lord and particularly to the words of His divine prayer. They became, accordingly, the wonder of an hour. They started up like mushrooms in a fertile soil, and decayed into a speedy forgetfulness.

It was scarcely known at all at the time, and before very long became a point of little consequence to anybody, the reason why Griffin left after only two years Andover Theological Seminary and a professorship, for which he was extremely well adapted, namely, the chair of Pulpit Eloquence. The seminary was then new, Andover Hill, now so charming, was then a rough and rocky and unsightly place, and the school was located there largely for the same reason that a college was located at Amherst, namely, that it might be in the midst of, and be partially supported by, devout and self-denying Scotch-Irish-Americans. William Bartlett, a merchant of Salem, who is estimated by those familiar with the facts to have given $250,000

to start and forward the infant seminary, founded the professorship of which Griffin was the first incumbent, and generously offered to build him a house. Instead of hiring an architect to plan, and securing a contractor to construct, a proper house in such a place for such a purpose, he gave his professor *carte blanche* to build the house himself, promising to foot the bills as they came in. This he did, and said nothing, as their aggregate mounted up to a sum perhaps three times greater than had been expected. Griffin's good taste and sound judgment as a builder was evidenced, in the expensive levelling and preliminary preparation of the rocky site, and in the erection of a house that still remains conspicuous for excellence among the Seminary buildings; but his thorough architecture at another's expense subjected him to much ridicule in connection with some personal peculiarities, and so made Andover an unpleasant place for him to live and work in. The students were reluctant to have him leave them, for they prized his rhetorical instructions and example. Park Street Church in Boston was then a-building with a view of becoming an orthodox bulwark against Unitarianism and other liberal religious opinions, at that time beginning strongly to assert themselves in Boston. Griffin accepted a call to that pastorate; and for four years did good work there along the line of his call, when he returned to Newark as a pastor, whence he came to Williams as president in 1821. The influences that induced him to come were not merely what he saw and heard on the spot at the Commencement time of that year, but also, as is verbally stated in Sprague's "Annals of the American Pulpit," "owing chiefly to some unpropitious circumstances which had prevented the growth of his congregation [in Newark], and rendered them unable to continue to him a competent support, he determined to accept and did accept this appointment."

His reputation as a preacher enabled him to anchor most of the students then on the ground, excepting the fifteen who went to Amherst with Dr. Moore, and to attract for about ten years a considerable number, who would not probably have come here otherwise. The people of the town were greatly favorable to his presidency for reasons already indicated in another connection, — it would be likely to enhance the value of their property, and it would give them a chance to hear extraordinary preaching in their own meeting-house one-third of the time during each college year. Before Dr. Griffin got settled in the president's house or was formally inducted into his office, a set of circumstances occurred that drew the hearts of the people toward him in a striking and unusual manner. He thought to get settled in the summer vacation

and to begin strong at the opening of the fall term. In those days the journey from Newark to Williamstown was waterwise. Having arrived at Troy, his eldest daughter was taken sick. He left her there with her mother, and proceeded to Williamstown with his other daughter. These constituted his entire family. Returning again to Troy he found that daughter in a dangerous condition with the typhus fever. While he was waiting upon her there, the other daughter was taken sick in Williamstown, first with the measles and then with a bilious fever, which threatened her life. Having again returned to Williamstown for the care of her, he soon received a summons to go back to Troy in the expectation to see his eldest daughter die. When he came the doctor told him that if she survived the next day, she would be liable to be taken every half hour for three weeks. But she lived. And so did the other. It was full seven weeks from the time when his family were separated at Troy, before they could all be united again in the new home. In the meantime the whole town was moved. These trying events brought all, both in the College and in the town, into such intimate sympathy with him and his, that all seemed to become but one family in the share which they had in these afflictions of a stranger. Having been exhibited to them as one of themselves in these most vital relations of life, they were prepared to receive him and stand up for him and assist him when afterward exhibited to them in traits and peculiarities calculated perhaps to excite their ridicule.

Before the recovery of his children was complete, his formal inauguration into the office of president of the College took place. We are indebted to an eye-witness, Parsons Cooke, then a member of the Senior class and afterward distinguished as a preacher and pastor and editor of a religious newspaper, for some particulars of this inauguration of Dr. Griffin, the third in a series, which reached in 1881 its sixth number. "He of course was not in a state of mind, nor in circumstances, to produce a labored discourse on that occasion. It was understood that he was only to make a few offhand remarks; which he did, and which were of course well received. The aspect of the scene was a fit emblem of the previous condition of the College. It was one of those dark, chilly, rainy days, which the word November suggests; when a handful of students, forty-eight all told, constituting the whole body then in Williams College, gathered, with a few of the people of the town, into what was then one of the largest and one of the most dreary of country meeting-houses, for a ceremonial which requires quite different circumstantials to render it imposing. After his short address had been delivered the forms of

his induction were passed through on the part of the Trustees. The Professor of Languages then addressed the president, in Latin, welcoming him to his position, and the whole was closed by a prayer by the late Dr. Shepard of Lenox, the sublime roll of whose utterance, after more than thirty years, has scarcely ceased its reverberations in our ears."

This Dr. Samuel Shepard, a graduate of Yale in 1793, a trustee from 1808, and from 1834 till his death in 1846 the vice-president of the College, held an uncommonly successful pastorate in Lenox for over fifty years. "He exhibited a firm flow of spirits." Perhaps his voice was not more remarkable in compass and mellowness and flexibility than was Dr. Griffin's, but the echoes of it in Berkshire tradition are clearer and more pleasing. The Professor of Languages, who took part in the inauguration on that chill November day, was Ebenezer Kellogg. He was graduated at New Haven in 1810, delivering there, like Samuel Shepard before him, the salutatory oration at Commencement. He was the fourth person to be selected a professor here, Mackay and Olds and Dewey having in that order been elected before 1815, when Kellogg began what proved to be a thirty years' professorship in the ancient languages. Eleven years after this he married a wife, and moved out of the northeast corner room of the old West College, second story, into a house that stood a little west on the Main Street of the old president's house. So long as he roomed in West College, he made it a point to call at all the occupied rooms in that building at least once a day, in order to see whether the students were in their rooms, and attending to their studies. This infinitesimal supervision of his gave him the nickname of P K, which is, the requisite vowels being supplied, "*Peek.*" He was a man of small person, conscientiously devoted to small duties, and wholly unfitted to inspire in his students any enthusiasm for the Latin and Greek languages, of which he was a routine and only rudimentary master. If he had intelligently spent a part of his time wasted in useless and unwelcome visits, in studying his own lessons day by day in order to bring out something from the text fresh and interesting to the minds of his pupils, at the same time teaching them to respect him as a living teacher making constant progress himself, and as a manly man able and willing to *trust* a class of students until he found out who of them (if any) were untrustworthy, he would have helped to make the six years of Moore's presidency less dreary, and have contributed to make that worthy official more hopeful than he was of the success of the College on this ground.

It is plain enough from the obituary discourse of Mark Hopkins, preached in October, 1846, just after the death of Professor Kellogg, that the latter had many merits as a college officer. "*Very pleasant hast thou been unto me,*" was the text of that discourse. In his relations to his colleagues he was perhaps all that could be desired. If odium were to be incurred by college discipline, he was always ready to take his full share of it. He was faithful in counsel, prudent in action, patient in investigation, supporting in his small and cautious way each of the three presidents with whom he served. But the first and dominating duties of a college professor are to the individuals and classes whom he is called on to instruct. Unless he can gain their confidence as an individual seeking solely their good, secure their personal respect for his intelligence and ability and independence, and inspire in their minds, little by little and increasingly, some enthusiasm in the studies they are pursuing together, he makes of necessity a failure in his professorship. Many times has this been exemplified upon this ground. The true and only primary constituents of a college teacher are his pupils. Unless he can gain substantially and after a fair trial their suffrages in good will and in a sense of obligation to him for good and steady impulses received, he will remain a non-elect in his college position, no matter how useful he may be to his colleagues in relations outside of the class-room, or how faithfully he may pick up the hundred-and-one things that need to be done, and that belong to no one in particular to do. "*Very pleasant hast thou been unto us,*" is the verdict from the lips of his pupils, that at once acquits the college teacher of the minor faults and infidelities which belong to all men, and marks him out a true success in the essentials of his position.

It has often been repeated of Professor Kellogg, in substance, that the students respected him more after they had left college, than when they were under his immediate instruction and inspection. The proverb has been quoted in application to him: "He that rebuketh a man, afterwards shall find more favor than he that flattereth with his tongue." In the deliberate judgment of the present writer, there is a harmful fallacy in the more or less current expression and implication, that if a college officer perform faithfully his whole duty to the college, he must expect to be unpopular with the students, and wait for his reward (so far as they are concerned) until they are out of sight and hearing. The reverse of all this is much nearer the truth. Everything turns on what is his whole duty to the college. His primary and essential duty to the college, to which everything else is subsidiary and incidental, comes within the

circuit of his own lecture-room. He is always to remember, that each of his pupils has the same right and impulse and opportunity to ascertain what manner of spirit he is of, that he has to find out and pass judgment upon each of his pupils *seriatim*. Their sharp eyes are rightfully upon him from the first meeting till the last; they are under no disadvantage as compared with him in coming to slow and sound conclusions as to mutual motives and character; perhaps they are young together, and if so, all the surer is the mutual understanding between teacher and pupils. Many professors forget this, or never stop to think of it in its bearings upon themselves, and pass their swift judgments upon their pupils, as if they had the monopoly along this line of impression and conclusion, and as if they could hold themselves inscrutable while scrutinizing at their leisure their fellow-mortals of less experience. There is nothing inscrutable or unfathomable in a college lecture-room. They who suppose there is, and especially they who suppose they can keep back something in themselves from eager gaze and just estimate, only thereby expose themselves sooner or later to sterner judgments and a more difficult recovery of a mutually good understanding.

If a college teacher, whether young or old, of whatever grade or title, it makes no difference, both be and seem to be in his own class-room unselfish, communicative, progressive, competent, zealous, attractive, and kindly, an open type of a good teacher, he will be certain to receive from the most of his pupils, and have not very long to wait, recognition and approbation and coöperation and gratitude, and a lasting affection. He will thus put himself into a steady position to render easily and effectively all the other subordinate duties that come to him as a colleague with others, and as a general carer for the welfare of the college. But he cannot reverse this order. If he try to do so, he is doomed. If he be, and if he is he will certainly seem to be, rather a colleague and supporter of others than an independent worker in his own sphere; if he enter and occupy his class-room as if it were not his own throne-room, morally bowing to some supposed majesty on the outside whether single or plural; if he manifest in any way before his class as a teacher, that he represents in any special sense the faculty or its head, that he enjoys or desires any special support from that source, he is almost certain to forfeit thereby, not only the ability otherwise easily acquired to strengthen his colleagues and upbuild the college generally, but also the ability to maintain himself on a firm footing as an integral part of the college authority. To express the same thought in other words, a college is a democracy through and through,

as its name implies. The undergraduates, the body of graduates, the teaching body, and the body of the trustees, each with functions considerably distinct and yet considerably intermingled, is a democracy in spirit and in action. Each is voiced by a majority of its own, not necessarily by a majority of mere members, but of these and moral weight combined. The moment a spirit and claim of autocracy comes into any one of these four democracies, and with that a spirit and exhibition of subserviency and sycophancy of some toward others (whether toward one or a clique), there come in suspicions and divisions and disturbance and a sure loss of moral hold on the part of those who seek undue power.

Ebenezer Kellogg was not independent enough in his moral position and opinions to strengthen as he might have done the successive faculties of which he formed a part; he was not fresh and vigorous enough in his own class-room to secure and retain the steady respect and adherence of his pupils; and he consequently missed the first and fairest opportunity ever offered on this ground to push the classical studies as such into a front and equal rank with other advanced classes of studies. His colleague professor, Chester Dewey, perhaps as near the ideal type of the all-round professor as the College has ever shown, had already started the natural sciences into that foremost place, which they kept without a rival throughout the first third of the century. But Professor Kellogg was on the whole a useful college officer. He tried the patience of his colleagues by minute objections to all plans proposed by them, and even to plans proposed by himself. He often tried to magnify small faults of the students into disciplinary offences, and followed up as important little matters which wise men let drop. In one word, he had not a good sense of proportion as to the ordinary on-goings of college life. Yet in many things he had a clear eye to the benefit of the College and of the community. He originated the idea of the College garden, and of the Horticultural Society, which at one time embraced nearly every student in College. He himself purchased the ground for the College garden, and presented it to the corporation; and he devised the plan by which the members of the Horticultural Society divided their summer's task among themselves. "A share in the cultivation of a beautiful flower-bed has fallen to my lot," wrote David A. Wells in the spring of his Senior year. "Many improvements in the College grounds are to be made this summer. What a blessing is a large and luxuriant flower-garden." Wells was graduated in 1847, three years after Kellogg resigned his professorship on the ground of feeble

health, and one year after his death in Connecticut. In the first-mentioned year the corporation had occasion to build a new dormitory on the West College grounds, which they appropriately named "Kellogg Hall," for they placed it on the patch of land which Kellogg had bought for the College garden. The garden as such shortly after disappeared for obvious reasons, but the modest building still remains a memorial, rather of the gentle care-taker and gardener than of the first professor of ancient languages, who was also, in keeping with all this, for several years the superintendent of the Sunday-school at the Congregational church. The only lasting writing that Kellogg left behind him was the brief but excellent historical account of Williamstown in Rev. Dr. Field's "History of Berkshire County," published by "Gentlemen of the county, clergymen and laymen," in 1829. Taking all things into consideration and speaking generally, that book did great credit to those gentlemen who projected and executed it.

President Griffin found in active service at his accession the two professors, Dewey and Kellogg, and two tutors, Benedict and Wheeler. Benedict had caught, while in college, from Chester Dewey, whose sister he afterward married, the impulses of a good teacher and the fondness for the natural sciences which he exemplified for almost a life-time in the University of Vermont at Burlington. In that initiatory term of 1821, there were but forty-eight students in the whole College. Griffin himself took the entire charge of the studies and exercises of the Senior class, besides the labor of preaching one-third of the time (in term time) before the College and the town congregation worshipping together. He also proposed from the beginning to instruct a class in theology consisting of members of the Senior class and any post-graduates desiring the course. This, however, he carried out but one year, their numbers proving too few, and their preparation too inadequate, for the punctilio and profundity of a professor of theology. Only four persons are known to have taken this proffered course in the one year; and of these the chief was Parsons Cooke of the class of 1822, whose "Recollections of Dr. Griffin," published by the Massachusetts Sabbath-school Society thirty years later, have furnished the current pages with several interesting incidents. Cooke's college classmate, Woodbridge, a grandson of Jonathan Edwards through the latter's daughter Lucy, was afterward associated with him in the editorship of the "Puritan Recorder" of Boston. Both were also associated with Williamstown through their marriage with the

two Starkweather sisters, Hannah and Catherine, daughters of the old postmaster here.

Griffin was doubtless disappointed in the failure of his offered course in theology, as in several other matters connected with his presidency, but no blame is to be laid at his door for these. Contrary to an impression that has long prevailed, and that has been innocently deepened by several generations of well-wishers to the College, candidates for the ministry and even professors of religion were relatively few among the students during the first half-century of the College. The famous "haystack prayer-meeting" and its successors would never have been heard of, had not the few pious students in those days found it needful to seek out secluded and distant places for their devotions on account of the prevalence of levity and infidelity in the mass of the College. Dr. Griffin himself put on record some surprising statements respecting the paucity of Christian students in the earlier time. "During the first seven years of the existence of the College (in which ninety-three graduated in six classes), there were but five professors of religion in the institution, exclusive of two, who, seven months before the close of that period were brought into the church by revivals in Litchfield County. In three of the six classes just named there was not a single professor of religion. From the Commencement in 1798 till February, 1800, there was but one professor of religion in college. From the fall of that year [1800], in the four classes, which afterwards sent out eighty graduates, there were but two professors. The earliest revival known to this town commenced in the spring of 1805, and continued between two and three years. It soon extended to the College, where five began to hope. In the [next] spring a new impulse was given to the work. Mills and Hall entered college that spring. The work seems to have continued beyond the summer, for one account says, 'Thirteen were added to the church, of whom nine became ministers of the Gospel. Ten others were supposed to be subjects of the revival.'

"In January, 1812, another revival commenced in town, under the preaching of the Rev. Samuel Nott, one of the first five missionaries who went out that year to India. In April and May it extended to the College, chiefly to the lower classes. Twenty-four were hopefully converted then, and a number afterwards. In June, 1815, the first president, Dr. Fitch, left the College. His parting sermon had a great effect upon the students. A third revival followed. Fifteen were hopefully renewed in the course of the summer. In March, 1824, a fourth revival appeared to commence in the person

of William Hervey. Twelve or fourteen used to attend the inquiry meetings. Several obtained hopes, who endured but for a time. Hervey alone persevered. Of the others that were impressed, one obtained a hope in the summer of 1825, and another (Mark Hopkins) joined the church [in Stockbridge] after he was graduated. When College came together in October, 1825, the arrows of the Almighty stuck fast in several hearts. Some old hopes were scattered to the winds. A fifth revival ensued. During the latter part of the term the power was astonishingly great, affecting almost the whole College. Of eighty-five students, full seventy thought themselves Christians. The impression was kept up during the spring term, and then it ended. In this revival thirty-five experienced hopes, some of which were soon renounced. The sixth revival began about the 1st of March, 1827, and continued till vacation. It spent its chief force on the two lower classes, from which six professed religion. In October, 1828, some seriousness appeared, which continued through that and the next term. Nine visited me under some impressions. Inquiry meetings were set up. One obtained a hope, which was soon renounced. Not an individual held out. Three of them, however, have since given evidence of a saving change.

"A seventh revival appeared to commence in November, 1829. That month two gave evidence of piety, who still continue. High hopes were entertained and a determination was taken to pray till the blessing came. Meetings for prayer accompanied with considerable excitement were kept up through the term, and through the long winter vacation, and through the spring term. I attended until broken off by sickness in April, 1830. In the course of the winter, two more expressed hopes, one of which proved doubtful. On the evening of January 6, 1831, I was sent for to visit Troy, where the first in the series of protracted meetings in this region had lately been held, and where a great revival had begun. I went on the 8th, and returned on the 19th. Something had begun to appear in town before I left home, and on Friday evening, the 21st, I went to a meeting to tell the people what I had seen. One of the students, hearing that a statement was to be made, went, and was awakened. The next week we had a four days' meeting, beginning with a fast and ending with the communion Sabbath. This was the second protracted meeting in the series, and was attended with an evident blessing. A revival began in town. During the vacation two of the students obtained hopes here, and two more in Troy. When College came together, the 10th of February, it was a time of great solemnity. The month of March was full of power. By the 2d of April,

twenty, including those already mentioned, were apparently rejoicing in the truth. Of those, four soon renounced their hope; the other sixteen, for ought I know, still endure, and the greater part appear like devoted Christians. These eight revivals the pity of Heaven has granted to this College in twenty-six years, five of which, including two of less extent, have appeared in seven years.

"April 18, 1832. There is at the present moment the ninth revival going on in College. On the 18th of January we had a fast in town to pray for such a blessing in the College and congregation. After that, I recommended it to the students who stayed in vacation, to hold meetings for prayer. The third which we had was on the 1st of February, and I was invited to attend. I found the meeting uncommonly interesting and encouraging. I was then laboring under the commencement of a disease which confined me till the middle of March. In the interval, a protracted meeting was held in town, and a revival commenced there; and the spirit of prayer was greatly increased in College, and a spirit of inquiry began among the impenitent. The first hopeful conversion in College took place on the 16th of March, two days before I resumed my public labors in the house of God. There are seven students who now venture to hope that they have "passed from death unto life." Everything is conducted with perfect stillness and decorum. The means employed in these revivals have been but two, — the clear presentation of Divine truth and prayer. The meetings have been still and orderly, with no other sign of emotion among the hearers than the solemn look and the silent tear. We have been anxiously studious to guard against delusive hopes, and to expose the windings of a deceitful heart, forbearing all encouragement, except what the converts themselves could derive from Christ and the promises, knowing that any reliance on our opinion was drawing comfort from us, and not from the Saviour. We have not accustomed them to the bold and unqualified language that such a one *is* converted, but have used a dialect calculated to keep alive a sense of the danger of deception. For similar reasons we have kept them back from a public profession about three months."

These copious extracts, relating to the early religious history of the town and College, have all been copied from an elaborate letter of Dr. Griffin's to the Rev. Dr. Sprague of Albany, who later became his biographer and the editor of his published sermons. This matter is valuable, because it is the only corrected account extant of the early revivals of religion, so-called, in the town and the College, regarded as a part of one whole. This unity of interest and spirit as

between the two was strikingly exhibited upon almost all occasions during much the larger part of the first century of the College. The first severe strain and snap came in an unexpected quarter, and as between individual parties representing the two large and permanent bodies, of whom it could not have been reasonably anticipated. The present writer has preferred to introduce to his readers President Griffin rather upon his religious than upon his scholastic side, for the reason that that side is more characteristic of him and more favorable to him personally than the other. Griffin was called to Williams in dark times, solely on the ground that he had a large reputation as a preacher. The ground was too narrow to predicate success upon. It was too narrow to achieve success upon. But it was sound so far as it went. That quality in predominance could not make a good president for a struggling college as Williams was then. But it could call attention to the College, could diffuse a sort of glow over it, and could win some students of a certain grade and tendencies to it as pupils. This it did for a number of years. Strong religious motives were powerfully brought to bear upon these classes, in conjunction with relatively weak scholastic motives of the several kinds that a small college under those circumstances offers. Great good was accomplished on the whole. Two or three subordinate teachers did good work in their several departments. Griffin himself was a good teacher in the Senior classes of public reading and of rhetoric generally. He was a good critic of the efforts of the students in all their writing, and especially in all their elocution. He exemplified constantly before them in the class-room and in the pulpit sound principles of expression, both verbal and vocal.

But it is a curious point to notice, that Griffin's first decided break with his environment, the first emphatic clash between town and College, took place in relations at which there had always been the steadiest harmony between the two, namely, their religious relations and interactions. Rev. Whitman Welch, the first pastor in the town, a young man about whose career in life and death an extraordinary interest gathers, and apparently more and more as time glides on,[1] was followed in the pastorate by two men of greater age but lesser picturesqueness, and as well by an *interregnum* of more than six years, when, in October, 1816, another young man of unusual capacities, Rev. Ralph W. Gridley, was ordained and installed here. His father was a Massachusetts minister, and he was a graduate of Yale College in 1814. Like Welch, he commenced his ministry here in the freshness of his youth, made a straight path into the confidence

[1] See *Origins in Williamstown*, pp. 142, 463, 471, 473, 474, 528.

and affection of his people, and was a faithful and laborious pastor for almost eighteen years, when he was dismissed at his own request in 1834, in consequence of Griffin's sublimated disagreements with him as to methods and measures in conducting revivals on this conjoint ground, and removed with his family as a home missionary to Illinois, where his labors, though of comparatively short continuance, were greatly blessed. He died at Ottawa in 1840, greatly lamented by the churches and people to whom he ministered.

Gridley had been only five years a pastor, and was still comparatively a boy, when Griffin swooped down into the valley, as monarch of all he surveyed, in 1821. As it was his function to preach in the meeting-house one-third of the time throughout the college year, the students and the congregation felt and professed great admiration for the years-thumbed sermons of the celebrated president; and the conscientious young minister was put at a moral disadvantage, especially as before the students, the other two-thirds of the time; little by little, however, his modesty and fidelity and spiritual earnestness won on the congregation, who regarded him as their own, and more or less on the students also. During those revivals of religion already characterized for us by Dr. Griffin, which became common to the College and to the town, it was natural and inevitable that the management of these, so far as they prevailed in the town, should fall to the pastor, and so far as they prevailed in the College, to the president. Particularly this became the case in the winter of 1830, when the attendance of the president upon the meetings in town was broken off by sickness, and when we hear through him that the "meetings were attended with considerable excitement"; and also in the winter of 1831, when the president was invited to labor in Troy for two weeks, and "a protracted meeting" or two was holden in town. The pastor, as the younger and more open-hearted man of the two, less self-centred and opinionated, was much more favorable than the president to what was then called, in the parlance of the time, "*new measures*," in contrast controversially with "*old measures*." Mr. Finney, in his wonderfully useful evangelistic labors at about the same time, struck into this difference of opinion as to method, and clung the rather to "old measures" for many years. Perhaps the radical difference between the two may be expressed in this way: old measures kept the emphasis all the while upon the evangelist, — his hand was firmly on the throttle, and only such steam in such volume as he judged best was allowed to escape; while the "new measures" gave scope and expression to the feelings and choices of the special subjects of the revival. "Going forward for

prayer," or, as the same was sometimes called, "taking the anxious seat," and also time and encouragement given to the new converts to express publicly their feelings and determinations, were the two prominent criteria of the "measures" as contrasted.

As was entirely characteristic of the two men, Griffin was strenuous for orderly preaching and dominant leadership in all religious awakenings in which he profoundly believed and powerfully ministered; insensibly, as it were, in accordance with his entire make-up as a man and a minister, Gridley fell in with the more popular measures, and into a social and neighborhood leadership to which he was admirably adapted. This brought the two men and the two sets of measures into blunt antagonism. Griffin was falling into his dotage, which only intensified the natural and acquired imperiousness of his temper, and his overestimate of himself in relations with his colleagues and contemporaries. In the spring of 1833 he received a slight paralytic shock in his left side, which was plainly the beginning of the end; the subsequent year he became subject to a dropsical affection in his chest and lower extremities; and from that time it was evident to everybody but himself that the infirmities of age and disease had gathered upon him to abide. The pastor had no desire for contention, or even for its semblance. He only wished to loosen as readily as might be the strong ties that bound him to his own people, in order that he might realize his hope of greater usefulness in the West, in more untrammelled action as a home missionary. He was dismissed at his own request from the church and society here in April, 1834. Already more than sixty years has the fragrance of that good man's memory lingered in certain homes of his first and blessed settlement.

A month or two after Mr. Gridley's dismissal, at the instance of President Griffin, an independent church was formed in the College, with the president *pro tempore* as the college pastor, and this form of organization has continued till the present time. The initial ceremony of its formation was almost pathetic in its simplicity. Dr. Griffin had drawn up a series of articles of faith and the form of a mutual covenant, substantially the same that are still in use and acceptance, and had invited the faculty and the professors of religion among the students to a Sabbath service by themselves in the college chapel. These had previously obtained letters of dismissal from their respective churches and of recommendation to a new church to be constituted in this way. In a service of this character, President Griffin was more in his "element" than in any other possible earthly function. The professors and students present

presented to him their certificates, and, on being called by name, arose in their places in the chapel, and publicly assented to the articles of faith, and renewed their covenant with God and with each other. The three first names on the church records of these proceedings are those of Mark Hopkins, Albert Hopkins, and Simeon H. Calhoun. The first of these continued in uninterrupted communion and membership in the little church thus organized for fifty-three years, until his death in 1887. His brother Albert continued with him in such fellowship without change until his death in 1872. Simeon Howard Calhoun, then a tutor in the College, and later for a long lifetime an eminent missionary of the American Board on Mount Lebanon, held high the torch of life and light in intimate conjunction with the two others until his own death in 1876.

The following is the initial record of the college church, and also the names of the original members.

The faculty having decided to form a church in Williams College, for the sake of giving the students the advantages of its watch and care, invited those who were members of other churches to bring certificates of dismission and recommendation to the church about to be formed here. Whereupon the following persons, members of the Faculty and members of the classes, presented their certificates; and being called upon by the president as professor of divinity and pastor, they arose in the chapel on the 15th day of June, 1834, (being the Sabbath,) and publicly assented to the articles of faith, drawn up for the new church, and renewed their covenant with God and entered into covenant with each other, and thus formed themselves into a distinct church.

Mark Hopkins	Worcester Willey
Albert Hopkins	Hiram Bell
Simeon H. Calhoun	Samuel D. Darling
George H. Bassett	Anson L. Hobart
Nathaniel H. Griffin	Ephraim W. Kellogg
Royal Reed	Jeremiah A. Spencer
Samuel C. Wilcox	Edward Clark

Roland S. Howes [1]

This quiet founding of the college church on a June Sabbath in 1834 was the last official act of any special significance of President Griffin. He had already practically ceased to teach on account of bodily infirmities, although for a year longer he occasionally met the Senior class for some special exercise. Even this ceased a full year before his resignation in 1836. The late Joseph White of that class told the writer, that they never once met the president in their class-room for any purpose. He suffered from a species of gout, that made walking or standing extremely painful to him. It shows

[1] Copy furnished by Professor Fernald, clerk of the church.

the amazing self-conceit of the man in his old age, that, although he had been unfitted properly to perform the duties of a president ever after his first paralytic stroke in 1833, and although others came to perform in his stead all the functions of his place, he made not the slightest advance to the trustees in the way of the resignation of his place. At the Senior examination, in July, 1836, although the president had never heard a single recitation in that class, and although it was perfectly evident to the committee of trustees present that he could do nothing more for the College, and stood in the way of others doing what needed to be done, they were compelled to send one of their own number to him to tell him in so many words what a man of common sense and of a reasonable estimate of himself would have been conscious of certainly for an entire year, if not two years. The late Emerson Davis, of Westfield, was present at that Senior examination as one of the standing committee of trustees, and gave twenty years later the following written account of what then took place: —

> It was not entirely a spontaneous movement on his [Griffin's] part. It is not common for men, whose strength is declining, to be first to discover that their days of usefulness are at an end. At the Senior examination, in July, 1836, it was very manifest to the standing committee of the trustees, that Dr. Griffin would not be able to continue to perform the duties of his office another year. They foresaw that it would be necessary for the trustees to take some action on the subject at their annual meeting in August, and that it would be desirable that Dr. Griffin himself should bring the matter before the board, in such a form as should be agreeable to his feelings. The late Dr. Shepard of Lenox, as chairman of the committee, had a friendly interview with him, and told him frankly the fears they entertained in regard to his future labors. Dr. Griffin seemed at first astounded at the suggestion that he was an old man. "Is it possible," said he, "that I must retire from active service, at this period of my life, when most of my ancestors lived to a great age?" In the morning he met the committee and told them the path of duty was clear in reference to himself, and that he should resign at the Commencement.

In his own diary is the following entry, written on the Sunday succeeding the Senior examination: "On the occasion of the late visit of the standing committee of the trustees, I became fully convinced as I could be by a voice from heaven, that it will be my duty to resign at Commencement." It would have been far more to his credit if he had become equally convinced eighteen months before, and had communicated his conviction to the trustees, and had thus given them an opportunity for preliminary inquiries and careful judgment in relation to a suitable successor. A change in the nominal head of a college ought never to be, and in connection with

proper public counsels and a proper organization of the two special boards of control, never would become, the sudden and portentous and ill-issuing matter, that has been many times witnessed in the colleges of New England during the century now closing. The question is one that primarily concerns the public, to which the eleemosynary funds really belong, by which these are exempted from taxation, and by whose constant supervision and recurring benevolence the institutions are maintained in life and vigor. The record at Williams of the primal appointments and final resignations of the several presidents for the century has not been altogether reputable; and we are dealing now with one of the resignations that was not even respectable; here was a man wholly unable to render the services for which alone his salary had been promised and paid, regarding himself as having a right year after year to both position and emoluments, and regarding himself as displaying great virtue in surrendering these to others who should render the essential equivalents.

We happen to have the testimony of another eye- and ear-witness of something that took place in connection with Griffin's resignation, that, namely, of Dwight Whitney Marsh of the class of 1842. "As I was walking in the hall, I met him as he was returning from the meeting of the trustees, his daughter, Mrs. Smith, having his arm. He stood and said to me, 'Well, sir, I have just been to tender my resignation to the trustees.' Mrs. Smith, drawing her arm from his, was about retiring. 'Stop, my dear, hear what I am going to say. When I came here, God made my duty as clear as the noonday, and now He has made it just as clearly my duty to resign.'" Edward Dorr Griffin, in his superannuated imbecility and disgusting *piousity*, may have needed Divine assistance to help him see his duty in these premises; an ordinary and uninflated Christian needed nothing more than a decent sense of what is fair and fit as between man and man. A graduate of that year, 1836, at an alumni dinner forty years afterward, related his own personal experience in taking leave of the president at Commencement: "He begged and beseeched of me, throwing his arms about my neck, to do what I could for him, after all, to put him back in his old place!" Near the opening of the fall term, arrangements having been made for his return to Newark, into the family of his son-in-law, Lyndon A. Smith, the only condition prescribed by him for his admission being, that he might continue his custom of a double invocation both before and after the daily meals, the faculty invited him to a farewell dinner at the Mansion House; and, on the morning of his departure, which

was September 28, the students waited on him in a body, and presented him with a respectful address of farewell; to which he replied, with overflowing feelings, from his carriage, and so took final leave of scenes and persons with which he had conspicuously mingled for fifteen years. In the minds of some of those persons both in town and College he had excited feelings of sympathy and admiration; while in the minds of many others, both citizens and students, he excited a very different set of feelings, and increasingly so as old age and other disabilities came upon him.

The following is the address of the students referred to, with the names of their committee. It must always be remembered, that language, under such circumstances as these, tends toward some extravagance of expression. This remark is applicable even to the eulogy on Dr. Griffin delivered after his death, in the college chapel by his successor, Mark Hopkins.

Reverend Sir

Prompted by the feelings which the near departure of one so respected and esteemed, naturally elicits, the college assembled this morning and appointed us their committee to express to you their sentiments on this occasion.

Those of them who have been witnesses and partakers of the benefits you have conferred on the college, acted from the deep feeling of gratitude: those who have lately become of the number of students, were influenced by your celebrity as a preacher, your character as a man.

Knowing this, it is with peculiar feelings that we have undertaken to become their organ, and we should despair of expressing to you their opinions, were we not conscious of their active existence in our own bosoms. When a distinguished man departs from the scene of his former actions, he is followed by the aspirations of those who have been benefited by his influence. If to have given celebrity to our Alma Mater and a name of which we can proudly boast, if to have given us sound moral and religious principles on which we can firmly base our actions and to have exemplified the beauty and simplicity of a good man's career, have conferred on us obligations, you will appreciate the feelings which agitate our minds at the thought of your departure. Praise we do not offer, for it would be futile, useless to one who stands so high in the opinion of all; but we present you with a better gift, our kindest feelings and hopes for your future welfare.

In the name of the college, we bid you an affectionate farewell.

Lewis Benedict Jr.
Sam[l] G. Jones
Thos. A. Hall
Laban S. Sherman
Israel W. Andrews
Rufus G. Wells
Barnabas Collins
Oliver Dimon
Committee

To
Rev. E. D. Griffin D.D.

Sept. 27, 1836.

The students also took action, as follows, on learning of Dr. Griffin's death about a year after he left Williamstown, in a letter to his son-in-law, Dr. L. A. Smith.

Wms College Nov. 14 1837.

Dear Sir—

The students of Williams College, learning with the deepest regret the decease of the venerable Dr. Griffin, so lately at the head of this Institution, have appointed the undersigned, to express to the relatives of the deceased their admiration of his virtues, and their affectionate regard for his memory.

In discharging this duty, allow us in behalf of the College, to offer the condolence of sincere hearts.

By this death, the College has been deprived of its foster-father, the church of an ornament, and his family of an affectionate parent.

His life was one of activity and usefulness. But it needs not the feeble tribute of our praise. His name is connected with the benevolent Institutions of the day, it is incorporated with the history of religion, and more than all, it is written in the Lamb's book of life.

The light of Eternity only, can disclose the amount of his usefulness.

It was chiefly in his official capacity as President of this Institution, that we knew him. He was ever found the watchful Guardian of its interests, the prayerful and zealous promoter of piety in its members. He always proved himself the vigorous instructor, and the affectionate and parental adviser.

His memory is dear to those who received his instructions. That benefit we did not ourselves enjoy. But we are taught to reverence him, who so long and so faithfully presided over the Institution of which we are members.

With the warmest affection for the memory of our late President, and with the liveliest sympathy with the relatives who mourn his loss,

We are very respectively

Yours

Dr. L. A. Smith
Newark, N. J.

Danl R. Cady
Wm Bross
E. P. Hawkes
L. Rose
R. G. Wells
S. J. Andrews
} *Committee*

On the other hand, some students regarded him as self-conscious and pompous to a ridiculous extent; and others of them made it a sort of study to lead him into positions, in which he could hardly fail to exhibit himself as an object of ridicule. He was easily duped by forms of respect shown to him by members of the Senior class; and he would sometimes ask services of them in a confidential way, such as the protection of his fruit from depredation in the night-time, which were practically rendered so as to facilitate the loss of the fruit. It was not in Williamstown alone, still less in the College alone, that his ostentatious manners were unfavorably,

if not ridiculously, commented upon. The late Governor Hiland Hall of Bennington, who saw more or less of Griffin in his frequent passages through Williamstown as a member of Congress and otherwise for many years, as well as in the pulpit at Bennington, was once heard to speak sharply on this point, instancing the way in which he would rise to his full height in the pulpit, and with a magnificent motion of his hand accompanying the oratorical tones of his voice, request that a certain window might be lifted or lowered to meet his personal exigencies of air.

It was in the assertion of recondite theological dogmas, and in detailed descriptions of familiar scenes in heaven and hell, that this pretentious and preternatural mode of speaking seems at the present day, at any rate, to be most hollow and offensive. In the final arrangement of his sermons for publication during the last year of his life he allowed to stand in two distinct discourses, extending through an octavo printed page or more, the same precise passage and picture of the "Lamb in the midst of the Throne." Parsons Cooke, in his "Recollections," is bold enough to think the passage will bear to be printed for the third time, and so the reader will find it (if he care to look) on the ninety-ninth page of that little treatise, or tract. Three sentences near the beginning of the passage, however, may do a double duty in this place, namely, fully satisfy the reader's curiosity and also furnish a fair specimen of the preacher's eloquence from a general passage highly estimated by himself. "How delightful to contemplate the honors which encircle the Lamb in the midst of the Father's throne. After wandering an exile from heaven for more than thirty years, for our revolt, how joyous to know that he has found a home. After depending for bread on the charity of his female followers, we are glad to see him the heir of all things, and able in turn to impart to others."

Reverting now at length to the conditions of society in town in relation to those in College at about the time of the accession of Griffin to the presidency, in 1821, it is a pleasure to the writer to be able to exhibit the generosity and self-denial of the citizens in behalf of the College, then at its lowest estate. In the remonstrance of the town of Williamstown against the removal of the College, drafted by Charles A. Dewey, and unanimously adopted by the citizens in town meeting assembled, the following language is used: "We are gratified to have the pleasure of stating that the public expressions which have been made in favor of the continuance of the College at Williamstown have been accompanied with the most satisfactory evidence of their sincerity. Subscription papers bearing the

names of respectable gentlemen for the amount of eighteen thousand dollars, for the use of the College in this town, have already been placed in the hands of the Treasurer of the College." Fortunately these subscriptions have been preserved in detail. They were transcribed into a new ledger by Daniel Noble, then treasurer of the College, which ledger is still extant, carrying a title-page as follows: —

> College Ledger in which Subscriptions to Williams College are entered.
>
> May 1820.
>
> N.B. The interest on the subscriptions entered on this Ledger become due *first year* May 5, 1821, and so annually, and the principal is payable May 5, 1830.
>
> Memº
>
> * * *
>
> D. Noble.

The following list of names and subscriptions, in which the coming generations are sure to take some interest, is copied *verbatim et literatim*, from the above-mentioned ledger. In most instances one year's interest seems to be added to the sum of the principal as put down. The date of final settlement is given in some cases. In some cases legal process had to be resorted to in order to collect either interest or principal, or both. In a few instances the costs of collection are nominally added. Alleged misunderstandings of the terms of subscription and consequent refusals to pay were in each instance dismissed by the courts as invalid. It was plausibly alleged by these parties, that Daniel Noble, who secured these subscriptions and who was the treasurer of the College at the time, said in substance, to the subscribers verbally, — We want these subscriptions from the citizens of Williamstown, in order to show to the Legislature that we are able and willing to do our part to sustain the College where it is: of course, if the Legislature gives permission to remove it, you will never be called on for these moneys: if we can keep the College here, you and I will probably be glad enough to pay these sums, if necessary. Nothing of all this was put in writing. The subscriptions seemed to impart a legal contract; and they were, accordingly, legally enforced. Ill feelings were naturally engendered in some families as toward the two treasurers in succession, Daniel Noble and Daniel Noble Dewey, who had to do with these cloudy claims

of the college as against certain citizens. In general, the feelings were good, and continued so from generation to generation. From time to time, and from the very beginning onward, there have sprung up certain grounds of grievance of the one party (townspeople) as toward the other (college people), but these have been usually transient because they have been on the surface of things. The suits at law, instituted to collect some of these dubious looking subscriptions, left feelings more or less bitter, and continued in the Hoxsey and Hickcock and Danforth families. While the old East College was burning down, of a Sunday afternoon in 1841, in plain sight from Bee Hill, certain young men representing these and perhaps other families are said to have enjoyed the prospect hilariously, and to have indulged in language toward the College and some of its officials at least not expressly canonical.

The only other matter of any consequence or permanence, disturbing the good relations between townfolk and gownfolk, during the first century of the College, had its root in politics. We have already learned that the first treasurer of the College was a Democrat, and that a decided majority of the citizens of the town were of that political faith in Jefferson's time and afterward. The two leading families of the village, however, the Deweys and the Nobles, which furnished the College treasurers in unbroken succession from 1798 to 1859, were of the Federalist stripe, that is to say, they covenanted with those who had no objections at any rate to certain special political privileges secured to themselves by law, and of course not only denied to the masses of the people, but also secured to the privileged few at the cost of these masses. This simple principle under its diverse applications has always virtually divided the people of the United States into two political parties, — two and no more. This issue has sometimes been transiently disguised by party names and otherwise, but it has been the bottom issue, nevertheless, from 1796 to 1896 in every presidential election. Equality under the Law as against Privileges under the Law, — that tells the whole story. Since the utter downfall of the Whig Party, the then party of Privilege, in 1852, there has been no general ground of political differences as between the town men and the college men. The mutual feeling has been good most of the time, and perhaps increasingly so decade by decade, minus a dispute of some acerbity on the taxation by the town of certain parts of college property, an issue at the present time in litigation before the Supreme Court of Massachusetts.

Daniel Noble		$ 830.66
Timothy & John P. Whitman		$1338.46
Charles A. Dewey		$ 362.50
Ralph W. Gridley		$ 219.70
Eli Northam		$ 236.00
Samuel Kellogg		$ 323.67
Aaron Foote		$ 212.00
Solomon Bulkley		$ 180.00
John Hickcock		$ 159.00
Stephen Hickcock		$ 159.00
Keyes Danforth	By judgment of Sup. Jud. Court P. & interest (1832)	$ 174.60
Schuyler Putnam		$ 65.00
Thomas F. Hoxsey	Settlement June, 1835	$ 190.50
Josephus Bardwell		$ 56.00
Noah Cook		$ 53.00
William Starkweather		$ 213.00
Lyman Hubbell		$ 115.00
Douglas W. Sloane		$ 124.00
Erastus Noble	"Dead and Poor"	$ 53.00
Moses Batcheller	"Dec^{d} and Bankrupt"	$ 28.00
Joseph Birchard	on a suit by compromise in full	$ 35.00
Asa Northam		$ 260.00
Hosford & Brown		$ 148.00
Peter S. Putnam		$ 124.00
Daniel Galusha	1833 in full	$ 80.00
John Kilborn		$ 28.00
Samuel Tyler	1831	$ 79.37
Louis Toussaint	"poor"	$ 53.00
Eli Porter		$ 31.00
Deodatus Noble		$ 168.00
Gershom T. Bulkley	1833	$ 148.00
James H. Meacham		$ 126.00
Oren Kellogg	1831	$ 162.52
Elijah Smedley	1827	$ 68.00
Dennis Smith	1831	$ 37.00
Emery Chamberlain	1833	$ 51.50
Amasa Shattuck		$ 38.50
Thomas Faxon	"poor and gone"	$ 26.50
Henry Green	1831 cost in full	$ 45.00
Ralph Chamberlain	1827	$ 47.33
David D. Seelye	never paid	$ 42.00
Titus Deming	1834	$ 40.87
Samuel Burbank	1828	$ 37.00
Ruth Benjamin	1822	$ 27.50
Joshua Morey	1835	$ 89.50
William Bridges	1826	$ 62.00
Benjamin Thurber	and bill of costs	$ 92.50
Noah Smith	1825	$ 32.50
Thomas Melody & sons	1823	$ 29.50

Solomon & John Prindle	1832	$73.60
"John Prindle gave his note for $45.45 and Solomon died poor"		
Nathaniel Townsend	1835	$43.25
Zadock Ford		$26.31
William Waterman	1835	$92.37
Nathan Putnam	1840	$27.87

Here are the names of fifty-nine persons, a majority of them known to be poor, not over seven or eight of them even then called "rich," and all the rest farmers and artisans in common, that is moderate, circumstances, coming to the help of the College at a time, when, without this help, it is likely, the College would have gone out of existence on this ground. There are some names on this list one cannot read even at this late day without emotion. There is, for example, the name of Louis Toussaint, the French tailor, whose name is also found on the still extant subscription-list for the new meeting-house of 1796. For that he put down £1 4*s*. Twenty-five years afterward he put down fifty dollars to help out the College. Whether he ever paid the latter may perhaps be doubtful, for the treasurer writes the word "poor" after the name. Of course he was poor, and by this time old; for many of the families of the town made their own woollen garments out of materials spun and woven also by members of the household; many other families made up their own winter clothing by the help of "seamstresses," as they were called, usually spinsters, who made a livelihood by going about from house to house in the neighborhood for this purpose; and the work that would come to a tailor's shop, like Toussaint's, unless it were uniforms for the militia officers, or a suit for the new member of the General Court to go to Boston in, would be small in quantity and irregular in time. Toussaint lived to old age in the house still standing, substantially unchanged, at the fork of the north Hoosac road running west with the Simonds road running north. Nearly opposite stood in those days the principal tavern of the town. It was perhaps as good a place for a tailor's shop as the town afforded. The tailor had his name and trade on two wooden signs, one fronting each of the two roads, in the angle of which the old house stood. This petty fact comes down to the present generation through Ripley Cole, who remembered it as a boy, and who remembered also the rude pun turning on it, by which we are able to approximate the current pronunciation of the strange French name, — "Two-Sign."

Take a single other example from among the poorest of these Williamstown subscribers to the funds of the College in its extremity,

—Thomas Faxon. He was from Hartford. He was a potter by trade. So far as is known, he was the first and only potter who ever tried to get a living by that occupation in Williamstown. He found good clay on the bank of the Green River at the east end of the village plot, close by the bridge. He set up his wheels, opened his oven, and baked a cheap sort of unglazed ware. His neighbors across the Green River, the Smedleys, bought some of his pots, and transmitted to the present time some little knowledge of his existence and of the place of his business, such as it was. But he did not get on. The College treasurer puts him down on his ledger as owing $26.50, but later marks underneath the subscription, "poor and gone." Somehow or other the special craftsmen did not find Williamstown a favorable place for their development. They came, but, as a rule, they did not stay a great while. Lime was burnt here very early, and we happen to know where, but by whom and how long no mortal can tell. Brick were manufactured here in the last century, and West College and the old East College were made out of them, but the yard on North Street at the foot of Mansion House Hill was early abandoned, and its place only accidentally rediscovered of late years. Perhaps in order to furnish the brick for Dr. Griffin's new chapel, which was planned for in 1825, at any rate not far from that time, Stephen Hosford opened a new brickyard on South Street, on land now owned by Frederic Leake, and at a place now occupied by Mr. Leake's tenant-house. Stephen Hosford was the eldest of three brothers, all from Goshen, who constituted, singly and combined, for many years an important factor in the ongoings of the church and town. The brothers worked for some time in the new brickyard, which furnished the brick first or last for the Blackinton farmhouse near the present village of Blackinton; the brick store near the east end of our village (north side), in which "Hosford and Brown" were doing business when they jointly subscribed to the College the above $148; the brick house and store at the head of South Street (east side), in which Hosford lived the rest of his life and kept both a store and the post-office for a time; and (doubtless among some others) the brick house at the foot of Stone Hill on South Street, built by Gurdon Bulkley, and now owned and occupied by Mrs. L. B. Smedley.

Undoubtedly the main reason why special craftsmen in general, omitting perhaps the cordwainers and carpenters and brickmakers, did not thrive and continue in Williamstown, was, the people were poor, the College was small, and, especially, the place was isolated by high hills on every side from other habitable and thriving places.

The primal conditions of a good market were absent. A market for products is products in market. People cannot sell their own goods except in places to which other goods are brought to be sold. It is goods against goods the world over. Barriers, whether local or international, are alike hindrances to trade. Domestic exports pay for foreign imports. Whatever obstacles (tariff taxes or other) keep foreign goods from coming in, keep, to precisely the same extent, domestic goods from going out. Just so in the smallest local markets anywhere. Williamstown had the Ashford watershed of one thousand feet to the south of it, the Taconic Mountain range, still higher, to the west of it, the Hoosac Mountains, then untunnelled, to the east of it, with a "dug-way" along the Hoosac River toward the Vermont hills to the north of it. Goods of any kind could not be produced to profit within these circumjacent obstacles, paying the cost of taking them *out* and paying also the cost of bringing *in* the return goods. The inference accordingly is as certain as any reasoning can be, that whatever diminishes or removes obstacles of any of these kinds, is wholly favorable to profitable trade. The opening of the Hoosac Tunnel may be said to have created the city of North Adams, whose municipal motto, "We hold the gateway of the West," derives the significance of its words from the removal of an obstacle to trade. Still greater is the blessing of the removal of artificial obstacles, like tariff taxes, for a striking example. A blessed handmaid to a constantly cheaper production of goods of all kinds is always and everywhere an easier transportation of them to their own ultimate market.

One consequence of this isolation and general poverty of the people of Williamstown, and of the isolation and rudeness in general of the places from which the students came to the College, was, that Griffin was shocked at once and constantly by the uncouth manner of those with whom he came in contact as president. He had spent nearly all of his active life in Newark and Boston, in positions that required and rewarded courtly manners, which he took on himself with ease and pleasure, and which he came to regard as due to himself in return. It was at this point of their manners in general, and particularly of their personal behavior in chapel, in church, in the recitation-room, on the street, and in his own study, that Griffin first came into serious contact and conflict with the students. It was undoubtedly an important point in their training, which had been previously much neglected here as it was also afterward, and which if properly attended to in college always makes a student's entrance upon active life more propitious; but in this case it was

unfortunate, because it was put forward as a foremost thing, as if matters of form could properly take precedence of matters of substance, and as indicating to the minds of students the gradation of educational subjects in the mind of the president.

It was in the old chapel in the southern end of West College, that the students began fully to realize the change in administration. The seats there had very low backs. It had been the custom, especially as there was a superabundance of room for the relatively few students, for these to sit, many of them, back to back in pairs, with one limb laid up on the seat and one body partially supported upon the other. The attitude was unbecoming and irreverent in college prayers. The president vehemently attacked it at once on that ground, and also on the ground that it tended to form and perpetuate ungentlemanly manners in general. The students were slow to yield, alleging truthfully that to sit bolt upright on such benches as those was a position very intolerable. The president evinced a becoming zeal and determination, and of course carried his point, not however without being obliged in some instances to give liue upon line and precept upon precept. The struggle was evidently not lost upon him, either; for, when he built the new chapel, a few years later, the backs of the new seats came up to the back of the average student's head! Less defensible than this by much was the president's requirement of the students when he was preaching in the village church, namely, that they all should look him in the face throughout the sermon. The preacher who cannot compel the attention of his auditors to his discourse by its force and eloquence, cannot habitually secure it by any other mode. Griffin discounted beforehand his own power to gain a good hearing by prescribing a mechanical rule, which, even if literally complied with, did not guarantee the serious attention of the student to what was said. A sorry confession of his own lack distends the words of his own rule.

Much more may be said in favor of his habit, when he saw a student in church with his head down upon his arm resting upon the front of the seat, to stop in the midst of his sermon, call the student by name, and thus correct his posture not for that time only, but probably for all future times, — a posture in which many a student in former, as well as in subsequent days, took his quiet naps in church. Not less particular was he in regard to the posture of the students in his recitation-room, or when he received them in his own study. Also he required all the students under all circumstances to doff their hats to him in the street, although the Main Street of the village, on which alone he was likely to encounter

them, was fifteen rods wide, and there were two walks, one on either edge of the street. He always accosted any body of students as "*Young Gentlemen*" evidently thinking that his calling them so tended to make them so, and perhaps it did; but at the same time he ridiculed the idea and practice of "*mistering an undergraduate.*" He was so constituted by nature, and had so punctiliously trained himself in all the forms of propriety as he understood them, that he could not be otherwise than sensitive to all variance from decorum on the part of the students in the smallest matters as well as in the greatest. This sensitiveness was doubtless aggravated by disease; for he was almost always a sufferer from the gout from the time he commenced his labors in the College, and so increasingly as the years went by. This of itself often gave to his own painstaking efforts to be civil to everybody the appearance of excess. His frame was so large and latterly so inflexible, and so much space was required (and time) for his studiedly polite movements, that these could not but seem to be overdone. In short, Dr. Griffin was a striking example of relative failure in a college official from putting too much stress upon *form* and *expression* and too little upon *matter* and *reality*. Mark Hopkins, who was his pupil and sharp observer, in 1821–24, once said to the writer, "Dr. Griffin was a good critic"; further conversation developed the point, that his criticism expended itself rather upon the clothing than upon the body of that submitted to criticism.

If it may be permitted now to go back for a few minutes only to the list of town subscribers to the College exigences of 1820, we shall notice that by much the largest subscription of all was that of "Timothy and John P. Whitman." These were brothers who had married sisters and had become early established as merchants on Main Street, occupying the very early purchased house-lot of Josiah Horsford, of whose small house they made at first both a home and a store. The rooms of this house are still the nucleus of their afterward much enlarged house, still standing at the opening of Park Street, and occupied at present by Dr. L. D. Woodbridge as both a home and an office. The gambrel-roofed store built by the Whitmans a few years later and attached to the house on the east end, is also still standing, much transformed, having been removed to the west end of the Main Street at the time when they rebuilt, enlarging their own house, and is now the home of Mrs. Henrietta Cole. The subscription of the Whitman brothers (one year's interest) is $1338.46. It is not because this subscription is the largest that attention is called to it here, but because the family who made it

were from first to last very prominent and influential and benevolent people. The maiden name of the married sisters was Seymour, and they were from Hartford or its immediate vicinity. Each of them brought to her husband a very considerable property for those times. Lucy Seymour Whitman is known to have attended the exercises of the first Commencement of the College in 1796, and she united with the church in Williamstown in 1797 by letter, while her husband, John P. Whitman, joined by profession in 1801. Mary Curtis Hopkins of Stockbridge, afterward the mother of Mark and Albert Hopkins, is the only other woman positively known to have been present at the initial Commencement of the College. By a coincidence that may be called curious, both of these women died in Williamstown not far from the same time in an old age unusually protracted. Laura Seymour Whitman, the wife of Timothy, who was by three years the older brother, brought her letter to this church in 1812; and her husband, as we shall see in a moment, never made a profession of religion at all. He had studied medicine, and was always known here as "Dr. Timothy," coming to town probably some fifteen years later than his brother, who put his stress upon the merchandise side of the firm, while the doctor practised medicine with more zest or less till shortly before he died. Both families lived in the same house, ate at the same table, and brought up their children together, and exhibited in the village as conspicuous examples of brotherly peace and good will, as the Smedley brothers, Levi and Elijah, did upon their joint farm just across the Green River to the eastward.

Upon one point only was there a lack of harmony in the conjoined Whitman household; and that was of such a character as interested sooner or later the whole church and the whole College and the whole community. Dr. Timothy, whose outward life was as exemplary as possible, and who was probably as good a Christian as the village contained, could not see his way clear to find in the New Testament the evidences of Divine inspiration in any verbal and literal sense, or any proofs of the inexorable sternness of the Divine government, as these had been preached by Jonathan Edwards, and were preached in slightly disguised, but in essentially unchanged, terms by President Griffin. He did not proclaim his dissent from the current orthodoxy, — he was a remarkably quiet and unobtrusive man, — and only used that dissent in self-defence when he was urged and crowded and beseeched to pronounce his shibboleth just as the other did, and by uniting with the church to announce in a public manner his unqualified assent to dogmas which he believed unscrip-

tural and also unworthy of his Heavenly Father. Prayer was made for him without ceasing in the family and in the church and in the community. He was regarded without a question as travelling the downward road. He was to be snatched, if it were possible, as a brand from the burning.

As specimens of the sort of questions with which Griffin was wont to ply his neighbor Whitman, who, the former says, "resisted my arguments with vehemence if not with passion," let us now take those which, according to his own account, he put to his own two daughters in succession, and to which he expected, as alone satisfactory, answers like those at last given by them. "That evening I visited Louisa, and put to her the old question, —'*Do you feel that it would be just in God to cast you off?*' After a considerable pause, and in a low voice, she answered, 'Yes, sir.' The next day I said to Ellen, 'My daughter, where do you expect to spend your eternity?' She answered, 'Why, I have not thought of that.' 'What have you been thinking about?' 'I have been thinking how good God has been to me, and how ungrateful I have been.' The next day she looked more like the image of misery than ever before. The next time she came in, I asked her where she expected to spend eternity? She said, 'I think most likely I shall spend it in hell.' 'Do you think that you deserve hell?' 'Oh! I know I do.' In this condition she remained two days." Modern Christians have these two among many other things to be devoutly thankful for: (1) That it is no longer considered needful that one should be willing to be damned in order to be able to be saved; and (2) that the Gospel itself is so true and virile and divine, that it can work its work and bless mankind and survive and grow strong in spite of all such abominable perversions of itself as these are. Dr. Timothy Whitman fell into a gradual decline and retired from the active duties of his profession, about the time when Dr. Griffin received an invitation to preach one of a series of sermons against infidelity, in what was called the "Murray Street Lectures" in New York. "I wrote that sermon," the preacher said afterward, "with my eye on Dr. Whitman, then an infidel, and sick with what proved to be his last sickness. I was most deeply affected through the whole of it, and wrote it with a strong desire for the conviction and salvation of Dr. W. He had just before resisted my arguments with vehemence, if not with passion. After I had finished my sermon, I read it to him, at two different sittings, half at a time. He never resisted afterward; and gave such evidence of his conversion and faith, that his pious wife and other pious friends have no doubt that he went to heaven."

It may be added, after this long interval of time, that nobody else, who knew all the circumstances, ever doubted that issue of a good man's life. Dr. Griffin is careful not to say, nor does it otherwise anyway appear, that the patient ever said a word retracting his former contentions. It is to be hoped and believed that he did not.

No better opportunity than the present one is likely to recur, to sketch briefly the later experiences of this wealthy and liberal and highly esteemed family. Dr. Timothy died in 1830, at the age of sixty-two; and his widow, Laura Seymour Whitman, in 1857, at the age of seventy-one. Their only child, Ruth Whitman, was married to Professor Edward Lasell, Williams College 1828. He became Professor of Chemistry here in 1835, and continued successful in that capacity till his death, in 1852. In the meantime he founded Lasell Seminary in Auburndale, an institution which seems likely to perpetuate his honored name by a remarkable prosperity and prominence. John P. Whitman died in 1834, aged sixty-three, after an unusually prosperous life in all the varied uses of that phrase, leaving one son and one daughter; the latter to become in a few years the first wife of Dr. H. L. Sabin, and the former, Seymour Whitman, to continue his father's business in the same store, to live in the same house, and to exert with his excellent wife, Maria Bulkley, the same sort of influences, both social and religious, as those diffused by his father and mother. Indeed, the mother outlived the son in the same house for two years, and died at eighty-four, in 1858. When the first East College burned down, in 1841, Mrs. Lucy Whitman was the first person appealed to for benevolent aid to help rebuild it. She gave one thousand dollars to Mark Hopkins, then the president, with her blessing superadded. Seymour Whitman left at his death a widow, two daughters, and a son. The widow died in 1886, at the age of seventy-nine years. The oldest daughter, Lucy, married Rev. John Tatlock, a graduate of the College in 1856, and these are the parents of John Tatlock, Williams College 1882, now a prominent actuary in New York. The other daughter, Fanny, married H. C. G. von Jagemann, now a distinguished professor at the University at Cambridge, Massachusetts. John Seymour Whitman, the only son, Williams College 1854, has spent and is still spending a useful life as a Congregational minister. It is proper to add, that it was from the large landed estate of the Whitman family, that the College became possessed, by purchase at different times, of the grounds holding the Missionary Park, and the present president's house, and those of the College Infirmary (established in 1895), and portions also of the

"College Farm," so called at the present time. The College cemetery, situated near all these lands, was cut off from the northern end of that house-lot very early given to the College by David Noble for the original "president's house."

The history of Amherst College is inwrought in a curious and complicated way with various ongoings here at the westward. We have already given at length the story of President Moore in going from Williamstown to Amherst, accompanied by fifteen of the Williams students, in 1821. Amherst had not then obtained from the General Court its charter as a college. Moore did not live to witness that devoutly wished-for consummation. But it came at length in the winter of 1825, and sounded at first on this side the Hoosacs like the death-knell of the older institution. It had been argued a hundred times and assumed a thousand times, that two colleges could not subsist together in western Massachusetts. Amherst, indeed, had commenced operations as a college in 1821, though not assuming the name, because it had not secured a charter from the Legislature; and the hope of life for Williams seemed to lie in the strength of the difficulties which stood in the way of Amherst being chartered. Williams, indeed, had but little influence in the Legislature, but Cambridge had a great deal, and the two were thoroughly combined in opposition to Amherst. Their petition for a charter made but little headway year after year, and on the strength of this the prospects of Williams brightened and the number of students increased in three years under Dr. Griffin (1822–25) from 48 to 120. But the strenuous opposition of Cambridge, an old college, and lately become a Unitarian one, gradually made a bad impression over the State, especially in orthodox circles. It had the appearance of persecution as toward a feeble academy and theological school on the Connecticut determined whether or no to organize itself into a college, and to gain its permanence with or without its name. Here was the perseverance of the saints. Here was the push and the pull and the stand of Scotch-Irish-American Christians of the Calvinistic type. Harvard saw that she was becoming unpopular, and foresaw that she would be compelled to yield sooner or later; and so, after securing the best possible terms for herself in the premises, she suddenly relinquished opposition and went in with a will for the charter to Amherst.

It had been so often said that Williams must die if Amherst gained a full corporate life, that few were they bold enough to question such a result. The news created almost a panic among the students. Their number dropped from 120 to 80 before that

college year was over. During the fall term of the next college year eighty-five students gathered all told in the four classes. William Hervey and Mark Hopkins were the tutors. Both had recently entered upon a decided religious life. The two were classmates and warm personal friends. The state of the College was disorderly, demoralized, openly irreligious, and some of the students awfully profane. Many believed that the College was on the eve of dissolution, and some did not care if it were. But there were those in the county, as well as in the College itself, who did care. First among these should be mentioned Alvan Hyde of Lee, himself a graduate of Dartmouth in 1788, vice-president of the College from 1812 to 1833, the same who called the students together in 1821, when President Moore left and told them confidently that the College *would be sustained on this ground*, and the same who sent four of his own sons to take their degrees here in succession, in 1815 and 1822 and 1826 and 1834, all admirable men, and the third in order, William, prominent as a trustee and benefactor of the College. The second of county friends to be mentioned should be David Dudley Field, of Stockbridge, himself graduated at Yale in 1802, who published a history of Berkshire County in 1829, and who likewise had four sons, all distinguished, all bearing the parchments of honor received in the regular course at Williams College — David Dudley, 1825; Jonathan Edwards, 1832; Stephen Johnson, 1837; Henry Martyn, 1838. Besides these four, he had another son, Cyrus West, also closely connected with the College in many ways, who became more celebrated all over the world than any of his brothers, as the originator of the Atlantic Cable. What a Berkshire family was this, to say nothing of the sister, Mrs. Brewer, whose son became a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Now, the week after the annual Thanksgiving in 1825, these two country ministers from the south part of Berkshire were sent by the churches, in compliance with a custom of primitive Christianity, to look into the state of religion in Williamstown and the College, to visit and to pray and to exhort. The church in town, under their fervid pastor, Gridley, anticipated their coming, and agreed to set apart as a fast the day of their visitation. Intelligence of this was communicated to the faculty of the College, and it was determined by them to suspend literary exercises for the day, for the purpose of giving any of the students who wished liberty to hear these messengers of the churches from the south of the county, and also to furnish them an opportunity of prayer and conference among themselves. Nearly one-half of the students were at that time nominally profes-

sors of religion; but of these and of all the rest and of the occurrences following, an eye- and ear-witness, Albert Hopkins, then a member of the Junior class, fortunately put into writing long afterward a copious record.

The two years preceding were years of great spiritual drought and declension. Iniquity in various forms abounded, and the love of many waxed cold. There was a good deal of dissipation at this period; treating at elections and at other times was common. Drunkenness was an occurrence not unfrequent, when holidays were given. I should think the gravest men in College, certainly with one or two exceptions, did not scruple to drink (at least drank) on set occasions. The order of College, at this time, was not good. I am not aware that any religious meetings were held during the week. On Saturday evening and Sabbath morning, there were meetings, but very thinly attended. The majority, probably, did not know that such meetings were held.

The announcement at evening prayers the night before, of the coming of the ministers Hyde and Field, and of the cessation on that account of the ordinary college exercises for the day, occasioned no small stir among the students, who had begun to be already somewhat sensitive on the subject. As is usual at such times, Satan took advantage of the natural enmity of the carnal heart, and excited the wicked to throw off the convictions which had begun now to hover around, if not to settle upon them. I have been told that there were mock meetings, that night, all over College. There was also another meeting of another kind at the Junior recitation-room, attended by Dr. Griffin, at which one heart at least was stricken. Next morning, the aspect of things was rather tumultuous. A meeting had been appointed, however, at the Senior recitation-room under the idea that most of the religious part of the College would be present, and some, at least, of the impenitent. The hour arrived, and immediately there began to be a flocking to the place. Some left their rooms without the least intention of going to the meeting. Their account of it is, that they found themselves there, they knew not how. Few had manifested any particular seriousness. Many were very bold sinners, and came in whirling their hats across the room, as if in derision. The room became directly crowded. Every student from both College buildings at length found his way in. The meeting began with marked stillness, such as is wont to be noticed when a crisis is at hand, and the Spirit of God intimately near. Tutor Hervey, who had been from the first, in his meek and quiet way, exceedingly active, and his associate in office [Mark Hopkins] were present to take the direction of this meeting. In a short time, however, it became evident that the great Master of assemblies was himself present to take the lead.

The exercises of the meeting had not proceeded far, when a student, the hitherto notoriously profane one already alluded to, arose in the assembly. The deep solemnity of his countenance, the altered air and strange attitude of the speaker, conspiring with that deep impression of the Divine presence which previously pervaded the meeting, was sufficient to bring about a sudden and most extraordinary crisis. The minds of some were made up before he uttered a word. In a moment, said he, "*Will you trifle with your souls?*" Every head was bowed, the most hardened were melted, and the meeting became a scene of indescribable interest. Considering the character of those who composed it, and

their position in reference to society and the church, perhaps few private meetings in our times are more worthy of our remembrance.

In the afternoon was the public meeting in the church; and as little interest as the mass of College took, the night before, in the delegation, probably Paul and Barnabas were not more welcome at Antioch than were these messengers of the churches now. During two or three days succeeding it was impossible to pursue study; there was a prayer-meeting going on in each College building from morning to night, in some room or other. I do not know that the regular recitations were omitted after the fast. So entirely, however, was the mind absorbed with the great realities of religion, that anything like concentrated attention to any book, except that long-neglected one, the Bible, became impossible. The term was now drawing to a close, and ended with a religious meeting of deep and affecting interest. The majority of those who were in the religious meeting above described obtained hopes nearly at the same time, and not many days after. College assembled at the opening of the spring term, to experience a renewal of the same scenes which had characterized the closing weeks of that which had preceded. The work went on, with more or less power, until the warm season opened; and a sermon was preached at the close of the term, as had been done in 1812.

This revival of religion, which has been commonly called the "revival of 1826," and which is so vividly described in these terms by Albert Hopkins, became the means, in the view of Dr. Griffin and others, of saving the College from the shock and moral menace of the dreaded public incorporation of Amherst. It called universal attention toward the elder institution at the very time when it seemed to be going to pieces. The town also, and the county too, shared in this powerful religious awakening in the College, and enjoyed throughout the year of 1826 a memorable and probably unprecedented season of religious interest. Under this common impulse, the local constituency of the College rallied round it with strong devotion and determination. Dr. Hyde of Lee, Dr. Field of Stockbridge, Dr. Shepard of Lenox, and other influential friends at the south, conspired with a will with Judge Noble, Judge Dewey, Dr. Griffin himself, and other good men at the north, to hold up the falling College. This was the period of Griffin's greatest usefulness in Williamstown. The divisions which shortly after began so unhappily to distract the local church in relation to "measures" and their underlying "doctrines," had not then shown any front at all. Mr. Gridley coöperated with all his might in every good word and work, as a son with a father. Griffin did not then, as afterward, deem it needful to spend time either in hunting after heresy or in guarding against it. "He threw himself into the work with no trammels or scruples to check the order of his feelings. Evening after evening, for several months, through darkness, snow,

and mud, he went to a schoolhouse in the east part of the village, and poured out torrents of truth, with an enthusiasm not inferior to that which characterized his best days. He seemed to be nerved up to a great effort, and probably never afterward appeared to the same advantage, or preached with equal power" (Albert Hopkins).[1]

The results of all this, though very important to the College, and to the town, and sufficient to carry the former well over the crisis, were not outwardly great nor inwardly lasting. The numbers graduated in regular course from 1827–32, both inclusive, averaged but twenty-one. Two years are commonly sufficient to change the complexion of a college, so far as the body of the students are concerned, almost completely; since the two upper classes usually give tone and color to the whole body, and pass on out of sight. It was remarkably so in this instance, as will be noticed a little further on. But considered in reference to the president and the guardians of the College, the results were considerable, and considerably permanent. He and they were sure that the College was now to stand, and that it became them to secure for students better facilities for the time to come. Griffin was naturally most impressed with the need of a new college chapel, in a separate building, away from either of the two college dormitories. The old one occupied the two middle stories of the south end of West College, and had become, in the course of thirty-five years, both in many ways unsuitable and also quite too accessible to mischievous students to ply their tricks upon. Just before this revival commenced, the trustees at their summer meeting, in 1825, had taken the desperate resolution to raise, if it were possible, twenty-five thousand dollars, in order to build a new chapel and to found a new professorship. The conditions as to time extended from the first of September to the last day of November. No subscription was to be binding unless the whole were completed by the last-mentioned date. Dr. Griffin was appointed the sole agent to solicit funds, and it was thought best that his name should head the list of givers; to which he consented, putting it down for one hundred dollars. One of the trustees present, believed to be Dr. Shepard of Lenox, expostulated at once: That will never do; the money cannot be raised on a paper headed that way; probably it cannot be raised in any case; but it must start out from Williamstown heavier than that. After deliberation

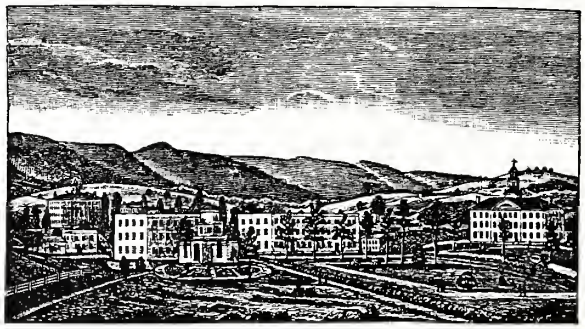
[1] This schoolhouse was close by the old farmhouse of Deacon Levi Smedley; and his sons, Levi and James, and daughters also, attended these meetings. Deacon James Smedley was my father-in-law, and I have often heard him discourse fervidly on Griffin's eloquence and power at those times.

and consultation, Griffin put down his name again, for one thousand dollars in place of the other. Doubtless those members of the trustees who could give at all went also to the utmost verge of their pecuniary ability.

Griffin went out in September upon this agency of soliciting subscriptions. He had but three months in which to complete the work. After the revival commenced in college, he felt compelled to remain at home for the most part of the time; but the powerful revival itself proved later to have more efficiency as toward the end in view than his own strong solicitations. "*If the Lord were pleased to kill us, he would not have shown us all these things.*" *Heaven has decreed that this College shall live.* This was the burden of his later appeals. Even these succeeded but slowly, because it was at a time of commercial crisis, and among a people who had come to regard the cause of the College as a hopeless one. While in Northampton on this errand, he met with a very efficient agent of Amherst, traversing the same ground in the interest of that institution, and far surpassing him in his success. This agent informed him of the amounts he had raised in such and such instances. "*Then are you the prince of beggars.*" The guess of a Yankee may perhaps here be tolerated, conceding all reasonable facility to this Amherst agent, that his success was not due to his own ability so much as to the youthful vigor and the long-delayed rights and the natural constituents of Amherst. At that time Griffin had but four weeks left in which to raise twelve thousand dollars. He had just gotten over the watershed. Almost one-half had yet to be gained. But on account of the state of things at home his courage had grown faster than his subscription list. Both his own daughters and his son-in-law had been hopefully converted in the revival. According to a careful memorandum still preserved among his private papers, only four of the students actually on the ground at the close of the fall term in 1825 remained unconverted; while there were eleven others out of a total of eighty-five on the catalogue then absent from college, leaving seventy hopefully pious. His theory of missions, and of Christian colleges indispensable in order to carry these forward, made him so sanguine of the future of Williams, and he was enabled to impart so much of his own enthusiasm to those whom he approached during the four weeks, that the whole amount of twenty-five thousand dollars was assured before the close of the college term.

In a double and emphatic sense, accordingly, does the institution owe to its third president the beautiful building on the campus used

for a little more than thirty years as a chapel, and still useful for various other purposes, bearing the appropriate name of "Griffin Hall"; for he personally raised the money for its erection, and then his tact and good judgment controlled in every part of the building, from the levelling of the site to the final position of the weather-vane. Most curious is it, that his experience at Andover many years before, which brought upon his name much odium and more ridicule, namely, his expensive handling of the rocky site there and the erection at another's cost of the house for his own use, proved of great service to him and the public in his corresponding work here in 1828. When he took hold of the chapel project practically the limestone rocks rose twice as high as the tallest man's head right in the broad street north of the road, all along the opposite of the old East College. Beyond these ledges the ground shelved



GRIFFIN HALL (building to the right).

down sharply to the north, where the building now stands. The first thing to do was to blast down these rocks in front, and then transport them some rods to the northwest, in order thereby to level up the ground on the back side, and to lay a firm foundation all around, most of it on the living limestone. The next thing to do was to procure an ornamental and the locally novel underpinning, which was gotten of sawn gray marble, — nearly white, — undoubtedly brought from Lanesboro, where the limestone is finer and whiter than in Williamstown, and where at that time machinery was in operation cutting out just such blocks as were required. The window sills and caps, — the latter somewhat longer and much thicker than the former, — and the two front door-sills and the steps to these doors, were sawn out of the same material and by the same process, the steps into very large blocks, — all of which pieces are in perfect place to-day after being seventy years in position. The

building is ninety-two feet long by thirty-eight feet wide, fronts the south with two handsome doors equidistant from the corners, of which the east one has always been the main entrance, and is three stories high with an ample basement.

The costly underpinning was only used in front parallel with the Main Street, and on the west end, then fully observable by all persons passing from west to east. It consisted of two lines of blocks one above the other, each just one foot high and the lower one well above the ground, of different lengths of course so as to break joints, and the smooth surface and light color contrasting finely with the red brick above, of which the main building was constructed and which in those days were never painted. The same relief was furnished by the window sills and caps all over the building, except that the heavy caps were not used on the back side at all, but in place of them, and because they were much cheaper, bricks set on end formed the caps, precisely as in the old West College. Certainly in fact and, perhaps warned by his Andover experience, in cause, Dr. Griffin studied cheapness in this building, wherever it would not interfere with true beauty and usefulness. The back side, that is, the north side, was wholly out of sight in those days, and almost wholly so in these days also. There was no marble underpinning, and no marble window-caps on the back side. The back wall of the basement up to the uniform brick line was laid in the rough limestone that came from the ledges in front. The wall, however, on that side has not perceptibly settled any more than on any of the others. It was good work all round. The marble sills were put under every window in the building without exception; and there were a considerable number of them left over when the chapel was completed; and these Griffin sold to Mr. Morey, father of the present William A. Morey, who was then about to build his brick house near the southern end of Stone Hill, in which house the sills appear firm and bright at the present time.

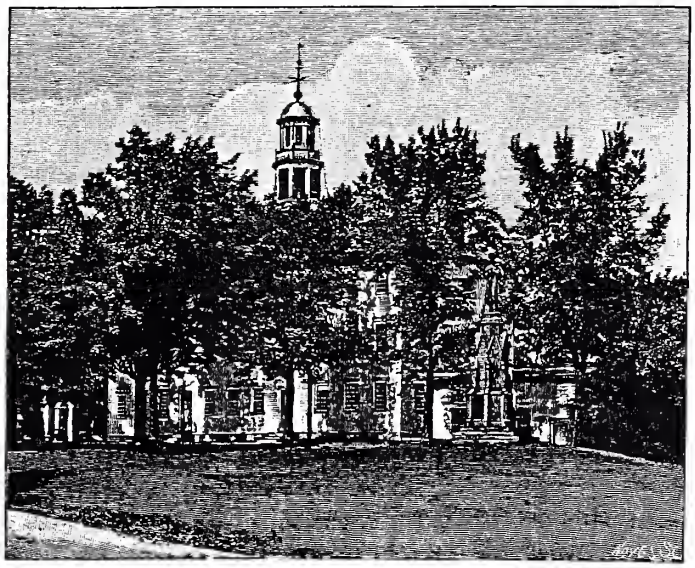
The steps leading up to the two doors in front were handsomely constructed, and are handsomely in place at this day. The upper stone in each is four feet by six and one-half, and nine inches thick. The quick, heavy tread of hundreds of students to and from chapel twice a day for over thirty years has perceptibly worn down the upper block at the east door, and the sill behind it, at least two inches at the middle point. The only entrance to the basement was on the east end of the building near the front, and this door was also handsomely wrought and approached by smaller blocks in the marble steps; but the pressing need of another recitation-room, besides the

famous Senior recitation-room in that corner of the first floor, caused to be constructed, many years after the building itself, an annex of one story, covering all of the east end in its lower portion, except that part covered by the basement door and its approaches. This low annex, wholly out of the plan and forms of the original building, greatly disfigures it, especially to those coming toward it up "Consumption Hill," which last designation sprung from a remark of Dr. Griffin to the effect, that many a student had been cured of tendencies to consumption by breasting up that hill in a hurry to reach college prayers! Barring this annex, Griffin Hall is a very symmetrical and beautiful building. It cost ten thousand dollars. It did and does great credit to the taste and skill of Edward Dorr Griffin. It is not likely that it was drafted by any professional architect. Neither of its external dimensions fall into even feet, nor exactly into feet and half feet. It is surmounted by a belfry in excellent proportion both as to size and height, and this is surmounted by a strong iron finial, on which are fastened two gilded globes of metal, one above the other, the lower one twenty-one inches in diameter and the other fourteen inches. Above these is the weather-vane, seven feet long. The finial comes to a point with two slight bits of scroll-work, the broader sides toward the street. The building and all its summit-lines satisfy even the trained eye and educated taste.

The evidence is direct and certain, although not written down contemporaneously, that the copper balls and the weather-vane were not fastened on the finial by any predetermined measurements, but by the eye of Dr. Griffin himself, standing across the Main Street by the old East College fence, while the men above the belfry lifted or lowered the balls and the vane in accordance with the motions of his long arm and huge hand, until each was in exact relation to the others and in right proportions of height with the whole building and with the terminating finial above, when at his stentorian "Hold!" each and all were made secure in place. It is not known that balls and vane have ever been unfastened and taken down, until in August, 1896, under the general supervision of Watkins, college carpenter, all three were temporarily removed for the purpose of regilding. The only other feature of Griffin Hall that claims notice in this place is the elaborate central window of the west end of the building, directly in front of which within stood the pulpit of the chapel. The present writer is no architect, and, accordingly, he cannot technically describe this window; but he had the pleasure a few years ago of running across a professional architect, otherwise

unknown to him, who was admiring and copying it by himself alone. This man's emphatic testimony was, that the window was the finest architectural feature on all of the college ground. It is but fair to add, however, that Hopkins Hall and the three Thompson laboratories had not then been constructed, and could not consequently come into this comparison.

Before the formal dedication of this chapel, the main feature of which was a useful historical address by the president, the college faculty, as such, suffered its first great loss by the resignation of Professor Chester Dewey. He had been nineteen years in continuous service, two years as a tutor, from 1808, and seventeen years as



GRIFFIN HALL AT PRESENT.

a Professor in the Natural Sciences. He entered college from Sheffield in 1802, and while strong in mathematics and classics, he evinced from the first a decided partiality for the natural sciences. He was the pioneer on this ground, as Professor Silliman was at New Haven a few years earlier, in this class of studies, and put botany and chemistry on a permanent basis, and helped on in the great work of sorting out the special sciences, which were then grouped under the sole designation of natural philosophy. As a boy, he had been remarked for an early and symmetrical development of both body and mind, for unusual good health and buoyant spirits; as a student, he manifested quickness of perception, and a

manly disposition, and high regard for the rights and feelings of others, and a hearty interest in whatever he undertook, whether of sports or studies; and as a man, he showed great facility in executing business of any kind and method, in fulfilling appointed duties, and a willingness to help others, however weakened by habits or circumstances.

It is admitted on all hands by his contemporaries that President Griffin was no disciplinarian. He wholly lacked the wonderful tact possessed by his successor of handling students practically without discipline; and he lacked still more the sympathetic and whole-hearted power, which some college officials have possessed, of so drawing the good-will and confidence of students, and of so developing the interest of students in the studies pursued, that the steady and impartial and kindly application of a few rules reached all the ends of discipline with very little friction. Chester Dewey had all the natural qualities implied, and quickly acquired the practical skill requisite, in governing students by a combination of the two above-mentioned modes of action, in which Griffin was deficient. The professor consequently came to hold a prominent position in the management, as well as in the instruction, of the College, and whenever the president was away, which was then a considerable portion of the time, he acted tacitly in his stead, and usually with the best results. As a contemporary has well put it: "His facility and success in the government of young men brought upon him special responsibilities, and constituted him the leader in emergencies. In doubt, his counsel was essential; in difficulty, his presence was indispensable; in any difference of sentiment, his opinion was final." Any one can easily glean from what has been said about Griffin in this chapter, that he would not relish such influence and deference accorded to a colleague, or, as he doubtless conceived it, subordinate. At any rate, he disrelished it. He could not understand the grounds of his own weakness as a college officer. He did not understand the grounds of the great strength of his colleague as a college officer. Nor did he at all appreciate the indispensableness of Professor Dewey to the College as matters then stood. Details of the quarrel have not come down to us, nor direct proofs of the jealousy of the president toward the professor; but it is as certain as anything in the past can be, that the professor was far better fitted for the functions of a president than was the president himself, and that this circumstance, with others, made cordial relations between the two in the practical ongoings of the College very difficult, if not impossible.

It is not suggested in these lines, neither can it have been true,

that Professor Dewey was altogether without blame in the misunderstandings and repulsions that led to his resignation of his professorship in 1827. Such rare success as his was in winning the hearts as well as the judgments of the students, was too well calculated (human nature being what it is) to inflate a comparatively young man, to make it probable that he kept himself as meek and silent as would have been proper under the assumptions and criticisms and suspicions of his elder in years and superior in position. But, however this may have been, the loss of Professor Dewey to the College was severe and irreparable. The only full professor left was Ebenezer Kellogg, a man greatly inferior to Dewey in every respect. Dewey had studied divinity during the two years between his graduation and his accession to the teaching force of the College, and he became an excellent preacher. Even at the beginning of his professorship, William Cullen Bryant, then a Sophomore, regarded his preaching so favorably, that he said of it fifty years afterward, "We listened with more interest [than to President Fitch] to Professor Chester Dewey, then in his early manhood, the teacher of the Junior class, who was the most popular of those who were called the Faculty of the College."

Albert Hopkins, who commenced his long-continued course of teaching in the College in the year that Chester Dewey left it, in that article on the religious history of the College already referred to and quoted from, mentions this departure as one among several causes of the decadence of religion and increase of impiety at that time and afterward. "A want of permanence among the officers of the College, operating, of course, unfavorably to the exertion of any systematic religious influences." From what happened directly afterward, as surely as from all that went before, it is clearly discernible that the College could have much better spared its president than its chief professor. The latter was just in the prime and fulness of his powers, forty-three years old; the former was not indeed past age, as we generally reckon it for such functions, being then in his fifty-eighth year, but he was uncommonly old for his years, and unsuited in his whole make-up to enlarge and deepen the studies of a college, which was to him a sort of mill-horse round. Dewey, on the other hand, was constructive and progressive. He had already enlarged the circle of studies, and had imparted a vitality and prominence to the natural sciences, which they kept unquestioned throughout the first third of the century. In that interval of time, no other class of studies equalled these in interest to the students, and in really educating power. The credit of this,

rather the great distinction of it, will always rest with Chester Dewey. His immediate successor in the professorship, Ebenezer Emmons, and Albert Hopkins, in a cognate professorship created in 1829, assisted to continue a certain preëminence to these studies over others, until about 1833; then these slowly gave place to another class of studies, for the next third of the century, under the leadership of Mark Hopkins.

On leaving Williamstown, Dewey went first to Pittsfield, where he remained for nine years in charge of a boys' school of a high grade, called the Pittsfield "Gymnasium," which offered unusual facilities for the training of boys, and which he conducted with great success. In June, 1826, the Berkshire Association of Congregational Ministers passed, at their session in Stockbridge: —

1st. That we will adopt measures to secure the writing, and as soon as circumstances shall permit, the printing and circulation of a History of the County; which shall embrace an account of everything important in it, whether natural or artificial, civil, literary, or religious: — more particularly, which shall embrace an account of the settlement of the several Towns; the formation of Parishes and Churches; the settlement, dismission and death of Ministers; revivals of religion, and sketches of the lives of eminent men.

2d. That Rev. Mr. Field be requested to prepare the materials for said History.

In the preface to this publication, when it came to be printed, in 1829, Mr. Field wrote as follows: "At the time these votes were passed, it was designed to apply to Professor Dewey to write the Natural History of the County. He has done more. The part to which his name is prefixed is written by him, with the exception of the paragraphs which respect the early settlement of the County, the Aboriginal inhabitants, the Revolutionary War, Shays's Insurrection, the Courts, revivals of Religion, and most of the Tables. These have been supplied by the Committee according to an early understanding between the Professor and him."

The title-page of the First Part, which embraces nearly one-half the entire book, runs as follows: —

A
History
of
The County of Berkshire.
Part I.
containing a
General View of the County.
By Rev. CHESTER DEWEY,
Late Professor of Chemistry and Natural Philosophy in Williams College, and now Principal in the Berkshire Gymnasium.

In 1836 he removed to Rochester to assume direction of the "Collegiate Institute" there, which became, under his auspices, the present "University of Rochester." He never afterward removed his home, but he continued for many years to give courses of lectures on botany and chemistry in the medical schools of Pittsfield and Castleton, Vermont. His old age was a pleasure and a wonder. Preserving his youthful sympathies, his vigor of mind, health of body, and lifelong habits of industry, he passed away in December, 1867, at the age of eighty-three, with a serenity and triumph that befitted a Christian philosopher. He had kept up in general in all the branches of natural science, but his specialty was botany, and he became the highest authority in this country and in Europe in the botanical department of sedges. His collection of grasses, also, said to have been the largest and best in the world, he presented to Williams College, and one of the last years of his life was much occupied in completing its scientific arrangement.[1]

As we have already seen in part, the year 1827 was one of the landmark years in the history of the town and College. The trustees voted to raise money to build a new chapel, and also to found a new professorship. This was termed of "Rhetoric and Moral Philosophy," and its first incumbent was William A. Porter, an alumnus of 1818, a tutor in 1819–21, in which latter year he pronounced the master's oration, which Dr. Griffin is credibly reported to have said was the best that he had ever heard on a Commencement occasion. After a leisurely study of theology under his father's tuition at Catskill, and at Princeton for two years, he was called to Burlington as a candidate for settlement in the ministry, but before that question was decided he was chosen Professor of Languages in the college there, in which position he served two years, and then came back to his Alma Mater to fill the new professorship, of which much was expected, and to which Daniel Noble, his father-in-law, contributed pecuniary support. Professor Porter had all the advantages of an uncommonly fine personal appearance, a melodious voice, warm feelings, and even temper, talents and accomplishments both varied and brilliant, and local associations and relations that were of the best. No man before or since has stepped into a professor-

[1] I am not likely to forget the circumstances under which I saw Professor Dewey for the first and only time. It was the morning of Commencement day, 1856. I was to be married the next morning in the college chapel by Mark Hopkins; and was anxious to present to him beforehand my legal certificate to that end. I found him at length on the top of the old astronomical observatory in the sole company of his old teacher and *confrère*. I was not introduced, but I had a chance to mark the features and bearing of a man of men.

ship on this ground with obviously equal prospects and preparations for a useful and excelling career. But time (an indispensable element in college success) was denied to him. Death cut short his opportunities before he finished his third year of service. What is, what was, is open to observation and record; the door to what might have been is inexorably closed to human eyes.

Mrs. Porter, thus left a widow in early life, was Mary Noble, eldest daughter of the treasurer of the College. Her beauty of person as a girl and as a woman, even to old age, was noteworthy; and it has often been repeated from one lip to another that she was the handsomest woman ever bred in Williamstown. In 1832, after two years of widowhood, she married Charles Stoddard of Boston, who was a competent and faithful trustee here from 1839 till 1872, and she often accompanied her husband back to her old home, especially when their son, Charles A. Stoddard, was filling out his college course to its completion in 1854. Her character was as beautiful as her face, and neither left much to be desired. Her body was brought to the old cemetery here on the hillside. Dust to dust. Around her resting-place moulder, too, the ancestors on both lines. On the question of personal beauty, there was sometimes friendly rivalry and rallying as between the special friends of Mrs. Stoddard and those of Mrs. J. V. C. Smith, both natives of Williamstown and both in mature life fellow-residents in Boston. Mrs. Smith was one of the daughters of Henry C. Brown, sheriff of the county. The late Dr. H. L. Sabin was fond of telling a story, in the simple incidents of which he was a chief participator. In 1854, Mrs. Smith's husband was the mayor of Boston. Two or three years after that, Dr. Sabin and two of his colleagues in the State Legislature were sauntering along Washington Street of a Saturday afternoon, jocosely killing time. There was an empty dry-goods box conveniently near the sidewalk, and the three proceeded to sit down on it country style. One of them proposed that, if a real handsome woman passed by, those of their number who thought her such should lift the right hand in signal thereof. Pretty soon all three hands went suddenly up, — it was Mrs. Charles Stoddard. Not long after all the three hands popped up again, — and this time it was Mrs. Mayor Smith! Sabin then vociferously claimed them both as Williamstown girls, and old pards of his!

Another apparently insignificant, but really historical, item of this year, 1827, bearing on both the College and the town, was the master's oration delivered at Commencement by Mark Hopkins. He was the eldest of three sons of Archibald and Mary Curtis Hop-

kins of Stockbridge, born Feb. 4, 1802. Their farm consisted of 375 acres, and it was one of the old Indian mission farms of the century preceding; and one of the buildings upon it had been erected for mission purposes by the General Court of Massachusetts, which stood in its place and was put to ordinary farm uses till long past the middle of the nineteenth century. Mark Hopkins's grandmother was Electa Sergeant, daughter of the Rev. John Sergeant, the sainted Indian missionary of Stockbridge. Electa Sergeant was granddaughter of Ephraim Williams, Senior, the father of the founder of the College, the head of one of the four English families brought to Stockbridge by the General Court in order to set an example of Christian living before the mission Indians. It is perhaps likely, although there is no hint of it anywhere, that these circumstances in the line of their descent and in the origin of their home may have influenced the boyish thoughts of Mark Hopkins and of his brother Albert, who was five years younger, as toward religion and missions. It is more likely that these boys derived from their mother, who was a woman of uncommon strength of mind and moral purpose, at once their intellectual traits and deeply religious impulses. Little is told of their childhood, but this little is significant. The elder related of the younger a family scene, which he witnessed. When Albert was about three years old, he was standing in the middle of the room, and his mother, who was seated, bade him come to her. He refused. She used persuasion with no avail, and then went and whipped him. Seating herself again, she told him to come. He again refused, and was again whipped; and this went on, the whippings becoming more severe, till it seemed as if he would be whipped to death. During the whippings he screamed, and then stood sullen and defiant. At length, after the severest whipping of all, when his mother had seated herself and bade him come, he stretched out both arms and ran to her, and hid his face in her lap and sobbed. From that time he was never disobedient, and grew up to be one of the most affectionate and dutiful of sons. It was also remembered of Albert by the older brother, that, when he was just able to run alone, he was one day missed, and, having been found by his mother half a mile from home, and being asked what he was doing there, he said he was "*looking at the great treeses.*" Mark also remembered, and sometimes used it as an illustration in his lectures in anatomy, that once, when Albert had put his arm out of joint at the elbow, his father had brought him up to Williamstown in a wagon to be treated by the famous bone-setter of that day, Dr. Porter, and just how the

bone had been thrust back into its socket in half a minute's time. The district school which these two boys attended in the winter was a mile and a half from their home. This tended to develop their physical constitution, naturally robust; the younger became noted among his fellows in Stockbridge, and afterward in college, for feats of strength and physical endurance; and the older one, after a few years of half and half health, came into a forty years' course of remarkable physical vigor, though he did not take the active exercise nor make the strenuous bodily exertions of his brother. In their boyhood, both worked on the farm in the summer-time, both were very fond of natural scenes and growths, and both were early stimulated by their parents to lives of study and reflection.

"Study was more congenial to my brother Mark than to me. He entered upon the pursuit of knowledge prompted, I think, by a love for it, mixed doubtless with something of a worldly ambition." So wrote Albert Hopkins, who was five years younger than his brother, to a mutual friend of both in 1840. These boys had an uncle, Jared Curtis, an alumnus of the College in 1800, who providentially came to be placed in a position to supplement the influence of the parents in relation to their going to college. After several vocations elsewhere, he became principal of an academy in Stockbridge, his native place, just at the right time to assist in persuading his nephews to go to college and to assist also in fitting them to enter. When Mark was about seventeen years old he taught school for a term in Richmond, the town adjoining Stockbridge on the north, and there is good evidence that then and there he struck the key-note of his after life. He gained the hearts of his scholars, so that they never forgot him afterward. This primal success was followed up the next year, when he was eighteen, by an experience that has but recently come to light (1897), from a bundle of old letters preserved by his mother. Partly on account of infirm health, and partly with a view of earning money with which to go to college, for his parents were not forehanded and they had just then lessened their means by opening their home to the orphaned children of John Hopkins, whom they brought up as their own, in May, 1820, Mark went to Virginia, to open a school in Mecklenburg County, on the border of North Carolina. He boarded with a Mr. Nelson, chief patron of the school, who built the schoolhouse on his own land after young Hopkins had arrived. Several of his pupils came from a considerable distance. The state of society, according to his letters to his parents, was astonishingly primitive. His pupils though ignorant were capable. He became strongly interested in them, and stayed

with them about eighteen months before he returned North. He interested himself also in the blacks, who were one-half of the population. At their request he read a chapter in the New Testament to them in each of their fervid meetings, but withdrew after reading. His letters home though artless are impressive. Even then he had a master stroke in English. A letter to Albert in Latin is scarcely English. A letter in the bundle from the mother addressed to Mark on his nineteenth birthday is a masterpiece both in sense and expression.

Some six or eight months after his return home from the South, and in the line of some assurance of pecuniary help sent him by his father while there, Mark entered Williams about the middle of Sophomore year, and was graduated in due course in 1824. Perhaps because his health was not yet firm, and because the instruction offered was not all of it inviting, he was not specially assiduous or constant at his college studies even after he had entered.

The full course has always been twelve terms. Four of these had fully passed before he entered at all. He was certainly absent most of the time for two more. By entering late he mainly (perhaps wholly) escaped the tuition of the tutors, who, in their best estate, were crude in their scholarship. There were then besides the tutors two professors and the president. The only one of these three who was at once a good teacher and an inspiring exemplar in life and science, and a hopeful and companionable man, was Chester Dewey, Professor of "Mathematics and Natural Philosophy." Mark Hopkins was not an adept in mathematics. What parts of them he heartily essayed to learn, he learned with difficulty and with no great success. Neither was he a good student in the ancient languages. Of his Greek lessons, he once said to a college mate, "They are easy; I do not know enough of Greek to make them hard." But upon the natural sciences, under the impulse and guidance of Professor Dewey, he entered with zest, and had a good success in them throughout. The best and a complete proof of this may be found in the master's oration, the first writing of his that was published, in which nearly all of his illustrations are drawn from those departments of knowledge loosely covered at that time by the term, Natural Philosophy. His only college training in the Baconian logic was derived from Dewey; and he speaks, with some enthusiasm, in the oration just referred to, of "an induction of particulars," like that of Newton in respect of gravitation. It is a pity that he did not afterward pursue his studies in logic farther, for he never came to a full comprehension of the essential differ-

ences between the inductive and deductive logic, and their prodigious importance in the studies of which he was in general a profound master. "I have never read Mill's 'Logic,' or any other full book on that subject," he said apologetically to the writer in the latter's Senior year, while he was going over with the class a petty and antiquated book mainly on the syllogism.

From a boy his mind seems to have taken a philosophical turn, — *causa causarum*, — although it does not appear that he found at home many (if any) philosophical books strictly so called. As soon, however, as he had fairly entered college, he began to search the college library for such books. He found Reid, Dugald Stewart, Paley, and some others, which he read carefully and partially assimilated, before he came under Dr. Griffin, who then taught these subjects in the Senior year. It had been the function of the presidents from the beginning to teach the Seniors morals and metaphysics. Dr. Moore was fully competent to do this; and it is probable that he had secured to the library the works of Scotch and English writers, which Hopkins had devoured at his leisure. Dr. Griffin was no metaphysician, and still less a scientific moralist. There is no question that Hopkins was more than a match for his teacher in these topics from start to finish. Not that he had yet come to any final conclusions of his own, as to the ultimate grounds of mental or moral action; but he knew what the then current writers had said on these points, and what was consistent or nonconsistent with their fundamentals. We catch from a letter of Harvey Rice, a classmate and friend, written to Franklin Carter, while the latter was preparing a brief memoir of Hopkins not long after his death, in 1887, an interesting statement or two, and, what is better, some personal reminiscences of Hopkins's bearing in the class-room toward his teacher and president. One statement is, "He soon evinced a decided love for the study of metaphysics, and read all the books on that subject which he could find in the college library, and took great pleasure in discussing the different theories advanced by different authors." The middle part of this statement is loosely drawn, as such generals commonly are, and is very probably exaggerated, although the library was then scant enough in special books on any one branch of knowledge; and besides, the strong statement conflicts with what the person concerned expressly told the present writer thirty years later. The other two clauses of the statement, however, are obviously and abundantly true.

The following reminiscences in Rice's letter are pregnant with

suggestions in several directions, and are beyond all price as illustrating the character of two successive presidents of the College.

> In the recitation-room he often put questions, arising out of our lessons, to the learned professor [Griffin], which perplexed him, and then would answer the questions himself with becoming deference. I well remember that on one occasion, during our Senior year, he read before the class in the presence of the professor an essay on a metaphysical subject. About half the essay was original, and the other half copied from the distinguished Scotch author, Dr. Reid. Hopkins had placed quotation marks on what was original, but omitted to credit Reid. The learned professor who had the class in charge, in criticising the essay pronounced the quotation all right, but cut and scored Dr. Reid unmercifully. Hopkins said nothing, but doubtless laughed in his sleeve. He soon after confided in me the finesse he had practised on the professor [president], with an injunction to keep it secret, lest it might come to the ears of the professor and wound his feelings. I doubt if he ever spoke of it to any one else. I kept the secret for more than forty years, and then disclosed it, for the first time, in a speech which I made at the Commencement dinner, in 1871, when Hopkins was president of the College and presided at the table. The anecdote was received with prolonged applause.[1]

Was it honest for the pupil to put quotation marks around what was his own in a composition destined to come before the eye of the teacher, and to take bodily from another a long passage and pass it off as his own?

Was the mere fact that the teacher "cut and scored unmercifully" a passage really from Reid, a proof of his incapacity, when the pupil continued to do that precise thing, as a teacher, with other passages from Reid for forty years and more?

Because the teacher in class approved of the passages written by the pupil, even though inveigled to do so by the quotation marks, was that a good joke upon him, or any proof in itself that the passages approved were weak philosophy?

Did Hopkins impart to Rice the real reason for his injunction to secrecy, in the words, "lest it come to the ears of the professor and wound his feelings"?

Finally, did the pupil respect himself any the more or his teacher any the less for the apparent success of what he must have known was an immoral trick?

The child is father of the man. The simple truth is, that Mark

[1] I was present at this Commencement dinner, and heard Mr. Rice tell the above story, and joined without reflection in the laughter and applause. The laughter was at the expense of the memory of the past president, Griffin, and the applause in honor of the present president Hopkins. What reflection has led me to conclude as to the character of the whole matter from first to last, is made sufficiently apparent in the text.

Hopkins displayed in this incident of his student life a trait, which appeared and reappeared at intervals in his varied intercourse with others throughout his active life, — a trait which is well described in a review of Carter's book in the *Atlantic Monthly*, presumably written by the editor, H. E. Scudder, Williams College 1858, "*as something very like guile.*" Perhaps he inherited this feature of his character from Ephraim Williams, father of the founder of the College, who certainly possessed it to such a degree as ultimately to destroy his influence in Stockbridge, and indirectly to destroy the Indian Mission there.[1] Hopkins was great-great-grandson of Williams. The testimony of their college contemporaries is copious and uniform, that both the Hopkins brothers were good students, correct and decorous in all their deportment, courteous to everybody, willing to help anybody they could, and highly esteemed at once for their talents and their character. Mark was regarded by his classmates as the best writer and deepest thinker in college at the time. He received at graduation the appointment of valedictorian, "an honor," says Harvey Rice, "justly bestowed and heartily approved by every member of the class. In conversation with him nearly fifty years afterward, the writer happened to remark that he was greatly surprised that the only dullard of his class, in his graduating oration, had manifested a degree of ability and talent which exceeded the expectation of everybody who knew him; and that he was unable to account for it. 'Well,' said Hopkins, 'perhaps I may, now the fellow is dead, explain it. The truth is, I wrote the oration for him.'"

The following is a copy of an invitation to the Commencement Ball of 1824: —

Williams College

COMMENCEMENT BALL, SEPTEMBER 1st, 1824

The Class of Graduates requests the attendance of

Miss Lucy Bridges

at Sylvester's Assembly Room at 7 P.M.

H. RICE		S. MOOAR
M. HOPKINS	Managers	G. W. BULKLEY
J. H. CARPENTER		J. S. ROBINSON

[1] See for particulars *Origins in Williamstown, passim.*

The "Assembly Room" in the old Mansion House, elsewhere described, was then called "Sylvester's," from the name of the lessee of the tavern. In the early time these balls were as regular a feature of the annual Commencement as the baccalaureate sermon or the valedictory oration. The "Miss Lucy Bridges" herewith invited to this ball is now, 1897, Mrs. James Smedley, and has kept this souvenir of her early youth (sixteen years) until now, and has recently given it to the writer for the present purpose.

Soon after Hopkins's graduation, in 1824, he entered as a student the Medical College at Pittsfield, but taught a part of that year in a school at Stockbridge. Then he was chosen a tutor in his Alma Mater, and served with acceptance for two years in that position. But his heart was not in the subjects which he taught in the classroom. Latin and Greek as such had few charms for him, although for a part of the time he taught in other subjects, and in the Junior class. For the first year he was associated in the tutorship with his classmate and warm friend, William Hervey. Both were powerfully influenced, religiously, by the wonderful outpouring of the Spirit upon the College during that year, and both powerfully influenced the students in the way of righteousness; and not the students only, but also many people, young and old, in the town. After Tutor Hervey retired, and during the year when Hopkins was what was then called "Sophomore tutor," he taught a class of ten or twelve boys in the Sunday-school of the town. The testimony is direct and pathetic as to his religious influence over that class. Said one of them of their teacher, "He left in the autumn of that year, and the final meeting with us was an occasion whose memory of more than sixty years is still tearful."

The faculty appointed Tutor Hopkins, as a compliment to him and fittingly to round out his official connection with them, to deliver the master's oration at Commencement. This appointment continued to be an honor, so regarded by the donors and so relished by the recipients, to one of those seeking that degree three years after graduation, for about thirty years after this, as it had been considered an honor for a long time before this. At this very Commencement, William A. Porter was chosen Professor of Moral Philosophy and Rhetoric, largely on account of distinction gained in 1821 by his master's oration, as has been already noted; and it is as certain as any such matter can be made, that Hopkins became Porter's successor in this professorship in 1830, still more largely

in consequence of distinction gained by his own master's oration in 1827.

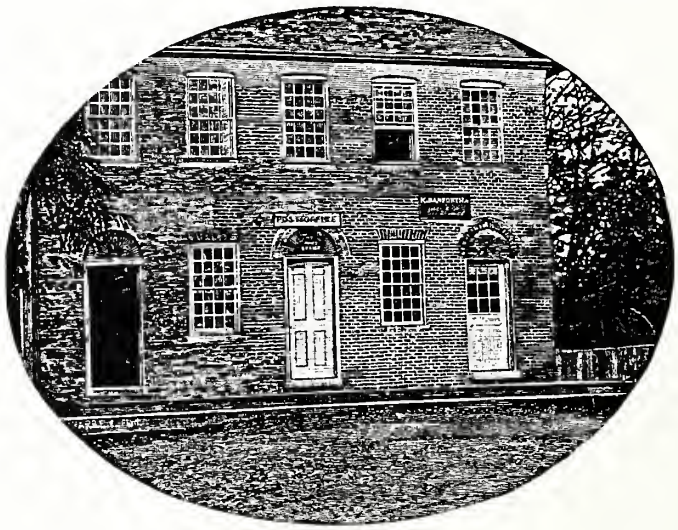
This piece, which reads like an essay in philosophy, and has few oratorical features in it from beginning to end, except clearness and force of statement and reasoning, convincingly shows what his reading had been, and how the bent of his mind had been set, in the three years since graduating. Its subject was "Mystery." It does not show a trace of any of the subjects he had been teaching in for two years in College. No one could have guessed from it that he had attended medical lectures, and was about to resume them, in preparation for the profession which he had chosen for his life-work. It made a deep impression upon those who heard it. It was published the next April in the *American Journal of Science and Arts*. There is no evidence, indeed the evidence is all the other way, that the delivery of the oration on the commencement stage added anything to its impressiveness over and beyond what has been received by careful and intelligent readers of it. About 1880, at any rate the last time that John Morgan, of the class of 1826, was here, Hopkins told in the alumni meeting at his own expense and in the presence of Morgan, who had been for a lifetime Professor of Biblical Literature in Oberlin College, of an amusing passage once happening between the two just after Hopkins had spoken on the stage: — "*Mark, you are the awkwardest man that ever I heard speak!*" Morgan was a native Irishman, born the same year as Hopkins, immigrating in early childhood, fitting for college in Stockbridge Academy, becoming a classmate here with Albert Hopkins, and always continuing intimate with the older brother also. John Morgan was as tall and burly as Mark Hopkins, but far more supple in motion and graceful in attitude, as befitted a well-to-do native of the Isle; while stiffness and awkwardness in attitude and motion continued to characterize the public addresses of the other even to old age, although they gradually became less, or at least less noticeable. Much earlier in life than most men, Hopkins lost his hair on the top of the head, while considerable tufts remained till the last upon the sides and back of it; and it was a very peculiar motion of his in public speaking, to bring up over the top of his head with one hand or the other the long stray hairs on one side or the other, which were doubtless brushed and trained to stay there in general, as appears in all his pictures. His eyes were deep set in his head, very bright, shaded by uncommonly thick and long lashes, so that it was difficult for any one to tell of what color they were. He used sometimes to amuse himself

by asking chance groups of young people to tell him what color his eyes were.

With that master's oration Hopkins took permanent leave of the College, as he supposed. The only professorship then founded that he was fitted for, or would have thought of accepting had it been offered to him, had been just at that time filled by Professor Porter, an earlier alumnus, a very suitable man, and a man more favored by President Griffin than Hopkins then was or ever after came to be. Albert Hopkins became a tutor at the same time that Mark went out of his two years' tutorship; and if either of them had then thought, that a college life would be desirable for himself or the other, the chances would have looked brighter for the younger brother; for he was the better mathematician, better fitted for and grounded in those natural sciences, which Professor Dewey had brought and kept to the fore. And so it happened in point of fact. Albert Hopkins did not leave the College from 1827 till his death, in 1872; not that he was teaching all the time in that long interval, and still less teaching in single lines of study. He remained for two years a tutor, then assumed the duties of Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy for nine years, and then for just thirty years continued in the chair of Natural Philosophy and Astronomy, when he practically ceased teaching in 1868, though nominally bearing the title of "Memorial Professor of Astronomy," on a foundation given by his lifelong friend, David Dudley Field. Mark Hopkins went back to his medical lectures, to some teaching, pursued as a means of paying his expenses, and to a futile effort to establish himself as a physician in New York City. His own phrase in relation to this was often repeated in after life, "I had pretty much got out of practice in New York, or rather, I had never got in."

There must also be chronicled under this year of 1827, something perhaps equally interesting in the history of the town and college both, since both were concerned in its initiation and maintenance while it lasted, namely, the establishment in April of that year of a weekly newspaper, entitled the *American Advocate*, "Edited and Published by Ridley Bannister, nearly opposite the West College, for the Proprietors." A random file of these newspapers, extending from No. 11 to No. 76, though far from complete within these numbers, is now lying on the writer's desk. They are well able to yield some gleanings of promise to our general purposes in this chapter. Bannister was the printer as well as the editor and publisher, the only printer in town who has ever left a name behind

him as such, and probably the only man who ever exercised the printer's art within its limits. The printing-office was at first down street, — "nearly opposite the post-office," — as was announced in the earlier headlines, but more eligible quarters were later found in the Williamstown Academy building, undoubtedly in the east room of the lower floor, in which Keyes Danforth, still later, held his law office, and also the post-office from 1853 till 1861, nearly the entire front of which building is shown in the accompanying woodcut. It is quite possible, that the trustees of the Academy and owners of the building were among the "proprietors" mentioned in the headlines of the newspaper in every issue. Who the "proprietors" were is not otherwise known; but it is plain enough that the



ambitious enterprise (for so small a town) did not prove to be profitable to them; for it is believed that no number of the paper was printed after November, 1828. It died within two years of its hopeful beginning. It died amid the bitter disputes and turmoils of the first election of Andrew Jackson to the presidency.

The name of the newspaper, *American Advocate*, hints at the influence and policy of Henry Clay, at that time a Democratic politician of wonderful personal magnetism, but with no claims to profound statesmanship. If there were ever anything absolutely un-American in every fibre of it, it was that jumble of restrictions and prohibi-

tions on foreign trade, which Clay dubbed the "American System." There was no "system" about it whatever, but only a game of greed and grab, and the devil take the hindmost; there was nothing "American" about it, because it denied the fundamentals of Jefferson's Declaration, and forbade to the whole people, at the instance of a few schemers, the "liberty" to buy and sell and get gain. Nevertheless, there were then, as there have been more or less ever since, ignorant dupes of these public plunderers, led astray by the sound and fury of deceptive words like "Protective" and "American" and "Home Market." Clay was a candidate for the presidency in 1824 under this false hue and cry, but was beaten by John Quincy Adams in the national House of Representatives, the only time a President has been chosen by that constitutional method. Clay himself voted in the House for Adams, and became almost immediately the latter's Secretary of State, in consequence of which the charge of "bargain and corruption" was vehemently raised against him, and he lost a large part of his great popularity, and never afterwards regained it. Clay had many warm friends in Massachusetts, particularly Henry Shaw of Lanesboro, father of the late "Josh Billings" of humorous memory. He visited Shaw on one occasion in Lanesboro as a personal friend, whose vote in favor of Clay's "Missouri Compromise" in 1820 put a sudden end to Shaw's political life in Berkshire. A large majority of the people of Williamstown had been Democrats in distinction from Federalists ever since that party line was drawn, and some of them had been misled by the wretched fallacies of Clay and others into supposing that prohibitions on trade could increase riches whose only possible source is trade; and there were enough of these people in Williamstown in 1827, and they were influential enough, to give both a name and a sort of policy to their respectable, though short-lived newspaper. We notice in one of the numbers an editorial in ostensible support of this restrictive and prohibitive theory of commerce; but there is not a paragraph or a line in it that is worth quoting, because the right of citizens to buy and sell freely is not a subject that has two sides to it any more than any one of the ten commandments has two sides. Jefferson, in immortal words, has pronounced this right and liberty to be at once self-evident and inalienable. Government, which in the last analysis is nothing in the world but a committee of the citizens to act in their behalf and for their good as a whole, may indeed, with their consent and at their instance, restrict and prohibit trade proved to be prejudicial to the public health or the public morals or the public revenue, and on no other grounds whatever.

In politics, the Williamstown *Advocate* supported the then incumbent of the presidency, John Quincy Adams, as against General Jackson. The paper did not survive the triumphant election of the latter in the fall of 1828. The "Tariff of Abominations," so called in the parlance of the time, passed in the summer of that year, and, increasing greatly the tariff-taxes over those of the then unprecedentedly high taxes of the "Tariff of 1824," was a main means of overthrowing the administration, and of a reaction that in turn overthrew protectionism for that generation.

The members of the faculty contributed freely to the columns of the *Advocate*. Ebenezer Emmons, for one, who, during his college course of 1814–18, became greatly interested in the several branches of natural science under the tuition of Chester Dewey and Amos Eaton, and continued these studies as a practical physician in Chester and Williamstown, and subsequently had a large share in introducing these studies into the country at large. In 1826 he published his "Manual of Mineralogy and Geology." Soon after he moved to Williamstown as a physician and was appointed Lecturer on Chemistry. He furnishes a short series of articles to the newspaper on the minerals and plants in the neighborhood. He was a plain and unpretentious man, full of scientific information, zealous in his work, and willing to teach anybody who was willing to learn at any time and in any way he could. He was chosen a deacon in the church here in 1828, and continued to serve in that capacity till 1836, when he removed his family to Albany, and began to take his share in the geological survey of the State of New York. And this was a prodigious share too. He retained his connection with the College, however, coming annually to Williamstown to deliver a course of lectures on geology and mineralogy for many years, until his public work as a scientist for the State of North Carolina inhibited this, and he died there in 1863.

Albert Hopkins was a tutor in the College during most of the time when the newspaper was published in the town. A series of moral and religious essays appeared in the paper, signed "U," of which the thirteenth was printed in No. 76. The style of these essays leads the writer to believe that they were written by Tutor Hopkins. They were given a prominent place in the paper, in some instances certainly the first column of the first page. We have seen that Mark Hopkins quit his connection with the College as tutor at the Commencement in 1827, gaining much reputation for himself on that occasion by his master's oration on "Mystery." We learn from a number of the *Advocate*, printed October 18, that he delivered

on the second of that month, in Stockbridge, an address before the Agricultural Society of that town, then celebrating its fourth anniversary. The paper prints the address in full, and thus becomes a curious channel for transmitting to posterity his first published effusion, all knowledge of whose existence had passed out of the minds of living men. A feeling of the grotesque is excited in comparing the metaphysical and sustained effort of September with the mechanical and strained effusion of October. Mark Hopkins never owned a rod of land in his life. And if there ever was a farmer's son born and bred who separated himself more completely in after life in sympathy and knowledge and interests from the men of the plough, it has not been the writer's lot to know him. We are glad to give the opening passage of this address *verbatim*, and then a paragraph from the middle of it, thus seizing a chance to perpetuate a transient phase of personal and public opinion.

GENTLEMEN OF THE AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY:

As the agricnltnral interest is the great interest of the country, it behooves no good citizen to decline anything, which, in the judgment of others, may conduce to its promotion. A conviction of this, together with an application from your committee under circumstances somewhat peculiar, must be my apology for presuming to appear, in my present capacity, before a body of agricultural men. Who is there indeed, that would not he happy to hail the spirit on this subject, which has brought together, upon a day so unpropitious, so large an assemhlage of our agriculturalists; and especially the spirit that has this day gratified the Society hy a very interesting exhihition from one of our neighhoring and most enterprising towns?

One thing more I mention as requisite to the prosperity and respectability of Agriculturists, and that is a republican simplicity of manners. Under this head properly falls the encouragement of Domestic Manufactures, a subject upon which I had not intended to touch. But the exhihition of them this day at the Academy, for the ahundance and heauty of the articles, for their fineness and firmness of texture, was such as to make a most interesting part of the exhibition, and afford a subject of congratulation to all who witnessed it. It implies a strength of character, a persevering industry, puhlic spirit and domestic habits truly valuable, which it is no flattery to mention, which it would be even wrong not to commend. A perseverance in this course would go far to remove the pernicious influence of the first cause at war with simplicity of manners. This is vanity, which is always clamorous; and the encroachments of a spirit of ostentation and useless expense are to be constantly guarded against. The vexation which it brings is but a thorny pillow to sleep on, and he who knows not to quell its solicitations to the measure of his income, deserves to read in a *writ* the record of his folly. The man who does not ground his respect on the attributes which God has given him as a man rather than on anything which money can purchase, deserves not the name.

Because he never gave any radical thought or analysis to that subject which was indeed beyond his sentry's beat, Mark Hopkins never emancipated himself from the notion implied in his use of the then current phrase, Encouragement of Domestic Manufactures. No wonder this was "a subject upon which I had not intended to touch." The farmers of Berkshire were by no means agreed upon it, and their orator first and last was always cautious to timidity and sometimes timid to moral cowardice. If domestic manufactures were profitable under the natural conditions of the time and place, they needed no artificial encouragement. Profit is the only legitimate and the always sufficient stimulus to industry and trade. But the tariff of 1824 had already made it luridly evident what was the nature of the "encouragement" sought to be given to "domestic manufactures." It was by means of tariff-taxes levied on a large part of the population in order to exclude foreign commodities of certain kinds and grades, so that a very small part of the same population might sell in a monopoly-market thus secured their own wares at an artificial price grossly enhanced. The "encouragement," of which the country has heard so much at intervals even down to the present day, is nothing but the encouragement of taxes; and the "domestic industries" thus encouraged at the expense of their neighbors are always found to be few in comparison with the whole; the industries thus "encouraged" by their own conspiracy and secret combination are found to be the oldest and already richest and most natural (except agriculture) of any in the land; and the whole result is always and of necessity loss and wrong and ruin. Mark Hopkins was young and inexperienced in the ways of the world when he applauded in Stockbridge what he so little understood. In the course of a long life he never analyzed into its elements a single case of trade, either foreign or domestic, to find how good it is in the plan of God for both parties to it, how buying is always at the same instant selling and selling *ipso facto* buying, how the keeping out of foreign goods that want to come in is inevitably the keeping in of domestic goods that want to go out to pay for them, and how selfish interference with the divinely appointed laws of trade comes home to roost and to defile in financial losses and social distinctions and moral hatreds and national decay.

The extant copies of the *American Advocate* exhibit a good many interesting bits of information and advertisement as to the ways of living and thinking in town and in College three-quarters of a century ago. We learn from one of them, for instance, that the professors then on their induction delivered an inaugural discourse, just

as the successive presidents do now, a custom that has since fallen into "innocuous desuetude," as our good President Cleveland would doubtless express it. Two new professors, Porter and Hovey, were inaugurated at Commencement, 1827, and both gave public discourses pertinent to their respective departments, which were editorially commended, not to say criticised, in the columns of the newspaper. The programme of the exercises of Commencement Day was printed entire, and we reproduce it here for the benefit of any of our readers who may be curious in such matters.

COLLEGE RECORD.

Commencement at Williams College took place on Wednesday, the 5th inst. The day was fine, which gave an opportunity for a much larger and more brilliant audience to attend, than we have ever before witnessed on similar occasions, at this College. — The following was the order of exercises: —

MORNING.

1. Sacred Music.
2. Prayer by the President.
3. Salutatory Oration in Latin. — JAMES BALLARD, Charlemont.
4. *Oration.* — The importance of high aims. — GEORGE HUBBELL TRACY, Troy, N. Y.
5. *Dissertation.* — The Inquisition. — SAMUEL WILCOX, Hartford, Con.
6. *Conference.* — Henry Martyn and Gordon Hall. — WILLIAM BRADLEY, Lee, DAVID DOWNS GREGORY, Sand Lake, N. Y.

MUSIC.

7. *Dissertation.* — The claims of the Aborigines. — BARNABAS PHINNEY, Lee.
8. *Oration.* — Influence of climate on physical and mental constitution. — BENJAMIN FRANKLIN HOXSEY, Williamstown.
9. *Oration.* — Triumphs of Truth. — JOSEPH MERRILL SADD, New Hartford, Con.
10. *Disputation.* — The expediency of attempting an entire suppression of the use of ardent spirits. — ORSAMUS TINKER, Worthington; ASAHEL FOOTE, Lee.

MUSIC.

11. *Oration.* — Oriental Poetry. — OSCAR HARRIS, Goshen, N. Y.
12. *Conference.* — Reputation as depending on Genius, Application, and Circumstances. — GEORGE WHITEFIELD HATHAWAY, Freetown; WILLIAM LEWIS, New Windsor, N. Y.; BARUCH BUTLER BECKWITH, Great Barrington.
13. *Philosophical Oration.* — Light. — JOSEPH ANDERSON, Shelburne.

EVENING.

14. Sacred Music.
15. *Greek Oration.* — Character of Lucian's Satire. — JAMES MORRISON ARNELL, Goshen, N. Y.
16. *Oration.* — Palestine. — MASON NOBLE, Williamstown.

17. *Poem.* — A vision of the year two thousand. — Amos Dean Wheeler, Leicester.

MUSIC.

18. *Oration.* — Mystery. — Mr. Tutor Hopkins.

MUSIC.

19. *Oration.* — Infidelity not Philosophy; with the Valedictory Address. — Nathan Brown, Whitingham, Vt.

20. Degrees conferred.

21. Sacred Music.

22. Prayer.

Prize-speaking of the undergraduates at some time during Commencement Week, usually in the evening preceding Commencement Day, whence the current name of the exercise, — "Moonlight," — began early in the history of the College and has continued from that time until this without intermission and scarcely without diminution of interest, to be an anticipated and remembered and important feature of the exercises of the week. We copy from the *Advocate* its editorial notice of this speaking for the year 1827, more particularly because all the prize-winners were or came to be residents and citizens of Williamstown. One of the prizes on this occasion was the first scholastic honor that fell to Professor Edward Lasell of wholesome memory.

The prize speaking on the same evening, deserves particular notice. A high degree of improvement in declamation, is less frequently attained, than in most other branches of education in our colleges. The fact is undeniably true; and no other reason can be assigned for it, than a culpable neglect on the part both of officers and students. Simple elocution is, of itself, sufficiently important, to claim a separate rank, and share its separate honors. Without it, a collegiate education is like a structure of rough marble, strong and durable indeed, but lacking the polish that renders it inviting. A conviction of this fact, would induce more students to cultivate this elegant accomplishment; — and we were gratified to perceive from the specimens exhibited by those selected on the occasion, that they, at least, were aware of its importance. The successful candidates were, in the Freshman Class, Ebenezer S. Cannon of Williamstown, in the Sophomore Class, Henry Hubbell of Williamstown, and, in the Junior Class, Edward Lasell of Schoharie, New York.

The office-bearers in the town government for the year 1828 are found in a record of the "March Meeting" of that year, as follows. All shades of politics are represented in the names of these office-bearers. The chairman of the Board of Selectmen, a place he often filled during a long series of years on account of his strong sense and unusual executive ability, was Keyes Danforth, a Democrat of

Democrats, whose fine farm at the western end of the village was inherited by his son of the same name and of the same political sentiments, Williams College, 1846, who kept with his few surviving classmates their semi-centennial anniversary at Commencement, 1896.

MARCH MEETING.

The following are the TOWN OFFICERS elected at the meeting in this place on Monday last: —

Edmund Badger, *Town Clerk.*

Keyes Danforth,
Ebenezer Foster,
Amasa Shattuck, } *Selectmen, Assessors, and Bridge Committee.*

Stephen Hosford,
Lyman Hubbell,
Daniel N. Dewey, } *Overseers of the Poor.*

Josephus Bardwell,
Thomas C. Phelps, } *Constables.*

It appeared by the Report of the Overseers, that the whole expense to the town, of supporting the poor during the last year, was $25, more than the income of their labour, and that the clothes of the paupers are worth more than $25, more than they were at the commencement of the year.

It is noticeable in this list of town officers how strongly the South part is represented in it. Ebenezer Foster and Lyman Hubbell and Thomas C. Phelps were all prominent men in that part of the town at that time. Relative decadence, however, in comparison with the northern half, had already manifested itself there; and a general decadence of the whole town, in the point of leading men and in comparison with forty-five years before, was visible enough. No such men as Isaac Stratton and Nehemiah Woodcock at the south, and Benjamin Simonds and Thompson J. Skinner and David Noble at the north, were in active life in town in the decade of 1820–30. And a relative decadence, both in prominent men and in financial prosperity, is to be observed in general for about thirty years longer. The causes and extent of this decline will be treated farther on in these pages, so far as this may be called for in a book of this character.

The general story and characteristics of the "Gore," so called, may be found in the early part of the "Origins in Williamstown." The petition of Samuel Comstock to the General Court of Massachusetts in 1827, a citizen who then lived on the Gore, as do also his descendants of the same name to this day, is here quoted at length from one of the numbers of the *Advocate*, because it is a legal paper and illustrates a state of things in the southwest corner of the town,

— a portion that still remains more unchanged from what it was a century ago than any other portion.

To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives in General Court assembled —

SAMUEL COMSTOCK an inhabitant of the Gore of Land on the South West Corner of Williamstown Called Trees Grant humbly shews,

THAT the land of your petitioner lies wholly on said Gore and is bounded on the East by Williamstown line. That his business leads him to Williamstown (where he pays State and County taxes and performs Military duty) to Hancock, Pittsfield and Albany — that there is no open travelled way by his house; a County road running from Williamstown is the nearest which is about 100 rods from the town line before mentioned. — That the road which your Petitioner now enjoys by sufference crosses Moses Young's Land and Daniel A. Sherwood's land and the said Sherwood refuses to allow your Petitioner to occupy the said road any longer than next Spring — and your Petitioner cannot go to any of the places above mentioned without permission from the said Young and Sherwood, or others over whose land he must pass, and he does not know that he can get his permission after the next Spring. — And your Petitioner further shows that he has been informed and wisely believes that the next Commissioners of Highways for the County of Berkshire nor the Selectmen of the town of Williamstown aforesaid have any authority by law to locate a road for the convenience of your Petitioner, as is provided in other cases and for other Citizens of the Commonwealth.

Wherefore your Petitioner prays that the said Commissioners of Highways or the said Selectmen of the town of Williamstown, as in the discretion of your Honorable body shall seem most fit, may be empowered to lay out and locate a road for the convenience of your Petitioner, and as in dnty bound will ever pray.

(*Signed*) SAMUEL COMSTOCK.

Among the Williamstown advertisers in the *Advocate* were Daniel Noble and Charles Baker, lawyers; Ralph W. Gridley, Chairman of the School Committee; Samuel Duncan, Saw-mill; Luther Bartlett, Tanner and Currier; Ridley Bannister, Printer and Bookseller; Cheney Taft, Chair-Maker; Abraham Hanson, Saddle and Harness; William D. Beardsley, Tailor; Mrs. West, Millinery and Dress Making; Daniel N. Dewey, Fire Insurance; Charles Chapin, Book-Binding; Samuel Smith and Henry L. Sabin, Physicians and Surgeons; C. A. Butler, Tailor; Whitmans and Benjamin, Merchants; Samuel Kellogg, Executor; Solomon Bulkley, Deputy Sheriff; John Hickcox, a runaway indented boy named William Pratt; William C. Johnson, Dry Goods; John West, the buildings and lot of the Williamstown Mineral Spring; Thacher G. Platt, Wool-Carding and Cloth Dressing; Hosford and Brown, Lumber; and the Directors, namely, Ralph W. Gridley and Daniel Noble and Stephen Hosford and Solomon Bulkley and Daniel N. Dewey and

Lyndon A. Smith and Charles Benjamin and Charles Baker, The Williamstown Academy. Four of these directors and promoters, namely, Bulkley, Baker, Benjamin, and Dewey, had advertised in the *Advocate* on July 4, 1827, for a contractor, "to erect a building suitable for an Academy, to be forty-four feet by twenty-eight, and two stories high; to be built either of wood or brick, the latter is preferred." Precisely such a building as is thus described was put up in less than a year, and stood at what is now the opening of Park Street from Main. The site was afterwards occupied by the Catholic church, the first one erected in town; and the fee simple of the land passed from that body, in 1896, to the President and Trustees of the College.

There is a "Notice" in the *Advocate* of June 28, 1827, that is worth quoting entire.

FOURTH OF JULY. An Oration will be delivered by a member of College, accompanied by the other exercises usual on the occasion, at 10 o'clock, A.M., in the College Chapel.

An Address will also be made by appointment of the *Anti-Slavery Society*, by a Member.

Contemporary evidence in abundance is forthcoming at call, that the students for a long while publicly celebrated the Fourth of July by orations delivered, music performed, and other appropriate exercises; but the sole evidence known to the writer, that there was ever an Anti-Slavery Society in College, and that it proposed to agitate that subject publicly in combination with the customary celebration of Independence Day, is contained in this precious notice, worth its weight in gold, and in an editorial in the next week's paper describing the joint celebration. How this society originated, who its members were, how long the society lasted, and what put an end to its existence are questions that cannot be answered now, and probably never will be. But at any rate, and this is significant enough, there was an Anti-Slavery Society in Williams College in 1827, and it gave a public address and furnished an ode sung in the chapel on the 4th of July. Was there an earlier and similar society anywhere else in New England? William Lloyd Garrison did not set up his *Free Press* in Newburyport until 1826, nor his *Journal of the Times* at Bennington until 1828.

We gladly copy the *Advocate's* editorial, and the odes musically performed on that memorable occasion.

FOURTH OF JULY. — This Anniversary was celebrated in the College Chapel by the Faculty and Students, and the inhabitants of our village. — An oration

was pronounced by Mr. Robinson of the Sophomore Class, and an address was delivered before the Anti-Slavery Society of Williams College by Mr. Beckwith, of the Senior Class. — After the oration the following Ode was sung.

Hail to the day that awakens good feeling,
The day that struck liberty's spark;
Once more it salutes us, again 'tis appealing
To every American heart,
Remember the days,
Those hard-foughten days;
Our fathers well acted their part.

E'en now round our mem'ry past glories assemble,
The triumphs of conquest are heard;
The victor is wreath'd, see the diadem tremble,
It falls never more to be rear'd.
Hail, land dearly bought,
'Twas our fathers that fought,
For this it is ever endear'd.

The struggle is o'er and the voice of complaining
Is lost in the shouts of our joy:
We hear not the wretched oppression bewailing,
We have peace without any alloy.
From the east to the west
The whole nation is blest;
Let praise our glad voices employ.

These blood-purchas'd blessings call loud for oblations,
And bid our thanksgivings arise;
We proffer hearts beating with grateful pulsations,
And waft them afresh to the skies.
To him who sustain'd us,
The Saviour all glorious,
We gratefully lift up our eyes.

Come laud his high name who hath kept us from falling,
Who made our lov'd ancestors brave;
On him when in trouble our hearts will be calling,
For he is Almighty to save.
To Jehovah we raise
Ascriptions of praise,
For all we inherit he gave.

The following ode was sung after the address, and closed the exercises. — It is supposed to be the Hymn of the liberated slave, just embarked for his native shore.

The high heaving bark spread her wings to the sweep
Of the grove-scented gales as she moved in her pride;
While bright eyes were glancing afar o'er the deep,
And soft strains of gladness were blent with the tide.

We are free, brothers, free from the scourge and the chain,
That has cankered for years round the toil-callous'd limb,
Then light bound our hearts as the roe of the plain,
And the sun of our joy let no sorrows bedim.

The bright star of freedom beams proudly and high,
Lo, the night of oppression shall shroud us no more,
For the white friend has wiped every tear from our eye,
And bade us go free from his crime darken'd shore.

Farewell, mighty land of the noble and brave,
Sincerely we leave our best blessing to thee,
With a sigh when we think that the groan of the slave,
Is heard on the same breeze with songs of the free.

How gladly our tears would erase the foul blot,
That cankering lies on the scroll of thy worth;
But the grief of a world can ne'er hallow the spot,
Where man, reckless man, trode his fellow to earth.

We are bound for the land of our fathers afar,
And the blue wilds of ocean exulting we roam—
For hope tells of kindred that watch for us there,
And glad bosoms bounding to welcome us home.

And when on the soil of our sires we repose,
'Neath the cocoa tree lifting its voice to the wind,
While we smile at the kindness that solac'd our woes,
We will weep for the lov'd ones *left groaning behind.*

For ourselves, we were gratified with the performances, and are disposed to consider the strictures (if they are meant as such) of our correspondent Id. as random shots, in this instance at least, of a somewhat careless archer. It was not, we believe the least pleasing circumstance attending this celebration, that there was nothing to awaken strong feeling, and boisterous mirth, — and that with the exercises above enumerated, all further public demonstrations ceased. We do not mean, however, by this, to express any disapprobation of celebrations of a different character. — It is the right and privilege of every one, especially on such an occasion, to manifest his feelings in his own way, provided he does not pass the bounds of morality, and good order.

At the same time, with this anti-slavery society, there was also in College a Temperance Society, whose purpose and members are known, and whose influence in reaction from tendencies and practices to be characterized a little later was wholesome and permanent. Mason Noble and Asahel Foote, both of the class of 1827, the one a native and the other a lifelong resident of Williamstown, were prominent in this society. Mason Noble was a distinguished Presbyterian clergyman in New York and Washington; and Asahel

Foote reflected credit throughout a long life upon his native town of Lee and his early chosen Williamstown, as a teacher, a temperance man, a cultivator of fruits, a deacon in the church, and a holder of public office both local and State.

In parting now finally with the *American Advocate*, whose stray copies, accidentally preserved in a garret for seventy years, have afforded the readers several interesting bits of information relating to that early time, we make one more excerpt, which brings before us moderns in a pleasant light at once a granddaughter of General Samuel Sloan, and Dr. Ebenezer Emmons, physician and professor. It is an editorial of Ridley Bannister.

SURGICAL OPERATION.

Last Sunday, a young Lady of this town, the daughter of D. W. Sloan, Esq. accidently swallowed a pin, which lodged about half way down in its passage to the stomach. In the confusion and alarm that ensued, many expedients were adopted by kind hearted and afflicted friends, such as swallowing hard substances, &c. — and by medical advice, which was immediately procured, emetics were also administered, — but all to no purpose, except to render the situation of the patient more distressing. About ten hours after the accident, Doct. Emmons of this town was called in, and the remedy he applied, though simple, was to us novel and ingenious, and may be of use in similar cases, if made public. A common wire was used, about twelve inches and a half long, and doubled, with a piece of sponge attached to the end, — this in a dry state was easily passed down the passage below the pin, where it absorbed moisture and became so much swollen, that in drawing it up, it completely filled the *œsophagus*, and brought up the pin, strongly attached to it.

The ingenuity and success of this operation reflect great credit on Dr. E. — and though *modest merit*, if consulted, might have forbidden any comment on our part, we feel that justice to him, and duty to the public, both require it.

Passing now in general to the state and progress of the College in the last years of Dr. Griffin's presidency, it may be remembered that Albert Hopkins became a tutor in 1827 and a professor in 1829, and so came into a position, in which he continued uninterruptedly for forty years, to know intimately and to remember vividly the state of morals and religion in college, and so to put into a written account his knowledge and recollections about 1860 for Durfee's "History of the College." Some of the salient points of this account are quotable, and more are condensable, for the purpose at present in hand. The professor's personal religious experience was not only peculiar, but also entirely unique on this ground. He understood that the one great need of man is conformity to the will of God; and he understood, too, that this conformity is not to be reached and maintained

without a great and constant struggle; and it was his own belief at times, if not uniformly, as we learn from his own written words and from unnumbered oral expressions, that perfection might be attained as the result of such a struggle under the impulse and guidance and blessing of the Holy Spirit. He says, "The doctrine of perfection, as that doctrine has since been held by various persons, scattered throughout the country [especially in Oberlin], started, so far as I have been able to ascertain, here at this time. The original principle here appears to have been good, but it has since been adulterated with many things." From the first he gave himself to a practical and incessant study how he could bring himself into this lofty spirituality, and then how he could help to bring the largest numbers of others into it. As compared with an ordinary Christian community, a college community offers to such a man seeking such ends extraordinary obstacles. (1) The community itself is not continuous. It is wholly changed once in every four years. Impetus given, example set, influence gained, outlooks widened, some spiritual peaks reached, — then all are scattered to the four winds. (2) Each single year is broken into by very considerable vacations. Periodic religious fervors kindled in the fall are apt to be cooled by the holidays at home or by the winter's schoolkeeping. The spring term is followed by the out-of-doors attractions and distractions. (3) The evangelist has to rely all the time upon inexperienced coadjutors, — young men subject to youthful moods, — sometimes religiously exhilarated, and oftentimes discouraged and depressed. (4) Currents of worldliness and wickedness sweeping over whole regions of country at times are sure to deposit in a college successive classes of young men intractable and wholly averse to religious influences.

In accordance with this last statement, Professor Hopkins puts in strong testimony as to the moral decadence following the great upliftings of 1825–26.

> There came an influx of an uncommon amount of impiety, — men of corrupt principles or no principles, and dissolute life, spoiled before coming, and fitted, of course, only to taint and corrupt the moral atmosphere. College soon became again corrupt, probably quite as much so as before the revival of 1825. Intemperance and card-playing prevailed. Also, at this time there was not a little licentiousness. Enjoying great opportunities of association, wicked men "waxed worse and worse." The college buildings, or at least the West College, was repeatedly set on fire, there is reason to believe wantonly. The Bible was stolen from the desk, and *worse* than burnt. This state of things ran on till the fall of 1829, when some engaged Christians [Hopkins was their leader] instituted a meeting at nine o'clock in the evening, which Dr. Griffin used to attend. No decided change in the religious aspect of College occurred till the following winter.

The change then manifesting itself was a great breaking down among professors of religion. One of this description came out as a new convert; and within three days more than twenty professors of religion had given up their hopes. "This breaking up of hopes probably will furnish a clew to the awful and reigning stupidity and dissoluteness of morals before adverted to." Professor Hopkins did not think well of this form of religious experience, especially as he was aiming for himself and for others a *steadiness* of Christian development, from term to term and from year to year, such as had not heretofore been witnessed in the College. One genuine conversion was to him much better than two ostensible ones. He says expressly: "Of those who were awakened in this revival, several went back; some became infidels, of whom two have since died; one, however, renouncing his infidelity on his dying bed." Of far greater interest and importance than these shiftings and risings and fallings is the professor's own account of the institution of the famous noon prayer-meeting in College, which went on uninterruptedly in term time for thirty-five years under his own supervision and constant personal attendance. It was *his* prayer-meeting in every sense of the word; not alone because he instituted it and attended it and controlled it for more than a generation, but also because it sprang out of certain theories and characteristics of *his own*, which would have made it impossible for any other man to carry it on after he left it, even if any other man had been bold enough to attempt it. Indeed, in his own hands, some years before his death in 1872, the potent sceptre lost the greater part of its unique efficacy, and he was called upon to bear a cross, which nearly all old men of peculiar and striking powers in active life must bear, namely, the wonderment and disappointment that the ancient wand of power is weakened and is broken. Probably nothing in the entire history of the town and the College is so distinctive and significant as is this story of the Williams noon prayer-meeting.

The spring of 1832 was one of religious interest in town. Rev. Dr. Beman held a protracted meeting here. A number of conversions occurred in the College, in the course of the term. Those who came in at this time were, for the most part, made special objects of prayer and labor. They came in lingeringly, one or two in the course of a week, for a considerable time. Not many were awake, but these labored hard. It was a time of much trial in the church, and it is believed that spiritual religion gained ground. The necessity of toiling on under a heavy burden, and working as it were, at arm's length, on account of the sluggishness of the mass of professed Christians, inured those who came under this burden to severe toil, contributed to form habits of patient, persevering effort; and the College probably has never turned out a more faithful set of working

men than those who passed through this ordeal. Indeed, I regard this as in some sense the commencement of a new era in the religious history of the College.

I am now going to explain in what way I think the revival of 1832 contributed to a more permanent religious order. It did so, I think, by exercising the principle of personal exertion and self-sacrifice, till it became habitual, and led on to a system which I shall presently give some account of. The principle of persevering, steady devotedness has been firmly established in some minds, in all ages. But too little has been done to perpetuate this sentiment. One and another has cut his way through the solid rock, and, as it were, filled up the space behind him, so that others have been little benefited, except as they have seen them safe out, and therefore gathered hope, on the ground that such a thing was possible. Peter says, to be sure, "The God of all grace, after ye have *suffered* awhile, stablish you." But we are not to infer from all this that direct means are of no use toward the confirmation of piety. There is, no doubt, in respect to means, such a thing as millennial order (using the term millennial generically here), and it was towards this that numbers among us were led at this time to look. Having become inured to a pretty steady course of religious action, anxious to persevere in this without faltering, and sensible at the same time of the sluggishness of nature, and warned by the experience of the past, the inquiry came up: What corrective can be thrown in, what stimulus to excite us forward in an unwavering onward course of Christian action? It was resolved by the Christians of that period that they would meet together at noon. This, it was thought, would furnish a strong antidote against a tendency, so prevalent everywhere, but perhaps especially in college, to fall in with the tide of worldliness. By setting up, as it were, a dam at midday, it was thought possible to check the current, and thus prevent our Christianity from being overflown, and everything relapsing again into a stagnant and dead state, as had been the case after most previous revivals.

I must be permitted to say, that I think the idea of a perfect Christianity, that is, of living in perfect conformity to the injunctions of Christ without regard to seasons or circumstances, and without reference to the feelings or practices of others, had to do with this institution of means. A very good opportunity was approaching to test it, or at least to test the strength of the resolution which determined on its adoption, namely, the approach of the summer term, when there is uncommon temptation to laxness, and a letting down of the Christian watch. The result proved that the idea is a very practicable one, and very salutary in the operation of it. A few, from five to seven, from the two college buildings, met in rainy as well as sunshiny weather, during the term, and felt improved by it. This meeting, somewhat modified in its character, has continued to the present time, and has more than answered the anticipations of those who originated it. It has served as a balance-wheel, to check the irregular movements of individual action, to temper well-meaning but injudicious zeal. I am just now in from one of these meetings, consisting of from forty to fifty students. The average sometimes ranges considerably higher than this, in times of awakening, and sometimes falls short of it. I have introduced this subject here, because the religious history of the College cannot be given, from this point, without frequent allusions to this meeting, it having become a pretty certain criterion by which the religious pulse of the College may be judged of.

It will be observed by careful readers, that no reference is made, in this critical and conscientious record of a new religious departure in College, to Dr. Griffin, still president and still supposing himself to be the fount of all influence both scholarly and also Christian. The truth is, that the zealous and masterful young professor, after five years' experience in the College as a teacher, and learning the bottom state of affairs, including Griffin's loss of moral hold on town and College, found it needful to plan and act religiously without taking the head of the College into account. There was no other way to do, if anything effectual were to be done. "One generation passeth away, and another generation cometh; while the earth abideth forever." In his eager search after light and duty and power, Professor Hopkins put himself forward without hesitation as the religious leader of College, and kept that place without serious question for about thirty years. Griffin grossly overestimated himself, especially as a theologian and a college president. About this time he published his "Treatise on Divine Efficiency," in opposition to what then began to be known as the "New Divinity," of which Mr. Finney was the chief and ablest exponent. He was fully of the opinion, and had a supreme confidence in it, that the views which he supposed to be held by the divines of that school were at variance alike with Scriptures and sound philosophy; and hence he felt himself called upon to take up his pen in defence of what he believed to be important truth. Within a little more than a year, besides the "Divine Efficiency," he published a sermon entitled "Regeneration not effected by Light," and a formal letter on "The New Measures and the New Doctrines." These controversial writings, to which he attributed a vastly exaggerated importance, fell pretty flat on the public eye and ear, partly because the old New England theology as formulated by Edwards and Hopkins was already worn thin and bare, but chiefly because of Finney's pungent and incessant (though indirect) attacks upon it in his revival preaching, as virtually making God the author of sin and responsible for its interminable existence in His own universe. The theological allies of Edwards in Scotland perceived this inevitable inference from the "Freedom of the Will," and begged the author to recast certain parts in a new edition, which he did; but not striking down to the logical root of the matter, his Scotch friends were as much confounded as David Hume and Lord Kames were delighted.

These futile controversies not only occupied Griffin's time and thought to the exclusion of proper college work, but also set him on

heresy-hunting in general; one consequence of which was, the local church lost the best and most beloved pastor they ever had, and relations with his college colleagues became more or less embittered.

"The truth's worst foe is he who claims
To act as God's avenger,
And dreams, beyond his sentry beat
The crystal walls in danger.

Who sets for heresy his traps
Of verbal quirk and quibble,
And weeds the garden of the Lord
With Satan's borrowed dibble."

Professor Hopkins, then, obtained no help from the president of the College in his impressive novelty of the noon prayer-meeting. He received help, nevertheless, from another potent quarter. Simeon Howard Calhoun, whose parents were among the original members of Park Street church in Boston, of which Dr. Griffin had been the first pastor, and who was graduated here in 1829, became a tutor in February, 1834, and remained in that capacity till Commencement in 1836. He commenced at once to attend the noon prayer-meeting, which had increased during the previous season to fifteen or more, and which was held in the East College; and it was not very long, as times and terms go in college, before his fervid spirit brought so many students with him daily from the West College, where the tutors always roomed, that it was proposed to divide the meeting on three days of the week, the Freshmen and Sophomores meeting with Calhoun in the West College, and all classes coming together on Fridays with Hopkins and Calhoun in the East College. In the words of Professor Hopkins, — "The West College set up for themselves and the silent influence of their operations appears to have been considerable. An infidel has told me lately, — one at least who was either tempted or trying to be so at that time, — that the prayers and singing kept him constantly uneasy, so much so that at length he divulged his feelings to his teacher [Calhoun], renounced his infidel principles, and became one of the most steady supporters of the meeting." This arrangement continued until Tutor Calhoun left the College to enter upon that remarkable foreign missionary career on Mt. Lebanon, in which he was conspicuously useful till his death in 1876. About twenty-five years after this reunion of the two branches of the noon meeting, they separated again at the request of the Christian students in West College and Kellogg Hall on the same conditions as before; and Arthur Latham Perry, who had

been a constant attendant on the meeting during his college course and after his return as a teacher in 1853, took charge of the western and weaker branch, until the enlistment of students in the army and the excitement of the Civil War resolved it again into the other branch.[1]

The apparently untimely and much-lamented death of Professor William A. Porter, in 1830, made necessary an election to fill that then most important professorship. Mark Hopkins had quit the College as a tutor in 1827 with a considerable reputation along the lines of this now vacant chair of Moral Philosophy and Rhetoric, acquired mainly by his master's oration, which had been published not long after its delivery. He had studied medicine, received his medical degree, and made some futile attempts to get into practice in New York and elsewhere. The letters are still extant, preserved by his mother, in which may be read some of the replies to his various inquiries made of his friends as to a proper location for a young physician. Harvey Rice, his college classmate, invited him to come to Cleveland, then a rising town of twelve hundred inhabitants. Dr. Emmons, then just settled in Williamstown as a doctor, had already made *quasi* arrangements to take into partnership with himself Henry L. Sabin, of the class of 1821: Sabin was then about to marry one of the young ladies of the Whitman family, then the principal merchants here; and Emmons wrote to Hopkins, that if Sabin did this, and went into business with the Whitmans, he would take Hopkins into partnership instead of Sabin! The marriage indeed took place, but Sabin preferred his profession to a country store. Hopkins was transiently disappointed. But his heart was not in the life of a physician. He was not built in that way. But he was built in another and very distinct way. Providence designed him for a teacher along the highest walks of that profession. His anatomical and medical studies, however, were a foundation and preparation for much that came to him later in his life-work as a teacher. When his name was proposed in the meeting of the Board of Trustees as the successor of Professor Porter, there was much divergence of opinion in that body. President Griffin was opposed to the selection; some of his reasons may be easily guessed at from items given on preceding pages; another may be surmised in the fact, that Hopkins was a doctor and not a minister, and in no way trained with reference to his becoming a minister; and this last is confirmed by the fact that three years later, when Hopkins applied

[1] The writer well remembers the fervor of the prayers of Edward Payson Hopkins, only son of Albert Hopkins, in this smaller meeting, who himself was killed in the service at Ashland, Va., in 1864.

to the Berkshire Association for license to preach, Griffin is known to have opposed its granting on the ground of insufficient technical preparation. Nevertheless, the license to preach was granted then and there by a majority of votes. In the earlier question of the professorship, whatever opposition there was was overcome by a somewhat novel method. When a man is preordained to any post, there is always a champion to present him at the door. Henry W. Dwight, Jr., born in Stockbridge in 1788, and consequently fourteen years older than Hopkins, a grandson of General Joseph Dwight, whose wife, Abigail Williams, was great-grandmother of Hopkins, was at that time a member of the Board of Trustees. He was a lawyer and a colonel. He had represented western Massachusetts in the House of Representatives at Washington. He was a man of talents and attainments, and of uncommonly fine and commanding personal appearance. He had known Mark Hopkins from a child, and they were of the same kith and kin. At the proper moment in the discussion, Colonel Dwight arose and made an eloquent and resounding plea in behalf of his young neighbor and distant kinsman; and he was accordingly elected. Posterity owes its thanks to Dwight for this signal service; and his name, otherwise beclouded by a single evil habit contracted, or at least intensified, at Washington, will be perpetuated in connection with it. In this way there came into the faculty permanently one who was ready and able to hold up his brother's hands in all religious plans and movements, although he never fully shared in the latter's theological views in the matter of perfection. President Griffin looked askance at both of these young men religiously; but it made no difference; both went on, each in his own way, in accordance with their diverse congenital and hereditary endowments and tendencies; while the elder, even after he became president, never superseded the younger as the practical religious leader and guide to the students, especially in times of religious awakening. The elder resigned his presidency the year in which the younger died, 1872.

Before passing now to some more continued characterization of the man who became Dr. Griffin's successor in the presidency, it is more than in order to append here the recollections of his own college days, 1822–26, of William Hyde, eldest of the four graduated sons of Rev. Dr. Alvan Hyde of Lee, long the vice-president of the College. William, who became in many ways a large benefactor of the College, wrote these reminiscences at the writer's request and for the present purpose, more than fifty years after his graduation in 1826.

WILLIAMSTOWN AND COLLEGE

When I entered college in 1822 Dr. Griffin had been president but one year. The number of students was small. Many had left with Dr. Moore for Amherst and other colleges. The senior class numbered only seven. The college had been under a cloud, and its continuance in doubt. We entered a class of about 25. The only college buildings were the West college and the East college, since burned, and a small wooden building used by Prof. Dewey for chemistry. We met in the freshman recitation-room, bare of furniture except a wooden bench with no back. Another bench was necessary and was ordered from Dea. Taft by the class, and my first financial exploit was to assess and collect a tax of six cents and a quarter to pay his bill of $1.50. Blackboards were not known in my college course. We drew our diagrams on paper and used slates in algebra; while Prof. Dewey drew his illustrations and worked his problems with chalk on the floor of the recitation-room, when lecturing on natural philosophy and astronomy. There was not a carpet on any floor in college, except in the room of the excellent Prof. Kellogg in the West college. He had an open Franklin stove, and close box stoves were in the recitation-rooms, in all other rooms open fire-places. The chapel, then in the West college, had one stove, but no fire in it when we went to prayers at 6 o'clock in cold winter mornings. The scriptures were read by the light of tallow candles and the prayers were none too short. The students were generally poor; many, like myself, the sons of ministers with scanty salaries and large families. Economy was necessary and easily practised. We bought wood at $2 per cord, cut it ourselves and carried it to our rooms. Prof. Kellogg did the same. This was exercise and amusement. We had no base-ball or boating clubs, but kicked foot-ball. Washing cost 12½ to 17 cents per week. I paid usually $1.17 per week for board, one summer but $1. The last term of senior year a few of us felt big and boarded with John R. Bulkley, with the tutors, paying a dollar and a half for aristocratic fare. Livery bills were small, and cigars seldom seen. Pipes and tobacco were common. I gave them up in the revival of my senior year, and have not resumed their use. A few students tried to board themselves in their rooms, but with sad results to their health. There were two professors, Dewey and Kellogg, with salaries of $800. Tutors were employed for a year or two at $400; such men as Emerson Davis, Erastus C. Benedict, Joseph Hyde, Mark and Albert Hopkins. The instruction given was about like the pay. In these days it would be called superficial. It certainly was far below the present standard. I could hardly enter college now with the attainments of my college course. Marking was not then known, except for absences from prayers and recitations. We worshipped with the town in the church. Dr. Griffin supplied every third Sabbath, when Mr. Gridley preached at South Williamstown, and frequently at other times. He was called the "prince of preachers." There were two or three seasons of special religious interest in my time in college. Dr. Griffin preached with great power in the church, in the chapel and in schoolhouses packed full. The candles would go out for want of oxygen, so great was the press. The whole town was moved, as was the college. Many were converted who have been prominent in the ministry and as missionaries. I never heard such powerful presentation of truth. His style would now be called artificial. It was studied, elaborate, finished, not at all adapted to these days. I

WILLIAM HYDE.

W. C., 1826.

heard the sermon on the "Worth of the Soul" three times while in college, and the "Flood sermon" as many. His majestic presence and his studied modulations and gestures could not be printed. The relations of the college and town were always friendly. The students were as gallant to the ladies as now, and as many found life partners. What changes in 50 years! The college funds were then about $20,000, the president's salary $1200; the buildings and grounds with no adornments or attractions; the material for an education, meagre. My father furnished me with less than $400 for my education. It was enough for the times and his means. The tendency is now too much the other way. Expenses are too large. Do you make better men than when it cost self-denial to work through college? We have seen great progress in 50 years. Methuselah saw nothing like it in his long life. It would have taken him 200 years to have gone through college.

Mark Hopkins was beyond all question the most conspicuous figure and the most useful man in any connection with Williams College during the first century of its existence. From 1830, when he became a professor, till 1887, when he passed away from earth, he drew the eyes of men, he won the confidence and applause of students, and exerted, on the whole, a deeper and steadier and more wholesome influence than any other man has ever done. But it is a great mistake to suppose, as many persons have done unadvisedly, that this confidence drawn and influence exerted were uniform and unintermitted. Not so. In the first place, he had his trade to learn just like all other men. He did not jump into the confidence of the students, nor into the best modes of teaching, nor into acceptable methods of governing, by a single leap, nor by several leaps. He found his footing slowly and tentatively, just as every other successful teacher in the College has done. He was accustomed himself to say to his friends, that he made many mistakes at first, particularly in the matter of government. He once told the writer, that so unpopular did he become in connection with some cases of discipline, that a student told him to his face that he had not a single adherent in the whole body of students. Till he became president himself, in 1836, he was placed in truly difficult circumstances. Much as in the previous case of Chester Dewey, though of course with varying elements, the students, in the deepening infirmities of Dr. Griffin, saw that Hopkins was really the head of the College, but he could not ostensibly act as such without offending his nominal superior. He did the best he knew how under trying conditions; his brother was doing the same at the same time in relation to religious means and methods; the two supported each other as best they could, and each succeeded in the end; but nothing can take the place of experience; and both missed their aim in part. As is

usually the case with young men at first charged with authority in prominent positions, these two were more strenuous in discipline at the beginning than afterwards. Indeed, so far as the elder brother is concerned, there was a notable reaction from his first ten years of service towards a milder and more relaxed discipline, which continued and perhaps increased so long as he was in office.

The election of Mark Hopkins to the presidency of the College, in 1836, was attended by circumstances that were striking at the time, and are instructive at all times. The trustees elected Rev. Absalom Peters, a graduate of Dartmouth College in 1816, a pastor in Bennington from 1820 to 1825, as president immediately on the resignation of Dr. Griffin; but Peters declined the position, for which indeed he was unfitted, and which was not attractive at that time to any one not well knowing the state of things both within and without. Dr. Griffin's health had been such and his practical separation from College so complete, that he had not heard a single recitation nor attended any exercise of the class of 1836 during their Senior year. Hopkins had been their sole teacher throughout that year. They liked him, and admired him, and believed him to be the most suitable man for the new president. They were as a class too sensible of the proprieties to take upon themselves the function of giving advice to the trustees to elect Mark Hopkins as the president of the College; they took a less objectionable, a more indirect, and, probably, a securer way, to affect the election favorably; they prepared a careful paper, which all the members signed, expressing their deep satisfaction with the instruction of Professor Hopkins for the Senior year, and expressing the hope also *that future Senior classes might receive similar instruction and participate in similar satisfaction.* These facts were communicated to the writer more than once in detail by Joseph White, a prominent member of the class of 1836, long a trustee, and of late the treasurer, of the College. When this paper was read to the trustees in Commencement week, Dr. Samuel Shepard of Lenox, vice-president of the College and presiding at the board, is credibly said to have exclaimed to his colleagues, — *"If the boys want him, let them have him!"* Emerson Davis, then the youngest member of the Board of Trustees, was present, and soon reported the election as consummated.

The year 1836 thus became another epochal point in the history of the College, worthy to be placed alongside the year 1827, and certainly looked back upon ever since as the beginning of a number of new and better things. The class itself then graduated was in several respects unusual and notable. It was larger in number

than any previous class after 1811, filling out thirty-two men; and a larger proportion of these than usual came to distinction in after life, several of them in close connection with the College itself. Let this suffice as a special roll of honor: —

Robert Crawford	Chauncey Giles
Nathan W. Harmon	William Hopkins
Samuel Knox	Thomas Nelson
Job Swift Olin	Zalmon Richards
John Tatlock	Randolph W. Townsend
Bushnell White	Joseph White
Jay A. Wight	Edmund Wright

The reader will not be displeased to see in this place a copy of the "Order of Exercises" at the noteworthy Commencement of 1836. It fell on Aug. 17.

ORDER OF EXERCISES.

1. Sacred Music.
2. *Prayer by the President.*
3. *Salutatory Oration in Latin.* — Walter Wright, *Chicago, Ill.*
4. *Oration.* — Character of John Jay. — Thomas Nelson, *Peekskill, N. Y.*
5. *Oration.* — Influence of France on our Manners and Morals. — Joseph Pyncheon, *Springfield.*
6. *Oration.* — Influence of Eloquence in Republican Governments. — Samuel Knox, *Blandford.*

Music.

7. *Oration.* — Importance of high Aims. — Philo Canfield, *Bridgeport, Ct.*
8. *Conference.* — The Reformation in Scotland, and in Spain. — John Wilson, *Andover.* Zalmon Richards, *Chester, Ohio.*
9. *Oration.* — Division of Labor. — Job Olin, *Shaftsbury, Vt.*
10. *Oration.* — New Hampshire. — Anson L. Hobart, *Columbia, N. H.*

Music.

11. *Conference.* — Resemblance; Contiguity in time and place; Cause and Effect. — E. Wm. Kellogg, *Sheffield.* Theodore J. Clark, *Northampton.* Hazen Cheney, *Lunenburgh, Vt.*
12. *Philosophical Oration.* — Volcanoes. — Bushnell White, *Buckland.*

Music.

13. *Oration.* — Connection of Science and Religion. — Robert Crawford, *Lanark, U. C.*
14. *Oration.* — Superstition. — George Clisby, *Medford.*

15. *Poem.* — Burning of the Turkish Fleet by Kanaris.
J. Ambrose Wight, *Jamaica, L. I.*
16. *First English Oration.* — The right estimate of our abilities.
Joseph White, *Charlemont.*

Music.

17. *Oration.* — Prejudice. Mr. Martin I. Townsend, *Troy, N. Y.*
18. *Oration.* — Connection of Moral Science with Religion.
Mr. Samuel Buel, *Troy, N. Y.*

Music.

19. *Oration* before the Alumni. Henry H. Childs, M.D.

Music.

20. *Valedictory Oration.* — Metaphysics. John Tatlock, *Liverpool, Eng.*
21. *Degrees Conferred.*
22. Sacred Music.
23. *Prayer.*

Under date of August 16, the diary of Albert Hopkins holds the concise statement, "Mark was chosen president this afternoon." Under date of September 16, the same holds this entry, "Term commenced yesterday, but there were no exercises on account of the Inauguration service." This relates to his brother's inaugural discourse, whose theme was, "A Wise System of Education."

All things taken into consideration, it is extremely unlikely that Mark Hopkins would have been chosen president when he was, if at all, if it had not been on account of a shrewd and proper move of a part of the student-body as towards that end. This was the first occasion in the history of the College, when undergraduates, as such, exerted a clean-cut and positive influence on the policy of the College. It was a well-considered, timely, and wholesome stroke. It was good in itself, and it led off in a good direction. From that day till the date of the present writing is sixty full years; and the long interval is marked by several similar instances of happy influence initiated, or fortified, by the student-body as standing in contrast with the trustee-body, the faculty-body, or the body of the alumni. All four of these bodies are now recognized constituents of the common weal. No man can state in terms, no existing writing even attempts to define, the proper order in point of time or proportions in respect of weight of these four authoritative influences; but they are all felt, when important questions are pending, each within certain limits, due regard being had at the same time to each of the others. The accession of Hopkins marked the first considerable change in the order and proportion of these four relative and governing forces. The reasons for this are obvious enough.

They are to be found partly in the characteristics of the man, and partly in the circumstances of his accession.

The body of trustees were and remain first in the order of time and of moral precedence. They alone of the four are a legal body. They alone hold the purse-strings, and manage the property of the College. They are the *fons et origo* of everything. They choose a president, who becomes *ipso facto* their head, and the head also of a body of teachers, who, owing their appointment to the act of the trustees, become the secondary body indeed, but the working body also, the only body that comes into direct and constant influence and control over the tertiary body, the students, for the sole sake of whose training all the causes and effects are instituted from the first. In 1821 the Society of Alumni was instituted here, the first known organization of the kind; and, barring certain transitory slips and falls, this "fourth estate" has had a pretty steadily augmenting and usually useful influence for three-fourths of a century. Naturally enough, the president of a college is apt to emphasize in its working the authority of the corporate body, which only meets twice a year, and over which it is easy for him to keep the drive-hand, rather than the body of instruction, which meets weekly in term-time, and between whose head and members friction and combination are much more likely to arise. At Williams, neither the faculty as such nor the students as such came to have any recognition as over against the trustees and the president, until about the middle of Griffin's administration, when Chester Dewey was forced out of the faculty, because he was better liked and more heeded than the president was; and we have just now noticed that both Mark and Albert Hopkins were obliged, a little later, to combine their personal and faculty influence in derogation of Griffin's lead and mischief. In other words, the faculty as such came first, and have usually since been able to maintain their own proper make-weight as over against the trustee-body.

Mark Hopkins understood perfectly well that he was indebted for his easy accession in 1836 to the approbation and politic action of the student-body as such. This circumstance by itself naturally and powerfully led him to look for support and good understanding to the successive classes of students, especially as they came under his sole instruction and management during their Senior year. He had less use for the trustees as such, than any one of his three predecessors had had; and there commenced at once a shifting of steady influence from them and from their carefully compiled body of college laws, towards the faculty of instruction and their head, and

particularly towards them in their new relations to the students of better acquaintance and growing confidence. As Mark Hopkins handled thereafter the Senior class both as instructor and college officer, so Albert Hopkins became college officer and principal instructor of the Junior class; the two brothers, though markedly different in personal characteristics, acted together as a unit college-wise; the two upper classes tended more and more to give tone and opinion to the two lower; and, consequently, faculty and students from this time on gained a more controlling influence relatively to trustees and alumni.

Another circumstance conspired with this at the same time to throw into the hands of Mark Hopkins a wider influence and a steadier control than had fallen personally to the lot of any one of his three predecessors in office. Each of these was a stranger when he came hither. Fitch and Griffin were natives of Connecticut, and graduates of Yale. Moore was a Scotch-Irish-American, born and bred among those peculiar people, a graduate of Dartmouth in 1793, and more at home in New Hampshire than in any other part of New England. But Hopkins was to the manor born. He was a native of Berkshire, and a graduate of Williams. Local pride turned to him from both ends of the county. The leading trustees had been Berkshire men from the first, and they were so at the time of his accession. This gave him a decided moral advantage over each of the three who preceded him, and also over each of the two who succeeded him. So far as the writer is aware, no one has ever noticed before this coign of vantage of the Berkshire man, though it obviously helps explain that surprising degree of high and early and easy and long-held success in office, which has never yet seemed to any competent judge to be fully accounted for by merely extraordinary natural gifts and heredity, special opportunities of education, habits of industry, depth and serenity of character, unselfish and persistent devotion to the ends set before him in life. It is certain that he would have had, he could have had, no such prompt and wide success as he had here, had he been called in 1836 to Amherst, to Brown, to Dartmouth. Dwight's speech before the trustees in 1830, when Hopkins was chosen professor, gave the key-note to the song of 1836, and to its local reverberations for forty years thereafter. That was a Berkshire speech by a Berkshire congressman, in behalf of a Berkshire native and graduate before a tribunal composed largely of Berkshire judges. More than this. It was a Stockbridge speech by a Stockbridge citizen in favor of another Stockbridge citizen, both of the two directly out of the loins of the three earliest

and most prominent citizens of Stockbridge, namely, Ephraim Williams and John Sergeant and Joseph Dwight. The tribunal of the trustees in 1836 was antecedently quite as favorable of the candidate as was that of 1830.

It will do our eyes good to look over a selected roll of the most prominent Berkshire trustees from the opening of the College, in 1793, till the opening of the fourth presidency, in 1836.

Stephen West	John Bacon
Daniel Collins	Israel Jones
David Noble	Woodbridge Little
Theodore Sedgwick	Tompson J. Skinner
Seth Swift	William Williams
Alvan Hyde	Daniel Dewey
Samuel Shepard	Joseph Woodbridge
Daniel Noble	Levi Glezen
Nathaniel Bishop	William P. Walker
Charles A. Dewey	Edward A. Newton
Ralph W. Gridley	Henry W. Dwight
Daniel N. Dewey	Edwin W. Dwight

While Providence placed the College at the north end of the county, and in the valley of the Hoosac, which had been from immemorial time the war-path of hostile Indians back and forth, and also a war-path of French and British and colonial forces in several hard-fought campaigns, thus making this valley-line historical and deeply interesting, the same Providence appointed the south end of the county (and particularly Stockbridge) the seat of the engrossing Indian Mission and its famous missionaries and teachers, and also the place of earlier English settlements and more thriving and populous towns. Williamstown opened the doors of its Free School and College, but it was from Stockbridge and its vicinity that the most of the scholars came for the first quarter-century. The four persons composing the first graduate class of the College, in 1795,

Samuel Bishop
John Collins
Chauncy Lusk
Daniel Stone

all hailed from Stockbridge. Let him believe it who chooses, — the historian avers not, — but it is said of late years, that, in consequence of a minuter survey of the town-line, John Collins was born just over the border in Lenox. Very likely. This concession does not militate against the point of the present paragraph. The entire county, both ends and all parts, girded up the loins of its mind and

its purpose in 1836 to sustain the Berkshire college as such. This impulse was intensified and made more reasonable, and even necessary, by what had been taking place for twenty years in the next neighboring county of Hampshire. They had now gotten a good college of their own at Amherst. Hampshire had formerly sent a goodly number of students over the mountains to Williamstown. Such could no longer be expected. While, as we have seen before in the proper place, there was no rational ground for any ill feeling as toward the more eastern institution, such a feeling was cherished in certain quarters for some years; and the natural reaction from it riveted local feeling in and around the older college. The rise and prosperity of Amherst has never harmed the Berkshire college at all in any broad view of the matter, while it has served to exhibit, somewhat in the way of contrast, the topographical advantage of the latter, in that the Hoosac River opens up an easy access to the broad and fertile valleys of the north and west. Williams is in touch with the Hudson River and Lake Champlain, and their tributaries. New York soon made up, and more than made up, any losses from the region of the Connecticut.

No such considerations as these, however, entered the minds of Mark Hopkins and of his few, but willing colaborers, as they buckled down to their tasks in the autumn of 1836. They did not expect great things, and they had no reason to expect great things. The new entrance did not quite make up in numbers the relatively large class that was graduated. The first class to be graduated under Hopkins, that of 1837, numbered but eighteen men, but there were three men in it who became quite distinguished in after life, and who always maintained close relations of friendship with their then youthful president. These were Stephen J. Field, Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States; Israel Ward Andrews, President of Marietta College; and Brigadier-General Lewis Benedict, killed in battle for his country, pierced by five balls, in the Red River campaign, April, 1864. The next class, 1838, held at graduation twenty-three men, of whom James Denison Colt, Judge of the Supreme Court, Massachusetts; William Bross, Lieutenant-Governor of Illinois; Henry Martyn Field, Editor of the *New York Evangelist;* John V. P. Quackenbush, Surgeon-General of New York; and Judge John Wells were the most notable members. The next class, that of 1839, the third under Hopkins, was the largest in point of numbers that had ever taken their degrees at the College, namely, thirty-five, — very encouraging to the new *régime*, which presented the same number again in 1842, and increased it by one in

1845. The College was evidently getting on. The new president was becoming increasingly popular. What now first becomes noticeable is, that young men begin to take the honors of the College, who make themselves influential and memorable as college teachers in after life. In this class of 1839, the largest in number that had then been dowered, were three men who subsequently distinguished themselves beyond their classmates, and all three of them along lines of college teaching and kindred work. These were Samuel James Andrews, author of the "Life of our Lord on the Earth," and Professor of Metaphysics and Logic in Trinity College, the first graduate of Williams to become an Episcopalian churchman of mark; George Kerr, Professor of Mathematics in the New York Agricultural College; and William Porter, a prominent professor for many years in Beloit College, Wisconsin.

Of course, in contrast with the widely known and courtly and corpulent Griffin, Hopkins at first was often indirectly made to realize that he was relatively obscure and awkward and spindling; and, later in life, he was fond of repeating to his intimates depreciatory remarks made in this connection, either in his presence or that came to his ears. For example, Rev. Mr. Jennings, long the eccentric pastor of Dalton, who had been accustomed occasionally to call upon Dr. Griffin, called, after his accession, upon Dr. Hopkins, and said to him, "*You have not much abdominal dignity!*"

It may be a mere fancy, or it may express some relation of cause and effect, to connect the notable success of these three men of a single class as college teachers, with the accession here of a new administration of comparatively young men but three years before, and particularly with the coming to the front in influence and control, both by precept and example, of President Mark Hopkins. He felt the weight of personal responsibility very keenly. Under all the circumstances of the case, a view of which has been carefully given in the pages preceding, his election was a vastly more important matter to the College than the ordinary accession of a college president in New England. This was *sui generis* in vital respects. Hopkins knew the crevasses in Griffin's character and administration thoroughly. He knew better than most men know at thirty-four what he himself could do, and what he could not do. He knew that he had no financial ability, and that he should never acquire the capacity successfully to solicit subscriptions for college uses, either from individuals or the Commonwealth. Accordingly, he made exemption from this duty a formal condition of his acceptance of the presidency. This is stated on his own authority repeatedly

given. On the other hand, he knew by a sort of instinct, and better still by a steady experience of six years, *that he could teach in his own way*, and that his own way was more or less a new way. As soon as his hands were free, and he was consciously master of the situation, he entered at once with zeal, but saying nothing to any one, upon what came to be a successful and famous method. It has often been called the "Socratic method," but this name cannot be intelligently applied to it. The originality of Hopkins's mode of teaching can be easily vindicated by a few simple comparisons between it and that of the great Athenian; and still more easily by the statement, that the Yankee president scarcely knew in those days that there ever was a man by the name of Socrates; certainly he did not know that he practised a manner of teaching different from that pursued by Plato, or by the Scotch metaphysicians at the close of the eighteenth century. Men entered and quitted college in those days with marvellously little knowledge of the past, — or even of the present. Hopkins said of himself, that he did not know enough of Greek to know whether it were a hard language or not. More than twenty years after he became president, he said to one of his own professors, whom he was apt to catch reading when he called, "You read books: *I don't read any books; in fact, I never did read any books.*"

It seems more than likely, indeed almost certain, that the sharp-eyed Seniors in those days, as well as in the later days, when they came exclusively and gratefully under his instruction, and felt themselves stimulated by it, watched his manner of imparting to such good purpose, that, when they came to be teachers themselves, they, consciously or unconsciously, caught something of method as well as spirit; or, at any rate, instinctively trusted themselves, as he did, to an inner voice, and went on to distinction as public teachers.

The Senior class had two distinctions in those days from the three other classes, namely, they had but two recitations a day, and they came exclusively (or nearly so) under the instruction of the president. These differences seemed large to the students, and the president properly emphasized them in order to secure a better attention to new studies, and to employ a general method both of instruction and discipline more grateful to the self-respect of his classes. He used no strict rules of any kind in order to make sure of attendance on his hours of teaching, nor did he any more treat all alike in reference to absence from college prayers and Sabbath services. He made his hours as attractive as possible to all, laying very little stress upon the text-book, catching quickly at the close attention

and power of apprehending on the part of the brighter and more earnest fellows, and wasting very little time in questioning the dullards or explaining to them even the radical distinctions of the subject. For the vigor and pleasure of his recitation hours, he was usually dependent on the leaders of his class, who were not always by any means those who stood the highest in scholarship in the earlier years. His peculiar magnet generally attracted a considerable majority in his classes, but never all of them; and he had not the knack of some teachers of making a recitation seem to go off well when the class did not contribute their fair share to it. He was never exacting in respect of the text; and he did not insist even upon his own vital distinctions nearly so much as most teachers do who have vital distinctions of their own to make. He did this on theory, and not simply in practice. He did not believe in teaching particulars much, but only generals; and generals rather in a way to wake up the mind of the pupil to act for itself, and to come to some conclusions of its own, rather than to bring it to accept definite propositions inductively and strictly arrived at.

There are advantages and disadvantages in this general method of teaching the moral sciences. (1) There is this advantage, that present interest and prospective progress in these depend less than might be expected beforehand on the previous interest and standing in those college studies usually regarded as preparatory. Hopkins cared little personally for what had gone before. Of course, he saw the results in mental discipline of previous studies of languages and mathematics and natural sciences, if those results were present; and he saw equally well proofs of discipline secured in other ways, in practical life or by teaching; but he did not use such scaffolding a great deal for his own purposes. It was not much a condition of his own good work, that his colleagues had done good work and reaped good fruit in the earlier years. A student could largely redeem himself in the Senior year. Minus is minus and plus is plus everywhere; but Mark Hopkins could get on pretty well with ill-fitted students and those who had been personally neglectful up to Senior year, provided only they would give their best attention day by day, and put their minds thoroughly into contact with his, and send out a hopeful spirit to meet his helpful spirit. The loose organization of college studies in those times, the little coördination between the separate years, worked less mischief on the Seniors on account of certain peculiarities in the president's way of teaching. He could open up his own paths of approach to the minds of students. His method allowed of this. With a certain class of stu-

dents it gave him more creative credit than he deserved. Another class, who prized the paths behind them, in which they had diligently walked, and who thought their gains should be utilized in the new progress, were often disappointed and inclined to fall back, giving the new leader less credit than he deserved. In short, the best way was to take what he offered then and there, without much reference to past or future connections. Such students oriented themselves with him quickly and found a rich repast, — not every day indeed, nor in every subordinate subject, but generally speaking and on the whole. They were his true supporters and admirers and, generally, his lifelong friends.

(2) There was a second and greater advantage in his flowing-robe methods. He did not generalize a great deal in the presence of his classes. He did not ask them to accept bodily the results which his own mind had reached by induction, any more than he urged them to accept the logical conclusions reached by the text-book writers. He had never trained his mind in the strict logical methods, whether inductive or deductive; and, consequently, he rarely (if ever) felt that inflexible conviction of truth which a careful and repeated induction of particulars never fails to impart to the trained logical reasoner. He knew that God had made the world and men on everlasting lines of order; but he often missed the blessed consequences of this, namely, that any just generalization, made and fortified inductively, is put thereby beyond hazard of essential chance for all time. While this feature of his mind and teaching gave room for that advantage to some of his pupils, to be specified in a moment, he recognized it in himself as a lack in any broad and final view. "I have never read Mill's 'Logic,'" he said in a deprecatory way to the writer when a Senior, as if he had said, "I wish I had." The differences between induction and deduction were never very clear to his mind; but he had what was in many respects better for him: a broad and common-sense and penetrative insight into the nature of things, which made his reasoning, in all cases in which he was tolerably familiar with the particular facts, cogent and convincing, which is only another way of saying that he possessed a sort of native, or instinctive, power of inductive reasoning; which, however, of course, failed him wretchedly in all departments in which he was ignorant of the essential facts.

Now, there were in every college class a few students of naturally constructive minds, which liked to come to their own conclusions by their own freely chosen and practised steps, and which only needed to be stimulated into action on any important topic in order

to see its postulates and relations and results. Such students were the delight of the great teacher. They did not need to have pointed out to them particularly and numerically either in the text-book or by the teacher the inferences and the opposites implied. The processes were fructifying in such minds, whether the results were worth tabulating or not, or whether the fruits ripened in the minds of the pupils corresponded in hue and succulence with those in the mind of the teacher. He rarely quarrelled in class with the statements there of this limited class of men. He seemed more desirous that they should think, and think vigorously in their own way, and state the result in their own language, than that they should think rightly according to his suppressed standard, or express themselves technically. These men profited by their liberty, and rejoiced in the consciousness of mental powers. He encouraged them. He sometimes praised them, perhaps beyond what was their due. He treated them, at any rate, as fellow-wayfarers. He claimed no precedence over them. It may have happened in a few cases that these privileged men even before graduation became better reasoners in a general way than the doctor was himself. It goes without saying, however, that there were probably in every class at least one-third of the members who would have gone straighter and better in stronger leading-strings. To this class, the actual results at the end of the year in knowledge, in distinction, in resemblances, in facts, were meagre enough, — too meagre for graduates.

(3) There was a third advantage, or quasi-advantage at least, in what may perhaps justly be called the university method of Dr. Hopkins in his personal teaching, namely, he had very little occasion ever to rebuke with any severity any of his pupils as such. There was very little of strict requirements of any kind in his lecture-room. The majorities were uniformly interested in his work, and fairly met his expectations. The text-book, in general, was so little regarded, that no student could be accused of having neglected his particular lesson. If his behavior in classroom were good, his attention there sufficient to keep the general run of the discussion, and his wits enough about him to make reasonably pertinent replies to the questions put to him individually, — all was fair sailing between teacher and pupil. Each was very well satisfied with the other. There was no friction anywhere, and considerable mutual admiration instead. The doctor was much less disturbed than most good teachers are by a little whispering here and there in class by the way of side discussion or comment, or even by a little laughing now and then in a corner. He was a perfect

master of the situation, and he knew it, and all the members of the class knew it; and the bolt, when it came, which was very seldom indeed, to smite the wanton disturber of the peace, was terrific. In the class of 1852, it crashed but once in the entire year, and then it came in such a way that neither offender nor observer ever forgot it. The member was sitting near the head of the class, and near to the desk, which Griffin had planned for the old recitation-room. He was gabbling and laughing oblivious of what was going on from the desk. There was an impressive pause throughout the room. Turning halfway round in the desk, and looking the sinner full in the face: "*Some folks talk because they have something to say,* AND SOME BECAUSE THEY ARE LEAKY!"

It seems scarcely needful to add, that there were some obvious disadvantages in the president's general mode of carrying on college instruction and discipline. (1) The first was one which he recognized himself, and more than once spoke of to some in whom he had confidence as colleagues. "There are always in my class some six or eight or ten men, about whom I do not care morally whether they are at my recitations or not. I cannot get anything out of them, and they do not get anything out of me. Of course, we must insist on formal attendance, but I don't care whether they are in my room or not." As a matter of fact, he did not himself insist on the formal attendance of this residuum, nor had he any means of enforcing it, as he never called the roll in his class, nor had any monitor keep a record there for him. As a matter of fact, also, most of these men were generally there, because the recitations were uniformly pleasant, and it was altogether the fashion for the Seniors to attend them, and so be able to join in the social gossip about "Prex." On the other hand, there were almost always two or three other teachers in College, and the writer was always one of them, who took special pains in their respective years to look after and encourage as much as possible the poor scholars, the dullards, who not infrequently were sufficiently helped forward by these teachers to enable them to do good work in their Senior year. The gratitude of such men to these teachers has been perennial and a hundredfold rewarding. It has been well for the College for a half-century past, that the special methods of its best teacher were not followed in detail by others justly inferior in reputation, but perhaps not inferior in usefulness on the whole.

(2) A second disadvantage of the president's general methods with his classes was, that they were not so readily emptied under these of their self-conceit as by the methods of some other good teachers.

To preserve the self-respect of pupils is a great desideratum, and Hopkins possessed that art almost to perfection; but the self-conceit and over-estimate so common among young men is a very different matter, and is an obstacle to genuine intellectual progress, and needs to be well gotten out of students in order to make room for thorough and growing acquirements. The president attained this end with skill in certain cases, and not only saved his man, but began at once to build him up; but his usual point of touch with the average student tended rather to inflate than to puncture. He missed his chance with many men. All other teachers miss their chance with many men. The present criticism relates to a courteous and attractive and comprehensive *method,* under which the average results were excellent, but which involved certain unexcusable defects. During the central portions of Hopkins's career as a teacher, when he was justly and widely popular, it used often to be said by chance observers in the way of compliment, "Every graduate bears on him the stamp of Mark Hopkins." This was never a true saying in its full significance of any single class of graduates. Speaking generally and with due allowance for the unexpected and ever-present exceptions, the president either did a good deal for the student and left on him a deep mark, — far more visible to the wearer, however, than to the onlooker, — or he did very little for him and left on him no outward visible mark at all. Numerically the former class was the larger.

(3) There was one other disadvantage worth noting in this connection of Dr. Hopkins's way of dealing with students, particularly in the matter of offences against the college order. He did not treat all students alike in such cases by any manner of means; nor did he practically allow the officers of discipline in the classes below his own to treat their offenders alike in the way of penalties and disabilities. This was his greatest fault as a college officer. It sometimes wrought extensive mischiefs and demoralizations. Instances of such results will be given farther on. In the class of 1842, John B. Gale, who is still leading an honored life in Williamstown in 1896, after an unusual successful professional career elsewhere, has lately made the following statement in relation to himself. While he was in college, the written or unwritten well-understood college rule was, that no student should be absent from his college room past midnight; and, if he were known to be so, he must give account to his class-officer of the fact and cause of such absence. Professor Kellogg was a sort of night-owl, and used often to perambulate both Colleges late at night in search of information. Gale came to col-

lege from an excellent family in Troy, accustomed to amusements not then common in the best of families in New England, and, though nearly the youngest member of his class, was a level-headed and right-principled boy. Moreover, he could afford to indulge in a style and limit of expenditures denied to most of the college boys at that period, — a fact that never failed to influence the president's mind favorably toward such a boy, so long as he taught and governed in the College, although he cared nothing for the riches and honors of the world for himself. In his Senior year, young Gale was more than once invited to balls given in Pittsfield, whose acceptance necessitated of course an all-night absence, involving morning prayers in chapel. The president did not suffer him to be called to account by anybody for this. He trusted the young man, which naturally increased the latter's self-respect and moral safety. Perhaps no harm was done to anybody in that particular case. But was that a right principle in college government? And would it work well in the long run, and in a college later to become larger?

The following is a good and authentic instance of Dr. Hopkins's way of dealing with a certain class of college offences. Silas W. Sanderson was a member of the class of 1846. He and another student unknown were coming back from Hancock way very early one Sunday morning, when the wheel to their wagon broke down, and they stopped at the Mills farm at the South Part to get another vehicle to reach home with. One of the two students gave his name as Sanderson. Mr. Mills very properly gave the facts as he saw and heard them to Dr. Hopkins. The latter called up Sanderson, and rehearsed what had been reported to him, — "but the student may not have given his right name," he added. "It was I — I always give my right name!" There was supposed to be a woman in the case. Sanderson did not wish to bring out his comrade under any circumstances. "I will give you," said the president, "an honorable dismission now, or we will have an investigation, with the chances of an expulsion later." Sanderson took the dismission, went to Union College, and was graduated. He was from Sunderland, Vermont. He afterward went to California, and became at length Chief Justice of the Supreme Court there. "He was the smartest man in our class!" [Keyes Danforth.]

Hopkins's professional training as a doctor stood him in good stead as a teacher from the first day until the last. He naturally and uniformly commenced his teaching with the human body, with all the parts of which he had become familiar as a medical student. He did not, however, make the mistake, which has been conspicu-

ously made since, of attempting to teach an entire college class the Latin names of all the muscles, nor even of all the bones of the body. Analysis must indeed precede synthesis in all good teaching; but it is possible and often actual to carry this primary analysis too far for the general purposes of the study. Inexperienced teachers and sometimes professed educators forget that life is short, and that a college course of four years is quite too short a time in which to teach young men the *minutiæ* of any great subject on science whatever. Precisely at this point of difficulty has arisen the tendency of the times to change by stealth the colleges into quasi-universities. This college has not escaped the attempt thus to mongrelize institutions of a radically diverse kind. Hopkins took the medium and wise course of presenting to his classes the organs and functions one by one of the subordinate systems of which the body is made up, such as the Osseous system, the Muscular system, the Respiratory system, the Circulatory system, and so on, to complete the entire round; and then he brought before his class all these systems united both anatomically and physiologically in the entire body, in their interactions and mutual dependencies, in their resemblances and differences. In all this he showed himself to his students as masterful, as those matters were understood and taught at that time.

He then passed in his exposition from the body to the mind, a subject in itself for many reasons far more difficult to expound in the classroom. The illustrative specimens and mechanisms and mannikin had now to be left wholly behind. It was, relatively, both to teacher and pupils, a new as well as difficult field. He still exhibited himself to them as a master, but of necessity in a much less masterful way. Two of the ablest and most appreciative of all his pupils, Professors Bascom and Spring, have given their independent and yet conjoint testimony, each gathering from widely differing data and approaching the point by diverse routes, that there was little of his own either in Dr. Hopkins's intellectual or moral philosophy, so far as substance of doctrine or collocation of material are concerned. Bascom says,[1] "President Mark Hopkins, so long a distinguished teacher of mental science, entertained the Scottish philosophy in a modified form. He did not accept the doctrine of a direct knowledge of the external word in perception, but thought that we gain, in one act, a recognition of two opposing forces, mental and physical, in connection with muscular activity, —an inroad of force from without, and our resistance to it. The question is not much altered by this transfer of the point of deter-

[1] *An Historical Interpretation of Philosophy*, pp. 318-320.

mination. We are still called on to know the unphenomenal term which we call 'force' directly, to separate between two conflicting 'forces,' the one arising within the field of spiritual being, and the other without it. We shall not make much progress in philosophy till we learn to distinguish between the strength of a crowbar and the strength of a desire, the push of a purpose and the push of an elephant, the grip of conscience and the grip of a right hand, the sensations which accompany muscular effort and the energy produced by it, the force due to exertion and the mental states which accompany it; and also that in all these cases the 'force' is an inference from this experience and not a part of it. Dr. Hopkins, having thus accepted a direct knowledge of 'force' as force, finds no occasion of causation as a primitive idea. The mind already drops, in muscular experience, plumb to the bottom of things."

Professor Spring, in an excellent essay on "Mark Hopkins, Teacher," which may be found in volume second of the Berkshire Book, pages 124–150, makes a truthful and delightful summary of the peculiarities of the Hopkinsian teaching, in which appear the following pregnant sentences: —

> Dr. Hopkins did not establish a school of philosophy. In the nature of the case that was impossible. The undogmatic temper of his instruction, the absence of partisan bias, the constant appeal which he made to the individual to be true to himself, precluded such an issue to his career. To train men into habits of broad and independent thinking; to develop the resources of personality, that loftiest summit toward which we move in our attainment, was his mission, and it did not call for the erection of a party. A grander and more fitting memorial of his work remains, — the memorial that is found in the enlarged and vitalized lives of his pupils.
>
> Dr. Hopkins's methods remained substantially unchanged during his long career as a teacher. I think, however, that he himself supposed they had undergone considerable modification. Indeed, he said something to that effect on the only occasion when I remember to have heard him refer to them. I spoke of his class-room work in 1862–63, as I recalled it. "Things are different now," — it was in the winter of 1885–86, — he replied. "I have changed my ways of teaching since you were here." The innovation which he had in mind was the use of the blackboard. He employed it successfully in his lectures at the Lowell Institute to illustrate points in his so-called system of philosophy, and this experience led him to have analyses and summaries of the lessons written upon it for the use of the pupils. But I am confident that he overrated the importance of his innovation, — that in reality it brought with it very slight modification of method.

With these discriminating observations of Professor Spring, whose privileges as an interested and observant pupil of the president were ten or eleven years later than his own in the same relation, the

present writer is wholly at one. It was natural, and perhaps inevitable, from his early choice of a profession and his thorough training as a physician, that Dr. Hopkins, as a later metaphysician, should have laid great stress upon *sensations*, and their obvious relations to the external world. Moreover, whatever previous training he had gained in the higher realm of mental science, had come from the Scottish writers; and these had been compelled, in order to avert the consequences of the widespread acceptance of Hume's sceptical and even nihilistic philosophy, to fall back upon what they called "common sense," that is, the general convictions of mankind. In this they did wisely. Indeed, there was nothing else to be done. All philosophy must have a starting-point for its explanations in that which is to be explained, namely, the common and fundamental beliefs of mankind, such as the difference between right and wrong, the difference between self and non-self, the difference between cause and effect. Having thus gained a valid starting-point for philosophical inquiry, the Scotch writers make a vast leap in the dark, and assert that the mind itself has a direct perception of the external world, thus blindly linking the *Ego* and the *non-Ego* through an immediate activity of the former. Thomas Reid, Dugald Stewart, Thomas Brown, and Sir William Hamilton, all Scotch, and all holding the same fundamentals, were the writers with whom from first to last Mark Hopkins was most familiar. He merely modified their common contention by the hypothesis, that, in muscular action, we gain a recognition of two opposing forces: one mental and the other physical, the one energy proceeding from ourselves and the other from without ourselves. He did not, therefore, escape, nor even try to escape, the limitations of the Scottish philosophy. Apparently he did not employ his mind upon the radical distinctions at issue between the so-called intuitional and empirical schools of thought.

Within the former of these schools the terms and distinctions, sense and understanding and reason, are well-established landmarks within what is strictly mental science. As has been already said, Dr. Hopkins emphasized sensations, developed in his own way the action of the mind in analysis and generalization, but had very little room in his system for the reason, or intuition. He not only did not employ these terms, nor adopt any of his own corresponding with them, but he scarcely recognized the distinctions underlying them. He certainly did not steadily build into his system anything analogous with these primary mental differences.

When it came to ethics, upon which he bestowed a great deal of

labor and exposition, — one of the most important of his books being entitled "The Law of Love and Love as a Law," — Dr. Hopkins does not seem to be able to snap the chain that binds him in a subtle bondage to Paley, any more than he was able to emancipate himself from the radical postulate of Reid. Perhaps it was at bottom the same bond in both cases. Hopkins was fond of turning points on Paley in the classroom; but it was rather the incidental points of the great churchman, than his fundamental point, namely, that the broad pleasures of obedience and the pains and penalties of disobedience are the ultimate ground of moral obligation. He used Paley's work as the text-book for some years, although he early projected a manual of his own, which was not realized until 1862, in the meantime using for a good while Wayland's "Elements of Moral Science." His brightest pupils always enjoyed the keen critical thrusts by which he often brought the blood out of Paley's long-lived *corpus;* and, in talking with one of these about his own project of a text-book, the pupil asked him if he thought it would be any better for the classes than to keep "*hacking*" Paley. He replied that he presumed it might not.

Dr. Hopkins found in "Blessedness" the ultimate ground of human duty. This is a different word from "Pleasure," which is Paley's word; but, as used in ethical inquiry, can these two words denote different things? If so, where does "pleasure" end, and "blessedness" begin? What *is* the difference between them? And what organ or power of the mind is it, that discriminates between the two, and measures the distance between them? The hatchet that was sharp enough to hack off some of the limbs of Paley's tree, to the delight of the spectators, does not seem to have been broad and keen enough to fell the main trunk of it. Hopkins found in the Beatitudes of our Lord, which are the deepest and most pervasive and most compacted portion of His teachings, a term which appeared to him able to transplant ethical discussion upon higher and firmer ground. Mere words were more to him than they ever can be to one who knows thoroughly their earthly origin, their changeableness in meaning, and their inevitable decay. Words as such owe their significance to what men put into them for the time being, and not to what is in them for all time. They are like ships, which may be freighted with all precious substance, but which also are ever liable to wasting winds and wrecking rocks. They are vehicles. They are earthen vessels. They may indeed be so interlaced with each other, so made by comparative prescience to support and strengthen one another, so anchored as a whole in the great deeps

of human consciousness, as truly they were in our Lord's Sermon on the Mount, that they come down through the ages over all the interminable hazards of the way, a rich heritage to every generation, though doubtless blurred and marred more or less and all the time. Not so with single words. "Blessed are the meek." What is it to be blessed? More to the present purpose, whence comes the sense of blessedness? What is its ground? Is it tentative experience or instant insight? Here divide the empirical and the institutional schools in philosophy. And between them is a great gulf fixed.

The present writer can never forget the first hour spent by his class of 1852, at the beginning of Senior year, with Dr. Hopkins on the "Assembly's Catechism." Its significance in the present connection is the proof it furnishes that Hopkins was through and through a disciple of Paley, so far as essentials go. He took up with us, as with all his classes in succession, the first question of the catechism, — "What is the chief end of man?" He spent the entire hour on an exposition of the answer, "*To glorify God and enjoy Him forever.*" The class were unanimously carried away with the force and fervor of his main contention, namely, that the two apparent parts of this answer are in reality but one. To glorify God is to enjoy Him forever, and, transversely, to enjoy Him forever is the only way to glorify Him. The moral basis of the universe is enjoyment, or blessedness. This is at once ground and end of obedience. Joy begun is duty done. The two are interchangeable and identical. Joy is not so much the issue of the duty done as it is the motive to it and the realization of it. It is not probable that a single member of that class was able to follow on that occasion the steps of the reasoning (if such there were) by which the president seemed overwhelmingly to establish his main propositions; but every member of it was electrified by a brand-new experience, — by a gorgeous display of rhetorical and moral power; and a class-meeting held shortly after unanimously invited the doctor not to confine himself strictly to an hour in the exercise on the catechism to follow, but to take, if he would, an hour and a half each time. No hours like that followed in that course, though they were all interesting and profitable; and looking back to that over an interval of almost fifty years, it seems to one of those present, as if at least a partial explanation could be found there of the following sentiment uttered by Dr. Hopkins long afterward: "*but I too am a mystic.*"

During the first five years of this man's presidency, that is, from 1836 to 1841, things slowly settled down in college toward fairly good behavior on the part of the students, and more than fairly good

teaching on the part of the instructors generally. Professor Hopkins with his quiet but tentative enthusiasm was getting hold of his department with what proved to be a steady grip. In 1834 he had gone to Europe, chiefly at his own expense, to procure for the College some philosophical and chemical apparatus. He was always fond of some mystery and surprises in all that he publicly said and did. In 1835, without telling them exactly what he was purposing to do, he asked a party of students to go with him to the quartzite ledges on East Mountain. With crowbars and other suitable implements, they were soon prying and tumbling down and piling up for transportation blocks of stone, which, he told them, were to be used in some novel building on college ground, — exactly what, they would ascertain in the future. There were stout men among those students, but he was by much the strongest man in the party, the leader, and acting in the whole business on his own responsibility. Thus originated the Hopkins Astronomical Observatory of 1835. It was gradually supplied with a good telescope and other needful apparatus for original work. It has often been said by friends of the College, in good faith, that this was the first building erected in connection with any college in the United States exclusively used for astronomical purposes. This is not literally and strictly true. The University of North Carolina had such a building, small indeed and poor, about ten years prior to the erection of this, our observatory, which still proudly crowns the highest ground in the East College yard. This undoubted statement of priority was verbally made to the writer by his friend, the present president of that honored university.

Associated in the interval of time just indicated with these two foremost men of the College, were Professors Kellogg and Emmons and Lasell, and Tutors Griffin and Tatlock and Crawford and White and Coffin. Of these five tutors two became afterward much respected professors here, and the other three were each long and intimately associated with the town and college in one way or another. Kellogg, a graduate of Yale, was appointed Professor of Languages in 1815, and continued, with slight intermissions, to perform the duties till 1844. He remained a bachelor for eleven years, and lived in the northeast corner room of West College, on the second floor, whence he made peregrinations daily to all the rooms in that building, to see if the students were in their rooms and attending to their studies. He was nicknamed by the students "P–K"; which, they explained, according to the exigencies of the inquiry, either as short for Professor Kellogg, or as a more obvious

contraction for Peek. He was small in person, and the calibre of his mind was conformable thereto. He was a schoolmaster rather than a teacher. He gave his attention almost exclusively to details. There was little or nothing about him that was inspiriting or broadening to the students. Yet he had some excellent qualities as a man, and as a college officer also; he effected some good and permanent results both in the town and the College, such as, for example, originating the idea of the college garden, the ground for which he purchased and gave to the College; and all these traits and acts are kindly and candidly brought out by President Hopkins in a sermon preached in his memory in the village church, Oct. 11, 1846. We quote a single paragraph: —

> He was one of those men who have strongly marked peculiarities, which yet do not go to such a length as to become weaknesses. On the other hand, they were such only as are required by the variety, the harmony, and even by the wants of human society. While, therefore, we should not wish to have every one to be, in the points referred to, such a man, we should yet not have wished to have *him* different. Among those I will only mention here that peculiarity of mind which led him to notice all the particulars of every subject in which he was interested, and to go into all its details. No one can have been long acquainted with Professor Kellogg without noticing this trait. It showed itself in all his inquiries, in the kind of knowledge which he had on many subjects, in the objections he would start to any plan proposed, and in the thoroughness and completeness with which he would carry out those things which he undertook. A striking illustration of this, showing at the same time his continued interest in the college, he gave in a plan which he drew up not long before his death for the improvement of extempore speaking among the students, by the institution, if the means could be procured, of prizes for that purpose. The plan was judicious, and if it could be carried into effect, would do much good; but it covered two or three sheets of paper, and every possible emergency and objection were considered and provided for. This habit of mind would naturally beget caution, and accordingly, he well understood, and in its spirit commended to others, the maxim which would teach us to "make haste slowly." This particularity and caution did not, however, render him deficient in enterprise. He often originated new plans, which he was just as ready to scrutinize, as he was to check the ardor of others in those proposed by them.

Professor Emmons, as he was always called upon this ground, although he never held a strict professorship here, a graduate of the College in 1818, and coming, while in college, under the stimulating impulses of Chester Dewey and Amos Eaton in natural history, was appointed Lecturer in Chemistry in 1828. At that time he was practising medicine in Williamstown, and was appointed one of the deacons of the church in that year. Ten years later he was appointed Professor of Chemistry in the Albany Medical College,

and took up his residence in that city, but he retained his connection with the College, coming here annually, in the summer, to deliver courses on geology and mineralogy for many years. The critical turn in his life happened in 1836, when Governor Marcy of New York appointed him one of the four surveyors in the novel and famous geological survey of that State. Amos Eaton, then and for long the head of the Rensselaer School at Troy, had been most influential with the Legislature and the governor in the creation of this survey, and continued to wield much influence over its execution, partly because he had already reconnoitred, in his geological survey of the country adjoining the Erie Canal, the central portions of the great State. To Emmons was assigned the second or northern district, including the Taconic and Adirondack region. He first made the public acquainted with the unexplored Adirondack country, and gave their names to the principal mountains there. He had for his geological assistant during his first year of service James Hall.

A partial readjustment of the survey and its leaders for the next year, 1837, made at the instance and under the shaping hand of Amos Eaton, added Jefferson County to Emmons's second district, and promoted James Hall to be chief geologist of the fourth or western district. Hall says, in the preface of his final report upon this district, "Having been appointed by the late governor, the Hon. William L. Marcy, to investigate the geology of the fourth district, my duties in that region commenced in the spring of 1837." But what of duties in the Adirondack region in 1836? Emmons's reports are searched in vain for any reference whatever to Hall in that primal year of his service, which must have given to somebody — probably to Eaton — evidences of such geological ability as transferred him the very next year to an independent position in the survey equal to that of Emmons himself and such as kept him (without once severing his connection with Albany) for sixty years of distinguished service in geology and paleontology, 1836–96.

This brings to notice a marked fault in Emmons's otherwise stainless career as a distinguished scientist. He did not always give just credit to others in publishing the results of joint labors and discoveries. On the other hand, in botany, for example, he called, and allowed others to call, by his own name, plants that had been previously found and described by others. H. H. Ballard, Williams College 1874, in his paper on Amos Eaton, in the second volume of the Berkshire Book, gives flagrant instances of this. Undoubtedly this propensity prejudiced many of his scientific con-

temporaries against his other claims to originality, and led them to deny or belittle what was unquestionably his own, namely, what he called the "Taconic System" in geology. Precisely when or where he first perceived the proofs of a group of rocks intermediate between the Potsdam Sandstone, which is the lowest of the sedimentary formations of New York, and the primitive rocks of central and western Vermont, constituting a distinct system by themselves, not recognized in the ordinary classification as it was then, we do not know. Observations made in one place after another in his reorganized second district of New York, at length brought him to a firm conviction that such a stratum existed, and would have to be recognized by the geologists sooner or later. Meantime, he maintained his discovery single-handed amid much ridicule and odium, and even ostracism on the part of his fellow-geologists. It was in his formal Report of 1838, that he first publicly announced his discovery, and named it the "Taconic System."

Professor Albert Hopkins had spent his summer vacation of 1836 with Emmons and Hall in northern New York, amid their first explorations in that region. It is not likely that Emmons had then hit on any evidence of his Taconic System; but it is a curious fact, that Hopkins was present under peculiar circumstances when Emmons thought he found a confirmation strong as Holy Writ of what his mind had already concluded upon as a stubborn fact in science. In the summer vacation of 1841, Hopkins started from Williamstown on a journey to Maine, to be married to Louisa Payson, the daughter of a then celebrated pastor in Portland. Portland is in the east country; and it is an illustration of the obstacles to travel in that direction then afforded by the Hoosac Mountain, under which the Hoosac Tunnel now passes, that Hopkins and his party started directly west, in order to begin their eastern journey from Albany. The party to Albany was made up of his brother, who was to perform the ceremony in Portland, and of Professor Emmons and Joseph White, then lately a tutor in the College, the two latter casually occupying the stage over the Taconics with the two brothers. At a little pause in the journey, perhaps to rest or bait the horses, Emmons dashed off into a gorge or cave not far from the road, when shortly the others heard him exclaim with enthusiasm, "*Here it is! I've found it! Here is my Taconic System!*"

From 1846 to 1854, Emmons worked steadily and officially on the geology and the agriculture of New York, issuing in the interval four volumes of reports, containing elaborate descriptions and figures, and illustrated by colored plates and otherwise. In the last-

mentioned year, he published the first part of a treatise on American geology, which was followed by a brief text-book on the same subject. Before these had appeared, Dr. Emmons had been appointed by the governor of North Carolina to the charge of a geological survey of that State. To this he devoted the last nine years of his life, publishing every two years elaborate reports of his labors, which were interrupted by the breaking out of the Civil War. Anxieties consequent upon the war and upon separation from his Northern friends and his family probably hastened his death, which fell at Brunswick, North Carolina, in October, 1863. He was born at Middlefield, Massachusetts, in May, 1799. He was a plain and unpretending man, but a keen observer of nature and an indefatigable worker. He was not a good teacher in the classroom, nor had he power to gain and hold the attention of students anywhere, who were not specially interested in the subjects he was wont to teach. He appeared the best in the field or on the mountain, surrounded by a small group of interested students, unfolding to them in his quiet way the facts of botany or mineralogy or geology. This mode of field-teaching he copied from his own more original and grip-holding teacher, Amos Eaton. In the summer of 1851, in place of a lecture in the classroom, he invited the Junior class here to accompany him to the East Mountain, in order that he might explain to them the quartzite rock that appears to good advantage upon its sides and summit. The name "Mount Emmons" has since been applied to this summit by one of his pupils, and has been accepted as appropriate by many more.[1] The invited class (which was the writer's) descended Consumption Hill with him in force, but one-third or more had ravelled out before they reached what is now called Cole Avenue, and half of the rest were gone before was reached the bridge over the Hoosac, and how many (if any) reached the summit with their leader the writer dares not say, for he was not there to see!

In his younger days here as a physician and a college teacher, and before he got entangled in the great controversy of his life, Emmons was popular both in the town and the College. An incident illustrating this, and also illustrating the high pressure of local politics in those times, is well authenticated. The town was pretty steadily Democratic during the first third of the century, while the Noble and Dewey families and the college officials generally were of the party of the other part. Sharp practice was indulged in on both sides. Keyes Danforth, the Democrat leader, a natural organ-

[1] See *Origins in Williamstown*, p. 11.

izer of common men, and always a shrewd counsellor in times of stress, had usually a ready resource for voters in the then large colored population in the White Oaks. It was a disputed question whether college students had the local franchise. The Whigs had planned to carry the election by covertly putting on the check-list the names of thirty or forty students, supposing of course that they would vote for their candidate for the Legislature. So they naturally would. But Danforth, getting wind of what was going on, sounded one or two of the newly enfranchised, "Will you fellows go for Dr. Emmons, if our party will nominate him?" "*Every man of them will!*" That is the way Dr. Emmons came to be in the Massachusetts House of Representatives in the winter of 1832–1833. In those days Williamstown had two representatives in the General Court each year, one of them usually chosen from the South Part.

Ebenezer Emmons has gained a lasting name and fame in geologic science, in which he was one of the pioneers, independently of the question whether or no the Taconic System be ultimately accepted as such by the geologists. This is a question of construction and classification, and not at all of a correct observation and description of facts. The geologic facts as he descried and described them are admitted by all observers. In the sixty years during which the controversy has raged, and it has not even yet been definitively settled, there have been stout defenders both in this country and in Europe of Emmons's contention that these rocks, admitted on all hands to be extremely difficult of classification, were really a layer by themselves originally, although now curved and twisted and mingled with the limestone and the quartzite; while the later opinion, particularly that of the United States Geological Survey, seems destined to prevail, namely, that these rocks, estimated to be over eighteen thousand feet in thickness, are not strictly a "system" by themselves, and consequently, that the distinctive term "Taconic" must be dropped. Professor Walcott of the Smithsonian Institute, acting under the direction of the United States Geological Survey, spent the two seasons of 1886 and 1887 in the special exploration and study of these rocks; and while he concedes that there is no proper Taconic system, he yet pays the following generous tribute to Emmons. "There is no doubt that Dr. Emmons was correct in classifying the upper Taconic as pre-Potsdam. He deserves great credit for the work he did. Struggling under adverse circumstances, he accomplished a work in one of the most complicated regions of American geology, the central idea of which,

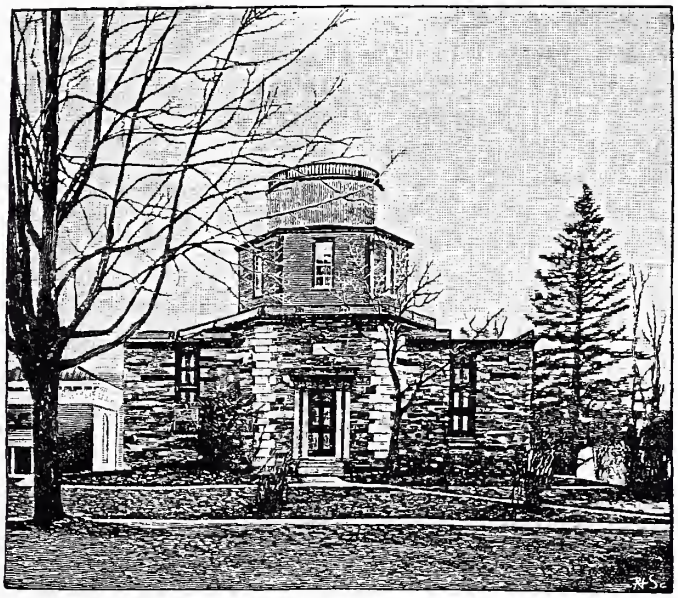
— that a great series of Paleozoic strata of pre-Potsdam age existed east of the Hudson River, — we now know was correct."

Aside from all purely scientific questions, it is a matter of interest to the people and the students of Williamstown, that one of their citizens and teachers found the materials of a most interesting discovery and of world-wide controversy lying at their very doors. Emmons at first, in 1838, located his Taconic System as designating the low mountain range running parallel with the main range of the Green Mountains, but a few miles to the west, along the boundary line between Massachusetts and New York. In 1842, in his regular "Report on the Second District of New York," and later in his large quarto pamphlet repeatedly reissued, entitled "The Taconic System," he extended its area so as to include a breadth of territory stretching through the whole length of Vermont and into Canada as far north as Quebec. He claimed that the rocks of this region differed in character from the mountains on either side of them sufficiently to be distinguishable, and to form a separate and distinct system older than the Potsdam, but younger than the primitive rocks. It is only fair to state that his associates in the New York survey, Hall and Mather, differed with him from the first in this construction.

Dr. Emmons added much to his already large reputation by his official labors and discoveries in the state of North Carolina. In paleontology, in particular, his studies there were prolific. He discovered and named two brand new species of fossils, the *Dromatherium sylvestre* and the *Rutioden carolinensis*. It may be a matter of interest to some persons to note that E. V. B. Conklin, Williams College 1835, married the eldest daughter of Professor Emmons, Amanda, and both spent their lives in Williamstown on the estate now known as Farm B, belonging to John B. Gale, Williams College 1842.

Matters were progressing well in a small way for a small college under the tentative but growing leadership of Mark Hopkins, and under the then novel, though destined to become powerful, religious views and methods of Albert Hopkins, when on a Sunday afternoon in October, 1841, while the students were at church in the old meeting-house on the square, the East College took fire and burned to the ground. It was without insurance, and was a total loss. We have already learned, upon an earlier page of this book, that the East College was a larger and finer building than the West College, and it was the first really *college* edifice erected, inasmuch as the other was built for the uses of the original Free School, in 1790,

without a thought of its ever becoming an appurtenance of a college proper. This was erected in 1797 from the proceeds of two townships of land in Maine, granted to the College by the General Court in January, 1796. The land brought $10,000. The building cost $12,400. It was of brick, four stories high, with a bevel roof like the West College, 104 feet long and 48 feet wide. It differed from the West College in having two halls through it east and west, instead of the original one central hall of the other. It contained thirty-two convenient dormitory rooms, and two recitation rooms for Juniors and Seniors. The two literary societies forming the



HOPKINS OBSERVATORY.

Adelphic Union, which itself had been instituted two years before this building was erected, namely, in 1795, the Philologian and Philotechnian, had each but a little while before the fire fitted up for itself a room on the third floor with its library and proper furniture. There was a small theological library in another room of the building, which was totally destroyed. All the rooms were fitted with open fireplaces burning wood; and there had been partial burnings within the building before; but this conflagration left the entire building a smouldering ruin.

The fire had taken in the southwest corner room of the fourth floor

from a stick of wood falling from the fireplace to the wooden floor. It took but a little while to bring the students from the meeting-house to the burning, and they did all that mortal man could do under the circumstances to save their own property and that of the College. An eye-witness once related to the writer, how Addison Ballard of the Senior class persisted till the last possible moment in throwing out from the third-story windows the books from one of the society libraries; how William Goodwin, of the same class, caught while engaged in similar labors by the advancing flames, descended to the ground by the lightning-rod; and how, while the south end of the huge pile was burning, and the then new astronomical observatory was endangered, it was saved only by the students covering the combustible parts with wet blankets. Every room in the building was occupied at the time. Most of their private furniture and books was saved by the students, although in a damaged condition, except those in the rooms in the vicinity of the place where the fire originated. The larger part of the libraries and furniture in the two society rooms was also saved by such heroic exertions as are characteristic of college students at a fire in the country.

The immediate question precipitated upon the College as the sun went down on that Sabbath afternoon was, Where shall the more than fifty roomless students lodge to-night? Students under such circumstances are full of transient resources. The West College opened its rooms with hospitable intent; and as most of the beds and bedding on the other hill had been saved from the flames, couches on the floors sufficed for many, the president and professors provided sleeping-places for some, and a few found lodgment in the town. The next day, systematic and successful efforts were made by all these parties to secure rooms as well as lodgings for all who needed them. It was with a just pride that Mark Hopkins wrote, forty-five years afterwards, "Every room had been occupied, and it was feared that many students would leave, from the seeming impossibility of finding accommodations. There was, however, an enthusiasm for the College, and not a man left." Amos Eaton wrote out from Troy, that they would take in at the Polytechnic Institute temporarily any and all who might wish to come. By Monday night all the homeless were fairly provided for. Tuesday morning the regular recitations in all the classes were resumed, and continued without a break till the end of the term.

The blow of this fire-loss fell upon the young president and his brother with almost crushing force. For more than ten years, in

various relations and positions, these two men had borne the brunt of the burdens of the College. They had unselfishly gained the confidence of the students, and had a moral hold on their hearts and lives. The two had given themselves to the College in their youth, and they were not the men to hold back when disaster came. Neither of the two was by any means a perfect man, either then or afterwards. The younger said of the elder, that "*he doubtless had something more of worldly ambition.*" Perhaps so. Both of them had worldly ambition enough, though in different directions. But both had consecrated themselves to the true interests of the College in diverse ways, and both continued faithful to this their drift so long as they lived. Upon the president fell the anxieties of the new public and pecuniary situation. Shortly after the fire he called at the Whitmans, more for general counsel and comfort than to ask for money. "Do not be discouraged," said Mrs. Lucy Whitman, "I will promise to give you one thousand dollars to help rebuild the College." Very often in after life did Mark Hopkins refer to this opportune promise as lifting a heavier weight from his mind than any other college gift ever received by him. The quick giver gives twice. A meeting of the trustees was at once called, and active measures to secure money with which to rebuild were set in motion, and several thousand dollars were gathered by subscription in a comparatively short time; but this was not enough to warrant action to start the rebuilding. The times were hard. The total disappointments following the election and speedy death of President Harrison in that year weighed on all industry and enterprise. "In this emergency," wrote Hopkins, "after some vain attempts to raise money by subscription, it was determined to ask aid from the State. I accordingly went to Boston, and presented a petition. That petition was referred to a committee, a member of which, from the eastern part of the State, boarded at the same hotel with myself. On his return from the State House, after his appointment, he came to me to inquire about the College. 'Williams College,' said he, 'let me see, Williams College is somewhere on the North River, isn't it?' Of course there was little chance of getting money through a committee composed in part of such material." At any rate, none was gotten.

In those early days there were six weeks' vacation in midwinter, and most of the students went to teach school for a term of twelve weeks, and some for even more. The winter term of instruction and attendance was much mutilated in those days; but as spring approached, and there is no place in the world where early spring is

pleasanter than in Williamstown after a long winter, a better feeling about the new building began to prevail in the town and among the trustees generally. A contract was made by the treasurer, Daniel N. Dewey, with Robert Noble, a citizen of the village, to clear off the site of the burned building, and to pile up to one side the brick that were fit for re-using, preparatory to a contract for putting up two new dormitories to take the place of the old one. Four stories to a college building were prejudiced in the local mind by the circumstances of the fire, which caught in an angle of the building, and at an inaccessible height. It was proposed, accordingly, to have the new buildings but three stories high, the front one to be still called "East College," and to occupy substantially the site of the old one, and to be of the same length as that, with two halls running through it, east and west, as before; the second one to be just two-thirds as long as the other, to stand directly south of it, with four feet greater breadth, and to be called "South College," having the main entrance at the north end and a second one in the middle of the east side.

A careful contract was made for the erection of these buildings by the treasurer with Crandall and Curtis, the junior member of which firm of carpenters and builders, Harry Curtis, is still living in Williamstown in an highly honored old age. He practically superintended the erection of the buildings from start to finish, and his memory of all the details is, now fifty-five years after the time, clear and strong, and has just been confirmed by measurements made by others. The foundations of the old building, like those of West College, rested on the limestone rock all around; and the contract called for similar foundations under both of the new buildings. This introduced a contingent element into the money terms of the contract. As to the front building the depth of the rock beneath the surface was pretty well known, though its exterior lines did not follow altogether the old lines, the difference in the width of the two being ten feet; but as to the South College, nobody knew the depth of the digging needful to reach the limestone; so the contract was made flexible in this respect, an extra allowance was to be made to the builders for all foundations laid deeper than four feet on an average beneath the surface of the ground. As a matter of fact, the deepest digging was had along the northwest corner of the south building, which accounts for the odd figures of its cost at the settlement, — $5090. The East College cost $7000. As the payments were not to be made until the work was completed, the trustees relied for the more moneys needed upon a second passing round of

the hat in the town and the county and the State, and upon some hoped-for collections to be made at Commencement, when the but partially completed buildings would make a silent appeal to graduates and visitors. Accordingly, the Commencement dinner-table was spread in the open air on the East College campus just to the east of the buildings, and a little to the north of the then new astronomical observatory. The weather was fine. The attendance was large. The spirit was excellent. The president, as he always did upon those occasions, made a hopeful and admirable speech, in the course of which he heartfully thanked the Senior class, then having just eaten their first alumni dinner, for standing by the College to a man at the time of the disaster the autumn before. It is safe to say, that no men felt better at the alumni dinner of 1842, or remembered that dinner longer, or were thereafter drawn to the College more firmly, than the thirty-five men constituting the class of 1842. An unusually large proportion of this class was attracted and attached to the town and the College in one relation or another, and exerted, in one way or another, an influence in their behalf both at home and abroad. A list of these men will enrich the present pages.

Thomas S. Bacon	John B. Gale	Henry Osborn
Addison Ballard	William Goodwin	Job Pierson
Elisha B. Bassett	Enos J. Halstead	George W. Pleasants
James Brewer	William A. Hawley	Henry W. Porter
George P. Briggs	Horace I. Hodges	Andrew G. Riley
Thomas Colt	Eli A. Hubbard	John H. Sage
Theodore Cooke	Charles S. Jordan	Oliver M. Sears
William H. Edwards	John H. Kellom	John B. Skinner
George R. Enbler	Jonathan Le Fevre	Josiah T. Smith
Leland Fairbanks	Horace Lyman	Lewis M. Strong
Henry A. Ford	Dwight W. Marsh	Edward Taylor
Oliver Warner		Lyman F. Wilcox

The chief speaker at this alumni dinner of 1842 was Nicholas Murray, of the class of 1826. He was an Irishman, born and bred in the tenets of the Catholic faith. A boy's disgust at some conduct of a Romish priest at home led him to question the claims of that church, and led him to surrender at sixteen to an elder brother all rights to any portion of their deceased father's property, in consideration of money enough to take him to New York. In July, 1818, he arrived there friendless and almost penniless. Obtaining work in the publishing house of Harper & Brothers, his capacity and fidelity gained him the lifelong friendship of those gentlemen, and the young sceptic was brought under the preaching and influence of

Rev. Dr. John M. Mason, and afterward became a member of Dr. Spring's Brick Presbyterian church. He showed such fine natural abilities and such an earnest spirit, that he was advised to prepare himself for the ministry, and was sent to Williams in 1822. He was not half fitted for college so far as the studies were concerned, but he was full of life and insight, of humor and wit, and became a favorite and leader in his class, holding such men as John Morgan (another Irishman) and Albert Hopkins and William Hyde and Samuel Bridges and Jonathan Noble and the two Fuller brothers.

Murray gradually became one of the most eloquent preachers of his time, and a successful pastor in Elizabeth, New Jersey, which post he did not leave, under never so urgent solicitations, until his death, in 1861. He became also a very famous writer, under his own name and that of KIRWAN, especially in controversy with Bishop Hughes and other standard-bearers of the Romish faith. His spirits were exuberant, his fund of anecdote inexhaustible, his repartee keen and sometimes scathing, and he was a delightful companion as well as a powerful champion. At this after-dinner table on the college campus, right at the flank of the new buildings, already covered in, but not yet finished, Nicholas Murray gave his reminiscences and made his appeals in behalf of the *Old Lady*, as he called her, the *Alma Mater*, who had been despoiled by fire of a part of her wardrobe, and must now receive, at the hands of her children, a *new dress*, in which she may properly receive at the opening of the new college year a large accession to her family, and be ready to receive back next year at this time, at her semi-centennial, well-robed and without a debt, at the old hearth and board, all the now scattered members of her old family.

A new subscription paper was circulated around the table, and many who had subscribed before put down their names for an additional and, in some cases, an equal sum, and young graduates and country ministers made their necessarily small contributions; and there was good feeling all around, and, morally speaking, the College was strengthened by an apparent misfortune.

One of the old ledgers in the treasurer's office exhibits the following title and sequel, the names of the twice contributors appearing here but once with the aggregate sums.

"Subscriptions to rebuild the East College, which was burnt Oct. 17, 1841, amounting in all to the sum of $8949.00."

Mrs. Lucy and Seymour Whitman	$1500	Isaac Vanderpoel	$50
Daniel N. Dewey	500	Ebenezer Learned	15
		John Hotchkiss	25

Albert Hopkins	$300	S. F. B. Morse	$50
Asahel Foot	100	C. Alger	25
Charles A. Dewey	100	W. S. Tucker	10
Persons in Pittsfield	400	Persons in Chesterfield	20
Persons in New York	208	Persons in Becket	30
W. M. Halsted	100	Joseph Alden	50
Ebenezer Kellogg	100	Nicholas Murray	20
Charles Sedgwick	85	D. O. Kellogg	40
Erastus C. Benedict	50	William Porter	50
Thomas Eggleston	50	Emory Washburn	20
David Buel	75	Homer Bartlett	30
M. O. Halsted	50	Russell C. Cook	25
Thomas Allen	10	S. E. Morse	25
Mrs. Laura Whitman & E. Lasell	1000	Ruth Benjamin	30
Mark Hopkins	600	H. Byington	25
Henry L. Sabin	300	D. R. Williams	10
John Mills	100	Persons in Peru	48
Lyman Hubbell	100	E. V. B. Conklin	10
Boston Collections	1700	Collections in Lenox	70
H. W. Brunsmade	100	Joseph Hyde	50
John Tatlock	100	Jona. Bixby	10
Benj. F. Mather	50	—— Williston	200
Jane Sedgwick	40	Oliver B. Morris	20
Samuel Shepard	42	James H. Coffin	30
William A. Hallock	50	Gerard Hallock	50
—— Vail	25	John C. Brigham	20
		Abel West	10

Well worth the noting are a few points in relation to this subscription paper. (1) The relatively large sum contributed by the residents of Williamstown. Fifty-four per cent of the whole, that is, $4880, came from this source. The president and five other members of the faculty, all young men, gave in the aggregate $1180. The president's salary was then $1100 per annum, and the professors received $700. James H. Coffin, the only tutor at that time, whose salary was $400, and who became afterward a distinguished professor at Lafayette College, subscribed $30. The Whitman family, merchants, the only family in town then denominated rich, gave liberally, considering their means. The people of the village and, indeed, the people of the entire town, had declined in pecuniary means during each decade of the new century. The Sloans were all gone in 1842; the Nobles were all gone; and the Deweys were all gone except the treasurer, who was then relatively a poor man, though he gave $500 toward the rebuilding. Emigration had already carried away to the westward a considerable part of the enterprise and of the property in Williamstown. When the pres-

ent writer entered college, in 1848, the village had rather a decayed look from one end of it to the other. There were only three private houses in it that were out of the ordinary.

(2) The reader may have been struck by the amount, $1700, under the head of "Boston collections." This money was gathered and largely contributed by a mercantile firm there, whose style was "Edwards and Stoddard." The families bearing these names were very closely related by intermarriage and otherwise, in Northampton and New Haven and Boston and elsewhere. Solomon Stoddard, pastor of the church in Northampton, 1672–1729, was a maternal grandfather of Jonathan Edwards, his successor in that church, 1729–50. The two were colleague pastors there 1727–29. The Boston merchant, Charles Stoddard, was born in Northampton in 1802, became established in business in Boston about the time of his majority, and continued in its active management for fifty years. As he was a large importer of foreign goods, and, consequently, became an experienced buyer of foreign "exchange," he came, as a member of the prudential committee of the American Board, to be the buyer in behalf of that body, having constantly large remittances to make for the support of their missions, of the "exchange" needful for that purpose; and is said in times of stress to have repeatedly loaned his own personal credit to the Board in that way in order that the missionaries might not suffer in their work. It has already been noticed elsewhere, that in 1832 Charles Stoddard married here Mary Noble Porter, the widow of Professor William A. Porter, and was thus drawn into intimate relations both to the town and the College, which were never afterward intermitted till his death. In 1839 he was chosen a trustee of the College; and when the fire came, two years later, he exerted himself to the utmost to repair the loss.

(3) The miscellaneous signatures in this subscription list are not without significant and even historical interest. But three ladies' names appear; and, oddly enough, they are the names of three sisters, born Seymour, in Hartford, Connecticut. Lucy and Laura Seymour married the Whitman brothers, and Ruth Seymour married a Mr. Benjamin, and signs her subscription of fifty dollars, "Ruth Benjamin." All three were long-time residents of Williamstown. The names of the brothers, S. F. B. Morse and Sidney E. Morse, are both on this paper; the former as the practical inventor of the electric telegraph and likely to be always remembered as such, is the most distinguished name on this list, and the latter, only less distinguished, was the founder of successful religious journalism in this country. "In 1815 he established the *Boston Recorder*, a

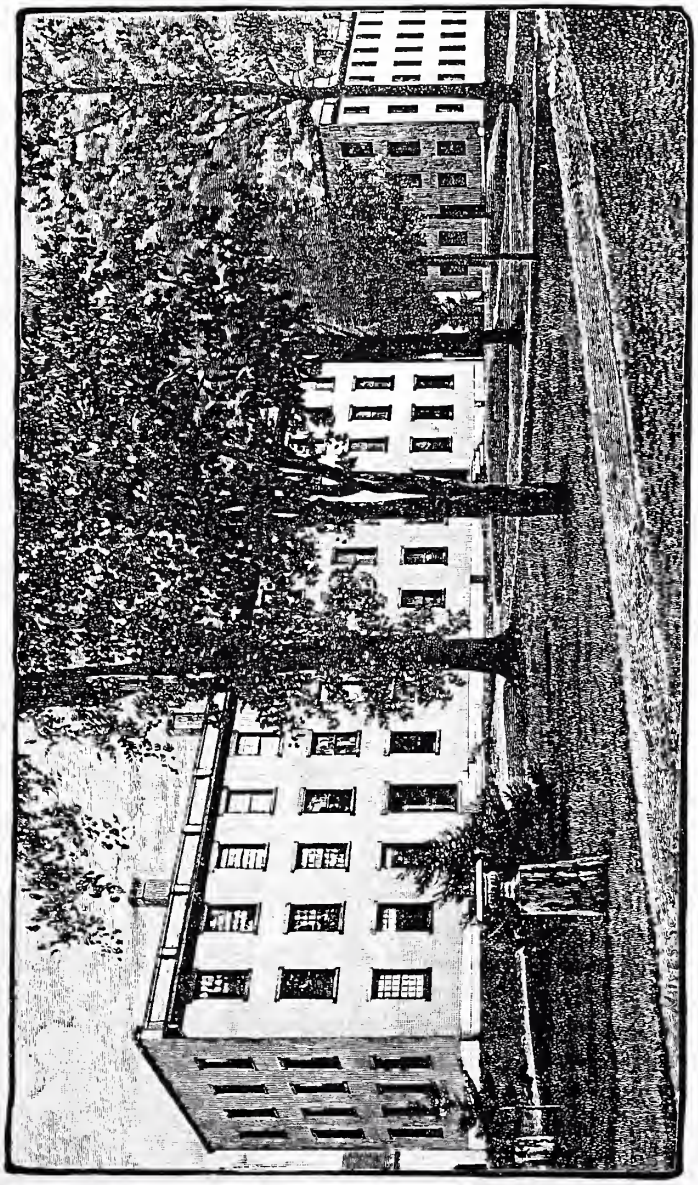
weekly religious newspaper, of which for fifteen years he was sole proprietor and editor. In May, 1823, with his younger brother, R. C. Morse, he established the *New York Observer*, the oldest religious newspaper in New York State." (Drake's "Dict. Am. Biog.") S. E. Morse, like his older brother, was an inventor of great merit both in connection with him and others too. Also on the subscription list appear the names of two brothers, contemporary with the Morses and often associated with them, but who, unlike them, were both graduates of Williams in 1819. These were Gerard and William A. Hallock, sons of Rev. Moses Hallock of Plainfield, who fitted for college in his own house there perhaps one-half of all the graduates of Williams during the first quarter of this century. Gerard Hallock and David Hale were the joint founders and proprietors of the *New York Journal of Commerce*, in 1828, to expedite the receipt of news for which they fitted out a fast schooner to cruise off Sandy Hook to intercept European vessels for foreign news, which was taken off by means of ingenious signals. A little later they established the "pony express" from Philadelphia to New York, by which they were enabled to publish Congressional news a day in advance of their contemporaries. This made the *Journal of Commerce* the *newspaper* of New York, and of course enriched its proprietors. William A. Hallock, who took the valedictory here in 1819, became the founder, in 1825, of the American Tract Society, with which he was completely identified for more than fifty years. Other uncommonly interesting signers of this subscriptiou paper, of whom it would be a pleasure to say something in this place, were it otherwise proper and relevant, were George N. Briggs and Nicholas Murray and Charles Sedgwick and John C. Brigham and David Buel and William Hyde and Oliver B. Morris and Emory Washburn and Homer Bartlett.

(4) It is noticeable, in the last place, that the chief procurers and most of the contributors of this college money were what would be called nowadays *extra* orthodox people. Why the College in distress should make its appeal almost exclusively to such, and how the College at any time came to be looked upon as a sort of champion of a special style in theology, it is not easy to see, and consequently difficult to explain. It has been noted in its place, that the trustees threw out by a formal vote the Hopkinsian system of divinity from the studies of the Senior class, and substituted for it the milder series of views of the amiable Dr. Isaac Watts. It is not known that the trustees as such ever took any action on the Unitarian controversy in Massachusetts, which may be said to have begun in

1815, under the powerful leadership of Rev. Dr. Channing, and to have been consummated some time before his death, in 1842. The Unitarians carried their point before the Supreme Court of the State, that "a church" is not a legal body entitled to hold real estate, but only "a parish" can do this; consequently, a large number of "meeting-houses" in the eastern part of the State passed under the control and worship of the Unitarians, because the majority of the members of a parish so voted. Harvard College also came into their control for a generation, but it is now neutral in its attitude towards all Christian sects. It is true that Presidents Moore and Griffin were strenuous Calvinists, and that Amherst College, under the presidency of the former, was expressly founded on those principles, and that the latter deemed himself, and was considered by many others, as a great champion of orthodoxy; but all this had no special bearing on the status of the College as such. Mark Hopkins was so little of a theologian, — having never been trained nor trained himself in the tenets of the schools, — that Griffin, in 1833, was for withholding from him an ordinary license to preach. Later in life he had neither leisure nor inclination to look into these technicalities, and in his old age he volunteered the statement, "*I too am a mystic.*" Notwithstanding all this, in 1842, when these subscriptions were put down, and long afterward also, the College was looked upon in many quarters as a specialized institution of orthodoxy. Charles Stoddard, as a member and deacon of the old South Church in Boston, and bearing a brunt in the contest there on the orthodox side, which can hardly be said to have *won*, so far as that city was concerned, became more or less embittered towards those who did not pronounce their *shibboleth* as he did. In other words, he became an orthodox bigot; and on several occasions exerted a distinctly sinister influence over Dr. Hopkins himself, as may hereafter appear, as well as over the course of the American Board. The Morse brothers also were strongly orthodox, doubtless largely because their father, Rev. Jedidiah, D.D., "was much occupied in religious controversy, in upholding the orthodox faith in the New England churches against the assaults of Unitarianism, an undertaking which seriously affected his health." (Drake.) Substantially the same may be said of the Hallock brothers, and of many more of the signers.

When the new East and South Colleges were finished in the autumn, and Treasurer Dewey came to settle up with and pay off the contractors, Crandall and Curtis, it was found that these had honestly and fairly made two thousand dollars apiece under their

contract. This sum included of course the wages of superintendence as well as net profits. The contractors had sublet the mason work,



EAST AND SOUTH COLLEGES.

including foundation and bricklaying and plastering, to Samuel Keyes of Bennington. Keyes was satisfied with the outcome of his

contract. The carpenter's contract did not include the floors to be laid in the two buildings. These came under a special contract made by Treasurer Dewey with a then prominent citizen of the town, named Liberty Bartlett. Both were Whigs, extreme partizans, and political manipulators. Bartlett's figure stands out even now in generally picturesque and sometimes grotesque outlines. His father was a tanner here and also in North Adams, and was commonly called Squire Bartlett. The tannery was on Green River just where it turns sharply to the east on Water Street. Near it was the old sawmill and gristmill, almost coeval with the town itself; every trace of all three on the spot vanished long ago, and all three operated from the first milldam built in Williamstown. Liberty Bartlett was proprietor now of tannery and sawmill. He went into wholesale shoemaking in the long building above his tan vats. He employed many men. The town went a-booming in the Harrison campaign, — "Tippecanoe and Tyler too." Before the inevitable failure and collapse came round, Dewey reached a hand to Bartlett in the contract for the floors. The boards when put down were of different widths and full of knots, and made by far the worst job in the buildings. Dewey would hardly have accepted it from a contractor of a different faith and practice. But Bartlett was content with the returns he received according to the terms of the bargain. After his first failure, he got on his feet again as a merchant, and built the house so long owned and occupied by Harvey T. Cole. Man and measures boomed again for a while, and then came the second moral as well as commercial wreckage. Bartlett turned up years after in Little Rock, Arkansas, where he became a judge, and lived to extreme old age.

The explanation of the fair profits in all these cases is found in the "hard times," so-called, of 1842. Artisans were glad of work at almost any price, and came in from the surrounding towns to offer themselves. Curtis paid his ordinary carpenters sixteen or eighteen dollars a month. They worked from sunrise so long as they could see in the evening twilight, — averaging about fourteen hours. The most that was paid to the best carpenter was one dollar per day. This was to a graduate of the College of the year before, of the name of Pierson, who had learned the cabinet-maker's trade before he came to college. He aimed to become, and did become, a minister, but not having means to prosecute his further studies, he offered his services to Crandall and Curtis as a carpenter, with promise of pay contingent on his efficiency. He proved the best man on the job in every respect, and was settled with at twenty-six

dollars per month. It is a pleasure to write of this man in this connection, for he was a type of many of the early graduates of the College. Many students came hither after their majority, having already learned trades; and most of the rest knew how to do all sorts of farm-work. Pierson was twenty-seven years old when he was graduated, a then not very unusual age. A wrong idea indeed prevailed in New England in those days to the effect that if a young man were converted by the time of his majority, it was his duty, at all hazards, to seek to enter the ministry, no matter how much his education might have been neglected up to that time. The prevalence of this notion tended to fill the colleges with young men excellent in character and persistence, but who could not really *take* a college education; and it tended also to fill the pulpits with ministers who could not sustain themselves for any length of time in one place as public Christian teachers. The countervailing consideration was, and remains, that so many new pulpits in new fields were calling for supplies that, had not this class of men come forward as they did, these pulpits must have gone altogether vacant. Rev. N. E. Pierson belonged to this class of men. He served many small churches, mostly in the state of New York, and during the Civil War went to the field as chaplain of the 89th New York Volunteers. He died in Michigan in 1872. Williamstown has an interest in his memory, because he married, in 1844, Roxana Bixby, a beautiful daughter of Jonathan Bixby, himself one of the subscribers of 1842. The Bixbys lived at that time on Northwest Hill directly opposite the farm of Colonel Samuel Tyler, whose son Samuel's family moved down into Charityville about the time that the Bixbys moved thither also. The two families thus became neighbors again in the northwestern part of the village.

The year 1843 will ever be memorable in the history of Williams College. It was the semi-centennial year. It was memorable for what preceded it, memorable for what accompanied it, and memorable for what followed it. Both town and college had had a military origin. The topography of the valley and its surroundings, which made it the scene for centuries of warlike expeditions back and forth, which made it the site of two considerable forts and garrisons in the two last French and Indian wars, 1745–59, and which made it the best passageway later by which to strike from the east Burgoyne's flank at Bennington and Saratoga, caused it, when permanent peace came, to be quiet and obscure because relatively inaccessible. The State fathered the College in something the same spirit in which it had built Fort Massachusetts. The

College was small and had but small resources. There is no evidence from its first half-century that any of its promoters and officials had any expectations of its ever becoming what it did become in its second half-century. The establishment of Amherst College was one ground of great discouragement at the time and afterward to those who had in charge the feeble institution behind the mountains. Notwithstanding all these and many discouragements more of other kinds, the College did fairly good work for its students throughout its first fifty years. Its best work by much was done in the circle of studies that constituted then the sphere of natural history. Chester Dewey and Amos Eaton and Ebenezer Emmons put their branches into the forefront, and kept them there (speaking generally) till the semi-centennial. The town exerted its fascination then over the students, as well as the simple and honest ways of the College. Many of those who came up to keep the feast with zeal and enthusiasm were natives of the town, and they had no occasion to try to discriminate in their reminiscences between what was merely local and what was merely collegiate. Many more had married their wives from the valley and its hillsides, and they came of course with joy, bringing their sheaves with them. Many of the returning alumni had never before seen Professor Hopkins's astronomical and magnetic observatories, and the new East and South Colleges, though lower, made a more cheerful impression than the grim fortress of 1797, although there were some there who mourned over the loss in the landscape of the familiar home of their college days. On the whole, the returning pilgrims brought more joy and hope with them than they found entertained upon the ground itself.

It is difficult, or rather impossible, for us moderns to comprehend the degree of discouragement that the burning of East College had brought to those having the College in hand. The new buildings were indeed erected and finished, but there was a debt on them of several thousand dollars. Treasurer Dewey always put his new college buildings (he built five of them) down upon the solid limestone, where he wished them to stand firm, and where they do stand firm to-day; he did not like debts resting upon himself as treasurer, or upon his buildings so soundly based otherwise; he was brother-in-law to the president, and undoubtedly communicated to him something of his own impatience and discomfort from this source; and it was agreed beforehand to renew at the semi-centennial the effort of the year before on a broader scale. A few months before the anniversary the treasurer wrote: "We have as yet obtained only

eight or nine thousand dollars. We must raise it to fifteen thousand dollars to put us in as good condition as before the fire. This sum we cannot get along without." The alumni passed a resolution requesting "the trustees to make an appeal to the public to contribute to relieve the College from its present debt." The case was indeed hard and dispiriting. The total amount of productive funds on that anniversary day fell below $30,000. The interest account for the year then ended scarcely reached $1800. The combined salaries paid that year to the president and six professors and the tutor amounted to but $5150, — an average of $645 each. The president had $1100; a full professor, that is, one employed all the year round, had $700. Two of the professors were not employed all the year round.

But the summons for the gathering of the clans had gone out in cheerful tones from the Society of the Alumni, that body which, from 1821, had been the outer voice of the College, its main and constant stay and support. The organized alumni took the initiative, took the direction, and controlled the spirit of the semi-centennial. They did not send delegates to this festival, they came up themselves. Forty-eight classes had then been graduated, 1039 alumni in the aggregate, an average of nearly 22 in each class. Of this aggregate 217 were then known to have died, leaving 822 supposed to be living. Of these, five certainly, namely, Jonas King and William Richards and Henry R. Hoisington and Simeon H. Calhoun and Dwight W. Marsh, were then living missionaries in foreign lands; and five, namely, Mills, Rice, Hall, James Richards, and William Hervey were of the dead. The last three had died missionaries in India. Very much scattered over the country were the mass of the living alumni in 1843, and Williamstown was then very inaccessible. Nevertheless, it is certain that fully one-third of these came up to the feast. They came because they wanted to come. They came because they felt they had been dealt with fairly and openly and kindly by the college and by the town. The society procured a book, in which the alumni present inscribed their names by classes, with the express stipulation that the book be preserved and presented at the centennial in 1893. This book disappeared long before the destined time of future presentment, but the signers under the first eighteen classes are known. Only 1795 and 1797 and 1809 were without a present witness in 1843. Thomas Robbins, who made one of the two formal addresses, represented 1796; William P. Walker, 1798; Samuel Fisher and William Patrick, 1799; Jared Curtis and Caleb Knight and John Dickinson, 1800; Oliver

B. Morris, 1801; Henry H. Childs and James W. Robbins, 1802; David Buttolph and J. W. Canning and Phineas Cooke and Jacob Ten Eyck, 1803; Barnabas King, 1804; David Buel, 1805; Samuel R. Betts and Chester Dewey and Thomas A. Gold, 1806; John Nelson and James Stebbins, 1807; Joseph Boies and Noah Ely and F. L. Robbins, 1808; Justin Edwards and Daniel Kellogg, 1810; Charles A. Dewey and Eben L. Clark, 1811. Calvin Durfee, of the class of 1825, who was present at this anniversary, says of it: "This occasion brought together a great number of graduates (*probably not far from three hundred*), and with them a large crowd of interested spectators."

It so chanced that the state of political feeling in Massachusetts in 1843 helped to make more hilarious the exercises of the semi-centennial. Marcus Morton was then the governor of the State, a graduate of Brown in 1804, a man of high character and of strict adhesion to his political principles, which were those of a liberty-loving Democrat of Jefferson's school. He was a distinguished lawyer and pleader, had been for two terms a member of Congress, 1817–21, for fourteen years a judge of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, 1825–39, and was elected governor of the State in 1840 over Edward Everett by one vote in the famously vivacious Harrison campaign of that year. The universal disappointments following that national election, the hard times ensuing, the inevitable and demonstrated inability of so-called "protective" tariff-taxes to relieve the industrial condition of the people (as these were set up again in the tariff of 1842), caused such a reaction against the Whig party in Massachusetts, that Morton was elected governor again the next year by a handsome majority. He felt well over it. The people of Berkshire County felt well over it. Henry H. Childs of Pittsfield, Williams College 1802, was chosen lieutenant-governor on the same ticket. The governor of the State had not then been accustomed to attend the Commencements at Williamstown, and there was a great local curiosity to see and hear him. Coming up by way of Pittsfield he was publicly welcomed there; and, joined by Lieutenant-Governor Childs and other distinguished gentlemen, the party proceeded to North Adams; and thence was escorted to Williamstown by a band of music, a cavalcade of gentlemen on horseback, and a long train of carriages. Never had the like been seen in northern Berkshire, and nothing like it has been witnessed since. It was no privileged few honoring and being honored, it was a popular demonstration in the best and heartiest sense of that phrase. Governor Morton was entertained by the president at the

president's house. Every college building, and every house in the village, both public and private, were crowded to excess.

Agreeably to public notice widely circulated, although no delegates from other colleges and no non-graduates had been specially invited, on Wednesday morning, August 16, the alumni gathered in the Griffin Chapel at 8 o'clock to celebrate their own semi-centennial. "I remember," said an eye-witness fifty years afterward, "as the alumni were gathering on Wednesday morning, Hon. Daniel Kellogg was walking up, when a friend accosted him, 'Why, Kellogg, did you graduate here?' 'That I did, sir,' he replied, with an emphatic thump of the cane and a kindling of the eyes that even now flashes on my memory. My dim reminiscences can give no impression of the joyous enthusiasm with which the alumni recounted the history and looked forward to the future of the College." David A. Wells, who was probably present as an entering Freshman, and at any rate was graduated in 1847, wrote as follows of this gathering in his Senior year: "Here were assembled men of every profession, — judges and magistrates, pastors and teachers, — some whose locks were white with the frosts of many winters, and others in the full strength of manhood; some of whom had not pressed the hands of their classmates or revisited the scenes of their youth since the parting of the class on Commencement day. Curious, painful, and interesting was the recognition of venerable men, who, when life was bright before them, had left this pleasant valley, to return after the lapse of years, when the visions of youth had departed, and the sober realities of old age had gathered around them. Delightful were the congratulations; a hurried review was taken of the past; new pledges of friendship were given and received, while a spontaneous and universal, though silent prayer, went up to Heaven for the long-continued prosperity and usefulness of their Alma Mater."

The inscription of their names by classes in the book already referred to, which was the first matter attended to in the meeting after it was called to order by Judge O. B. Morris, of the class of 1801, the current president of the association, gave opportunity for these informal greetings and reunions. While this was going on, the president read aloud the names as they were inscribed, and thus all were informed of the presence or absence of any. The society then proceeded to elect their officers for the year. Judge S. R. Betts, of the class of 1806, was unanimously elected president for the year ensuing. A vote was then passed electing his Excellency Governor Morton an honorary member of the society; and Lieutenant-Governor Childs and Judge Betts were chosen a committee

to repair to the president's house (where he was entertained), and inform his Excellency of his election, and invite him to attend and take a seat on the stage. In a few moments he was escorted to the platform amid vast applause and waving of handkerchiefs, and took his seat by the side of Judge Morris, who had not yet vacated the chair. Just at this time, Jared Curtis, of the class of 1800, came up to the stage to write his name in the book. Curtis was a native of Stockbridge, own uncle of the Hopkins brothers, two years a tutor in the College, and, subsequently, for more than thirty years a chaplain in the state prisons, first, for a brief time, in Auburn, and then in Charlestown for a long time. He was the first state prison chaplain employed in this country, and was extremely useful in his self-denying labors in behalf of prisoners. At this time he was sixty-six years old, venerable and benignant in his appearance. Morris and he had been in college together one year apart, and had known each other intimately afterward. As Curtis was writing his name, Morris gravely remarked to the audience: "The individual who is now writing his name is Jared Curtis, a native of Stockbridge, and belonged to the class of 1800. He is a clergyman, and the only alumnus of our College who hails from the state prison. And, inasmuch as his Excellency the Governor is now with us, I would suggest whether this would not be a favorable time to present a petition for an unconditional pardon." Instantly rose the Governor with these words on his lips, "A pardon is impossible for him, so long as he continues his present course of conduct!" Marcus Morton, though a Democrat, conquered the alumni completely by this single felicitous stroke, and made easy for himself another sweeping victory in the afternoon by his facetious and admirable talk.

On the adjournment of the society to the meeting-house, a procession was formed in front of the chapel in the following order: graduates of this and other colleges in the order of their graduation; trustees and faculty of the College; strangers and undergraduates, — and all marched to the meeting-house, which was filled to overflowing. Here two memorable public addresses were given, the first by Mark Hopkins, of the class of 1824, and the other by Thomas Robbins, of the class of 1796. Hopkins was then forty-one years old, in the full vigor of his early prime. An eye- and ear-witness long afterward spoke of his "bald forehead and scholarly stoop" as giving "him an older look." The surroundings were beyond measure inspiring, his own sense of rightful responsibility and of being master of the situation was contagious, and he spoke with unprece-

dented energy and feeling. This is the testimony of all who heard him; and it is the testimony of some well-qualified judges, who heard all of his later masterly efforts, which alone could come into competition with this, namely, some two or three of the baccalaureate sermons, that even these did not surpass that in beauty of expression and eloquence of utterance and sustained power of argumentation. Professor Spring, a competent and elegant critic, wrote in 1893: "Some of the baccalaureates may surpass the semi-centennial address in weight and originality of thought, in reach and thoroughness of discussion, but none of them excel it and few equal it, in felicity and nobility of utterance, in vital sympathy between speaker and subject."

The writer feels it incumbent on him, as a historian of the town and the college, to put into the pages of the present book, which he hopes may survive to the second centennial, a few paragraphs from the introduction, body, and peroration of this semi-centennial address of 1843.

BRETHREN ALUMNI:

It is my first, and most pleasing duty, to bid you welcome to this spot. I do it with a full heart. I do it personally, as an Alumnus of this institution to his brethren Alumni. I do it feelingly, as holding a position in which I need your sympathy and approbation; in which, aside from those high moral considerations which, I trust, will always be paramount, I find in that sympathy my best encouragement to labor; in that approbation, my highest reward. I do it as gladdened and strengthened by your presence; for few as have been the difficulties I have been called to encounter, they have yet been enough to make one feel how like the sunshine after clouds is the presence of so many here to-day, come up to manifest their continued attachment to the cause of sound learning, their interest in each other, and in the prosperity of this Institution. Men of earlier times, to whom I have been accustomed to look up with reverence; men in active life, who have left your business and your cares to join in these glad scenes; and you, younger men, who have gone out with my own instructions and parting blessing, it is with emotions which I cannot express that I welcome you all.

But it is not in my name only, or chiefly, that I bid you welcome. It is in the name of our venerable Alma Mater. With her you have sympathized in her prosperity, and in her adversity. When she has been in poverty and distress, when she has been opposed and misrepresented by ignorance and prejudice and faction, when flames have swept over her, she has still heard your voice of encouragement, and has been sustained by your generous aid. In your hearts, far rather than in buildings and in apparatus, she has hitherto had, and still has, her best and her highest life. In her name, then, I bid you welcome to her quiet seats, to this green spot in the memory of the past, to these familiar scenes, these remembered walks, to the sound of that bell, not unwelcome now, to these circling and unchanged mountains, to this scenery unsurpassed.

Especially do I bid you welcome to the fellowship of this literary festival, where, with our congratulations in view of the progress and success of fifty years, we may mingle our hopes of a brighter future.

Fifty years! What changes do these words suggest! Some of them occurring in those ordinary and ever-repeated movements of nature which return upon themselves, and some in that onward march of things which is made known only as the scroll of Divine Providence is unrolled. Fifty years! So many times has the verdure of spring been seen to brighten this valley, and to creep up the sides of these mountains; and so many times have their tops slept in the sunlight of the summer noon; so many times have they put on the gorgeous robes of autumn, and been swept bare and rested in the embrace of winter. These changes have passed upon them, but they are still the same. Not so those who have looked upon them. Of those who were in active life at the commencement of this period, few, if any, remain. He that was then an infant clinging to his mother's bosom, is now a man with gray hairs upon him, and with his children grown up around him. In the meantime, with the regularity of the seasons, there has come the Senior Examinations, and then the Commencement, with its greetings, and partings, and wide dispersion; with its gathered crowd, that has come in like the rush of the brook after a shower, and has again dispersed, leaving these streets solitary and quiet. During this time more than a thousand young men have received the honors of this Institution. Here they have been agitated with the hopes and fears, and have shared the pleasures and perils, of this miniature world. From this retreat they have looked out upon the ocean they were to sail, and have gathered strength and skill for the voyage. Ah! who can tell how many anxious thoughts, how many hopes and fears of parents, how many fervent prayers have clustered round and ascended for all these! During this time, too, the heads of the three venerable men who have presided over the institution have been laid low. Fitch, and Moore, and Griffin, whose voices have so often been heard in this place, and were once so familiar to many of you, where are they!

Such have been the changes in this valley. Need I refer to those that have passed upon the great theatre of the world? It was often said by Dr. Griffin, that this college came into being at the commencement of a new era. It was just then that the smoke and the lava of the French Revolution began to be thrown up, and that the shocks of that great moral earthquake began to be felt among the nations. Infidelity, having gained the ascendancy in France, was then mustering and concentrating her forces, and was sending out her emissaries to convert the nations, and Anarchy and Bloodshed were following in her train. These events alone have marked the period as an era among historians, and have caused it to be regarded by the interpreters of prophecy as the opening of a new seal. But besides these, it was the same year that Carey and his associates were ordained to the great work of modern missions, and that the angel having the everlasting gospel to preach among the benighted nations of the East, began his flight. This was the commencement of a movement far more important than the French Revolution. It was as the invention of the art of printing to the effects of a battle. It was a moral movement, embracing in itself not only moral, but political revolutions, which are to be accomplished, not by blood, but by the noiseless and irresistible progress of truth and love. In the same year, too, commenced that series of revivals of religion in this country, which has

never since entirely ceased, in connection with which this college has been so largely blessed, and in consequence of which alone, it has been sustained.

Coming into being at such an era, its first half century could not but be eventful in the history of the race. Perhaps no fifty years since the world began has been more so. And in connection with the great events that have taken place, the human mind has been thoroughly agitated and aroused. Every institution has been scrutinized, every opinion has been tested, and certain great truths, with reference to civil and religious liberty, have, as we trust, become so firmly established that they cannot be shaken. It has been the era of the application of science to the arts, and of the extension of the dominion of man over physical nature. If man had been endowed with the strength of a giant, and with the wings of an eagle, the gift would hardly have been greater. It has been the era of the extension of liberty, and of the diffusion of knowledge among the masses — not merely an era of change, but also decidedly an era of progress.

And this leads me to the topic to which I propose to call your attention on the present occasion. I propose to make some remarks and inquiries respecting what has been called *the law of progress of the race*, and then to say something of the connection of this college with that progress.

. . . . . .

Probably the alumni of no college in the Union are more scattered than ours, composed, as they have so largely been, of those who have had their own way to make in life. As I have already said, more than one thousand young men have completed their course of study here, and of these more than one-third have been or will be ministers of the gospel. Many of these, too, would never have been educated — I have no reason to suppose I should myself have been — if it had not been for Williams College. Embosomed among these mountains, it has exerted a suggestive power, and called out many such men as become most useful when educated. They have come from the yeomanry of the country, from the plough and the workshop, with clear heads, and firm nerves, and industrious habits, and unperverted tastes — in need, it may be, of polish, but susceptible of the highest. They have come because they felt high impulses struggling within them, and they have made their own way. Such men we welcome. They become, intellectually, the working-men of the land — energetic practical men, whose influence has been and is extensively felt in the benevolent operations of the day. It is probably by bringing forward such men, as teachers, as ministers, as practical men in all the professions, and diffusing in society the leaven of their influence, indispensable in institutions like ours, that this college has done most good.

But if our number had been smaller, and we had done less by that general influence that belongs to all literary institutions, it might still be presumptuous to speak of what we had done on so broad a field. In some respects the progress of knowledge and improvement is like the gradual accumulation of a pile to which every scholar may be expected to add something, — as every Indian is said to have laid a stone upon the pile at the foot of Monument Mountain. — but in other respects it is more like the progress of fire which is set at certain points, and spreads on every side. Luther, and Bacon, and Newton, and Carey, and Samuel J. Mills, set fires, and he who does this to any extent does something for the race, even though that which kindled the blaze was but a spark, and was lost in the brightness and glow of the succeeding conflagration. The

brightest history of an institution is to be found in what it has done in setting such fires.

And here I cannot fail to be reminded by the position in which I stand, surrounded by its genial light and warmth, of one such fire. So far as I know, the Society of the Alumni of Williams College was the first association of the kind in this country, certainly the first which acted efficiently, and called forth literary addresses. It was formed September 5th, 1821, and the preamble to the constitution then adopted was as follows: "For the promotion of literature and good-fellowship among ourselves, and the better to advance the reputation and interests of our Alma Mater, we, the subscribers, graduates of Williams College, form ourselves into a Society." The first president was Dr. Asa Burbank. The first orator elected was the Hon. Elijah Hunt Mills, a distinguished Senator of the United States. That appointment was not fulfilled. The first oration was deliver in 1823, by the Rev. Dr. Woodbridge, now of Hadley, and was well worthy of the occasion; and since that time the annual oration before the Alumni has seldom failed. In 1832 a measure was adopted by this Society of great importance to the college. It is scarcely credible how meagre the philosophical and chemical apparatus then was, and it was voted that this Society would attempt to raise for the benefit of those departments the sum of $4000, by subscriptions of the Alumni and other friends of the college. The effect of this, faithfully applied as it was to the direct means of instruction, has, I know, been felt from that time to this, in every beating pulse of the institution. Since this Society was formed, the example has been followed in other institutions, and bids fair to extend to them all. Last year, for the first time, the voice of an Alumnus orator was heard at Harvard and at Yale; and one of these associations, I know, sprang directly from ours. It is but three years since a venerable man attended the meeting of our Alumni, one of those that have been so full of interest, and he said he should go directly home and have such an association formed at the commencement of his Alma Mater, then about to occur. He did so. That association was formed, and the last year the voice of one of the first scholars and jurists of the nation was heard before them. The present year the Alumni of Dartmouth were addressed for the first time, and the doctrine of Progress was illustrated by the distinguished speaker in more senses than one.[1] Who can tell how great the influence of such associations may become in cherishing kind feelings, in fostering literature, in calling out talent, in leading men to act, not selfishly, but more efficiently, for the general cause through particular institutions?

Another important idea originated here is that embodied in the Horticultural and Landscape Gardening Association, the results of which are seen in the college garden, and in the garden around the observatory. With slight exceptions, the whole labor bestowed upon these, from the first, and its amount is greater than most would suppose, has been done by the students. The object has not been profit, but the promotion of health and of a taste for the beautiful, and the effect has been most happy upon health and cheerfulness, and upon the emotive nature. Perhaps it does as much as can be done in remedying that evil of college life, the want of a domestic and home influence. It shows that students can make of college just what they choose — that they can make it a home of peace, and connect with it associations of beauty and moral purity, a place full

[1] Hon. Levi Woodbury, whose subject was "Progress."

of unspeakable interest to parents and friends, and to those who have the oversight of it. When standing in the midst of beauty thus created, my mind has often been led on to the conception of a higher beauty than that of flowers and mountains, and I have had a vision of what a college might be. I do not know that our example in this respect has been followed by other colleges — in some it could not be — but I know of several academies which are now surrounded by tasteful grounds in consequence of what has been done here. I hardly know of an idea with which the young people of this land more need to be imbued, than that which lies at the basis of this association.

Another thing which I may properly notice here, is the fact that to this college belongs the honor of having erected the first Astronomical Observatory on this continent. This was commenced at a period of great apathy on the subject, but since then the interest has become extensive and intense. Nor was this building erected as a single isolated undertaking. It was one mode of realizing an idea that had been adopted in regard to all education respecting sensible objects, which is that we are not so much to talk about a thing, as to show it. You may tell me that the stone you hold in your hand is petrified wood, and I may believe it; but let me see, by a microscope, the porous structure and the layers still remaining, and I have an impression that I could have got in no other way. You may tell me of the magnitude and motion of the planets; but let me see them hanging in space, and passing rapidly through the field of a large telescope, or let me turn that same telescope upon one of the nebulæ, or into the depths of infinite space, and it is quite another thing to me. The idea is that the teacher is to make nature the principal, and, as far as possible, is to let her do her own teaching. In pursuance of this idea, the Magnetic Observatory has been built, very efficient Meteorological and Natural History Associations have been formed, and scientific expeditions and pedestrian tours have been several times undertaken. The direct object was not so much the extension of science, as to convey a more accurate impression of the universe as now known, and to promote habits of observation. Have the means and apparatus to do this fully, and your course loses the character of mere book-learning. The student is led to direct communion with nature, and with nature's God, and though you do not advance science immediately, yet you kindle fires. You incorporate your course into the very being. You awake thoughts and feelings "that shall perish never." Such is the idea which we have attempted to realize in the teaching of physical science, which we have realized as far as our means would permit, and of which the Observatory was but a single result. And here I cannot omit to mention, as connected with our facilities in this department, the donation during the past season by Prof. Emmons, of a complete suit of the New York minerals and rocks, a gift of great importance, connected as those rocks are with the general science, and one worthy of the munificence of a State.

I will mention one idea more, indigenous here, as it must have been elsewhere, which we have of late attempted to realize. It is that of making the college studies have the impression and effect of a system on the mind of the student. Laying the power of expression, whether by writing or speaking, out of the question, we divide our course into the Languages, Mathematics, Physical Science, and Man, as he is in himself, and in his relations to his fellow-creatures, and to God. Pursuing Mathematics and the Languages in the usual way, and Physical Science in the manner just spoken of, we take up first the

physical man, and endeavor to give, as by the aid of the valuable preparation of Auzoux [1] we are able to do, an idea of every organ and tissue of the body. We then take the intellectual man, and investigate first and classify his several faculties; then the grounds of belief and the processes of the mind in the pursuit of truth, with an explanation of the inductive and the deductive logic; then the moral nature, together with individual and political morality, comprising a knowledge of constitutional history and of the rights and duties of American citizens; then the emotive nature, as taste and the principles of the fine arts; then natural theology and the analogy of the natural to the moral government of God. Perhaps other and better systems have been adopted elsewhere; but I know that formerly here, the studies were pursued as separate and isolated, and there is reason to suppose that the idea of the system, of the communication of one grand organized body of knowledge, answering in unity as well as in diversity to the universe of God, is too little regarded.

. . . . . .

And now, as half a century has rolled away, and this college, notwithstanding its struggles, has accomplished so much, we cannot help anticipating for it a high career of usefulness for the half century to come. We cannot but hope that those who shall be gathered here fifty years hence, shall have far higher occasion to rejoice in what this Institution has done for the good of the church and of the world. Why should it not be? The great difficulty of former times, a want of facility of access, is now removed. Probably a greater proximity of railroads would not benefit the college. We are removed, comparatively, from temptation. We are not only in a beautiful, but healthy region. I think it is remarkable, and I mention it with gratitude, that since I have been at the head of the college, not a student has sickened and died on this ground, and with the exception of a single case of consumption, there has been no instance of the death of any one connected with us. We are indeed still embarrassed from the loss of that building where so many of us have roomed and studied. But ample accommodations have risen in its place. And here I will say, that severe as was that loss, dark as was that hour, yet the college never gave indications of a higher vitality than when those ruins were yet smoking. And when I saw a full and prompt meeting of the Board of Trustees, when I saw every student, without exception, standing by the college, often at great inconvenience, when I saw the spirit of accommodation among this people, when I heard an excellent woman, who has done more good than the world knows of, tell me not to be discouraged, at the same time subscribing a thousand dollars, I knew the cloud would pass over. It will pass over. To this place now as a site for a college, I know of but one objection, and that perhaps necessarily connected with the peculiar retirement and quiet it enjoys. From its position in the county and in the State it can have but little local sympathy, and it is remote from the observations and sympathies of men of wealth, who often take a pleasure and a pride in doing something for our institutions of learning. Accordingly, no halls have risen here by private munificence, no professorships have been endowed. Hence, with the exception of the Woodbridge Little Fund, amounting to something over

[1] The reference is to the manikin, which was purchased by Hopkins to illustrate his college lectures on anatomy, and which was paid for by means of public lectures given by him in the chief towns of the county, using the model in the way of illustration.

$5,000, and two bequests of $1,000 each, the whole income of all which goes to pay tuition, the college has never received anything by legacy or private gift, except what has been solicited by subscription for special purposes. Hence, we have often struggled for years, and labored under great disadvantages for the want of that which, if they had known it, I am sure it would have given hundreds pleasure to supply. Hence, while it was found impossible in a case of great emergency and destruction by fire, to raise $2,000 for this college, in a city justly celebrated for its liberality, another institution more favorably situated found no difficulty in raising at the same time fifteen or twenty thousand dollars, to increase its already large library ; and while only $300 could be raised from such sources when an observatory was contemplated here, there is no difficulty in other quarters of obtaining $20,000 for the instruments of one. I do not say this in the way of complaint. It is natural it should be so, and we are only the more grateful to our friends for the indispensable aid they have rendered. Possibly, as wealth increases, and the means of communication are greater, there may be some change in this respect. It may perhaps occur to some one of the many who wish to do something for the progress of the human mind, that such things, coming to those who need them, are far more highly prized, and that the name of the benefactor that stands comparatively alone, is oftener repeated, and more fondly remembered. But however this may be, we have no wish to be rich. But we do wish the means to keep pace with the times, in cabinets, and books and apparatus, and in the introduction of new branches of study. These means, by the blessing of God, we hope to have. Let the college have these, and who can estimate the good it shall do in the coming fifty years? Who can tell the gratulations of those who shall gather here at the end of that time, and look back upon its bright career?

Brethren Alumni, you have come up at the call of your committee to celebrate this semi-centennial anniversary. You have come, but our number is not all here. Many, whose hearts are with us, are detained by business, or prevented by distance; but many, too, are where no call of ours could reach them. Some rest beneath the soil of their own New England ; some beneath the prairies of the far West; some are with Mills in his ocean-bed, and some slumber with Hall and Richards, and my own class-mate and associate tutor, the beloved Hervey, "on India's coral strand."

Along the earlier years of our catalogue the stars have gathered thickly. In all, 217 are known to have terminated their earthly career. And those stars will continue thus to gather, as, one by one, we too go down to the tomb. When another half century is past, and the call shall go forth for the *Centennial* gathering, we shall not hear it. Possibly, indeed, as we now venerate the age, and are to be instructed by the wisdom of one who was within one year of the very earliest of the Alumni, so those who shall be gathered then may hear the voice of one whose words shall fall with weight, as from the height of these earlier times — possibly they may listen to one who now hears me. But, long before that time, the most of us will have done what we have to do for the weal or the woe of man. The impressions which we choose to make in the yielding materials of time, will, before that, have been made, and have become set in the eternal adamant of the past. What then remains to us, in this period of the birth-throes of coming wonders, but to meet our responsibilities as patriots, as scholars, as Christians, as the Alumni of an institution where the fire of a

benevolence practically embracing the world was first kindled in this country, and upon whose altars that fire has never gone out? Let us then throw ourselves upon the tide of this great movement — the advancing tide of Christian progress, which we trust is to rise, and swell, and flow over the earth. We are here to-day to build up no merely local or sectional interest. We have, indeed, our personal feelings, we have associations dear to us, connected with this spot. But there are higher considerations than these, and we would do nothing, and ask nothing for this institution, except as it may be, and ought to be, in its place, one of the grand instrumentalities through which we can labor most effectually for the highest good of man. As such, we cherish it. As such, we commit it to the guardian care of Him who has hitherto watched over it. As such, we hope to see its influence expanding as a seat of all liberal culture, but especially as connected with the great cause of Christian benevolence, till those plans and movements which originated here shall be consummated, and they shall not teach any longer every man his neighbor, and every man his brother, saying, Know the Lord: for all shall know Him, from the least to the greatest.

Prodigious according to the measure of those times was the effect of this semi-centennial oration on those who heard it, and also on those who read it shortly after its delivery. It was sixteen years after the delivery and printing of the master's oration on "Mystery," in 1827, which proved to be the first strong stroke as toward the young man's steady reputation. Professor Silliman happened to be present at that Commencement, and heard the oration on "Mystery," and asked for a copy to be printed in his then widely circulated *Journal;* and it first appeared there the next spring. Ten occasional discourses, including the inaugural discourse of 1836, had been separately printed before 1843, and as many occasional sermons before 1847, to all which Hopkins him elf makes reference in the following terms on their republication in the latter year, "They are all either discourses or lectures prepared for specific occasions, and not originally intended for the press; and the author would not himself have so far presumed on their permanent interest as to hazard their republication." As a matter of fact, none of these delivered and printed in the interval of time referred to made any special impression on the public. They were wholesome and luminous discussions of topics relevant to their respective occasions. That was all.

But this semi-centennial oration was a sustained peal of thunder. It was reverberant and it was powerful. It never could have been written but for the discipline of the fire. It never would have been written but for the only half-smothered indignation over the apparent indifference of the State and of Boston and Cambridge to the crying needs of a Massachusetts college, which had done its work

well for fifty years. Looked at indeed under the light of all the facts and circumstances, there are phrases in the oration that now seem perhaps unjust to the State. The State had always before responded to every call for money, in moderate sums to be sure, but it had responded and responded promptly. The money value of its gifts had amounted at that time to over fifty-three thousand dollars in all. The aggregate looks small, but then the College was small. As compared with Cambridge, which had been sending out its college classes regularly ever after 1642, Williams seemed very new indeed. Four semi-centennials down there to only one up here. Cambridge was close by, Williams was very far off "*on the North River!*" The appearance in the lobby of the Legislature of a committee of the trustees twenty years before to enforce the petition of that body for leave to move the College to Northampton, had made a bad impression in Boston and Cambridge, which had only slowly worn off. As Hopkins admitted, their present indifference was "only natural." But the courage and grit of his peroration, what was scarcely less than a note of defiance, had a striking effect all over the State, and secured even in Boston and Cambridge (as we shall see in the next chapter) a new and stronger recognition of the College and of its present head as now no longer "borrowing leave to be."

Of a far different character, on a much lower plane, with more of complaint in it than of encouragement, was the oration on the same semi-centennial occasion of Thomas Robbins, of the class of 1796. "Oh! what a falling off was there." Yet in himself was Robbins a distinct and interesting personality. Representing the second class of the Williams graduates, he brought the word over from the preceding century. He brought over also in his dress the small clothes and buckles of the Revolutionary period. He was small in person, with a weazen face. He had pursued most of his college course at Yale, and was regularly graduated there just one week after he was regularly graduated here. His name is on both triennial catalogues alike. As was the custom in those days with candidates for the ministry, he studied his profession with pastors in active work, with Ephraim Judson at Sheffield and Stephen West at Stockbridge in succession. His home was at Norfolk in Connecticut. As a home missionary in the new towns of Vermont and New York and Ohio, and in transiently supplying pulpits in Massachusetts and Connecticut, he passed his time till 1808, when he settled down to steady preaching for nineteen years, at what is now South Windsor, Connecticut, whose first minister was Timothy Edwards, father of

Jonathan Edwards. Here he commenced what was really the great enterprise of his life, namely, the collecting of a private library, which was destined to become one of the largest and best of his generation. The Connecticut Historical Society exhibits at its rooms in Hartford what can be accomplished in this way by an unmarried country minister, without inherited property, and with only the ordinary salary of such men in New England in his time.

But why was he unmarried? What can be gleaned from his diary and other sources about the futile love-affair with Miss Skinner in Williamstown in 1796, has been related in place on some of the earlier pages of this book. It has been said by another, "When Dr. Robbins commenced his professional life, the question came distinctly before him, whether he should surround himself with a family or a good library; and he deliberately chose the library." However, he may be remembered longer from his diary than from the library, which is to be kept intact and separate by the Historical Society that now owns it. The diary was begun in Williamstown, Jan. 1, 1796, and was continued, with very slight intermissions on account of sickness, until the last entry, made March 6, 1854, — a period of over fifty-eight years. Robbins Battell of Norfolk, a nephew of the diarist, and his sister Anna were at the munificent expense of printing in 1886, in two large and elegant volumes, this diary entire, edited and annotated with extraordinary industry and intelligence by Increase N. Tarbox. The entries in the diary in relation to the semi-centennial exercises here in 1843 are as follows: —

Aug. 15. Took the cars [at Boston] and rode to Pittsfield. Dined at Springfield. Got acquainted with Bishop Onderdonk. The scenery and the work of the railroad between Westfield and Pittsfield are astonishing. Took a stage and rode to Williamstown. Very kindly entertained at President Hopkins's. Had a pleasant day.

Aug. 16. Attended an interesting meeting of the Alumni. I am the senior present. Attended the public services. The president delivered a very good address respecting the college. I delivered mine. Too long — an hour and forty-five minutes — but kindly heard. The Alumni had a long public dinner. A very numerous and highly respectable collection. Gov. Morton is present. At evening attended the speaking of undergraduates. Not greatly fatigued.

Aug. 17. Met with the corporation [he was a trustee from 1842 to 1853]. We voted two divinity doctorates. Attended the Commencement exercises: good, but want of variety. It is said that there has never been so great a collection of people on a like occasion. See many former acquaintance. Feel a want of rest. The Alumni voted to publish the president's address and mine. Left Williamstown towards evening. Tarried at a private house in Hancock.

It is due to the memory of this good and painstaking, but in no sense great man, that a couple of paragraphs from his semi-centennial oration be appended. The first is taken almost at random from the body of the address, and the second is the brief peroration.

One of the best species of genius that we know of is a disposition for application. The eminent Dr. [Noah] Webster, lately deceased, has seldom been spoken of as distinguished for genius. Public sentiment, in this respect, has rather been against him. Because he was known, principally, by his Spelling-book, a work, by the way, of no ordinary intellect, he has not been generally ranked among the men of genius and talent in our own country. Yet he attained to the rank, in the opinion of good judges, of the first philologist of the age. It may be safely said, that in this important department of literature, he was not surpassed. And in his large Dictionary he has left the richest legacy to his countrymen that has ever been left by any literary man. It is, undoubtedly, the best dictionary in the English language. "And while a nook remains where English minds and manners can be found," it will be resorted to as an authority. No American author has realized as much pecuniary profit by his works as Dr. Webster. He has always been a man of excellent character, of public spirit and a good citizen. The class at Yale College of 1778, to which he belonged has long been considered as one of the most distinguished from that institution. Their tutor was the Rev. Dr. Buckminster, of Portsmouth. The class contained Oliver Wolcott, Joel Barlow, Uriah Tracy, Josiah Meigs, Zephaniah Swift, Asher Miller, Noah Smith, Stephen Jacob, and other distinguished men, and no one has been more useful in life, or left a higher reputation at his death, than Dr. Webster. — And now my young brethren Alumni, graduates and undergraduates, behold a model of character, presented to the literary young men of the United States; — Who can say that such an eminence is unattainable? I heard a gentleman say in New Haven, many years ago, he little thought that Mr. Webster, when in college, would ever be employed in correcting and improving our language. How has all this been effected? By a correct course of life, and a steady, persevering industry. This is the whole secret; means within the reach of all. A name of respect and esteem to endure for ages.

. . . . . .

The machinery of Divine Providence is rolling on; the heralds of the Cross will follow the Navigator and the Warrior; the lights of science will explore the recesses of the Mausoleum, the Harem, and the Convent; all true history will be confirmed, the universal brotherhood of man is established, the impostures of Mecca and of Rome are unveiled; the peaceful sceptre of the Man of Calvary unites a joyful race in thanksgiving and praise. "Go, ye swift messengers, to nations scattered and peeled, to a people terrible from their beginning hitherto, to nations meted out and trodden down, whose lands rivers have spoiled, and bring them, a present, unto the place of the name of the Lord of hosts, the mount Zion."

The crowning scene of the semi-centennial week in point of interest and enthusiasm was undoubtedly the alumni dinner spread on

the East College campus just to the east of the then completed East College. The afternoon was fine, as it was the year before, when the feast was spread in the same place, but under widely different circumstances. "The alumni had a long public dinner," wrote Robbins at the time. Indeed, the prandial and post-prandial performances continued until the shades of evening began to draw on. Robbins described the diners as "a very numerous and highly respectable collection." With a single exception, in the case of the speech of Charles A. Dewey (1811), scarcely anything has been preserved to us but the names of the speakers and the general order in which they spoke. Samuel R. Betts (1806), as president of the alumni, opened the ball, and then called on Governor Morton (Brown 1804), who was responded to with the liveliest applause. Chester Dewey (1806), Henry H. Childs (1802), John Nelson (1807), Jared Curtis (1800), Justin Edwards (1810), Emory Washburn (1817), John C. Brigham (1819), Erastus C. Benedict (1821), Joshua N. Danforth (1818), followed. And so ended this memorable day for the College and its alumni.

A few points in conclusion may be enumerated respecting this semi-centennial gathering, in comparison and perhaps in contrast with the centennial in 1893. (1) The spontaneity of everything connected with it. Nothing was cut and dried from beginning to end. Very few, if any, special invitations were issued. It is not certain that even Governor Morton was specially invited either by the College or by the alumni. The probability lies in the other direction. Henry H. Childs of Pittsfield, an enthusiastic alumnus and Berkshire man, and then Lieutenant-Governor, is more likely to have invited the Governor into the county, at the time of these novel exercises at Williamstown, so that the people might see him. The semi-political character of his welcome at Pittsfield and at North Adams, and on the way over to Williamstown, rather confirms this view. It is certain that no Governor of the State while in office had theretofore attended a Commencement here. His commission requires him to attend the Commencements at Cambridge. Often before and since 1843 the festival at the two places has fallen on the same day. It is believed to be the uniform custom of late years to send an official invitation to the Governor to be present. Occasionally he comes accompanied by his staff. But however all this may have been in 1843, so far as the Governor was concerned, all the exercises of the semi-centennial seem to have gone on of themselves. The Dutch took Holland. There was nothing stiff or stilted at any time. The speaking came out of the hearts of the speakers. Every-

thing was in fusion and solution. No cliques. No self-seeking. No authorities. Alma Mater and her children.

(2) The entire emphasis lay on the Society of the Alumni. Even the president of the College, except in the meeting-house, took, as it were, a back seat. President Bliss of the alumni engineered their morning meeting with roistering success, and President Betts the afternoon gathering upon the campus. Emory Washburn, 1817, the originator of the society in 1821, was present to witness its growth and the influential position it had gained in the years intermediate. He was always a faithful and favorite son of the College in storm and shine. Governor of the State in 1854, he was here to receive the degree of LL.D., his brethren, the alumni, applauding. Afterward, so long as his honored life continued on the earth, he was frequently a guest at the Commencement time, recalled doubtless in part by the memory of the beautiful Williamstown maiden that he had loved in his youth, but did not win. He was the father of the Society of the Alumni, was proud of it, and the members were proud of him till the last. The just and useful prominence, not to say preëminence, of the Society of the Alumni, first fully manifested in 1843, continued unabated for forty years longer, when it began to wane under the covert, but persistent, assaults of one who falsely fancied that his own eminence was being overshadowed by their own, as will be later told in detail.

(3) The ancient harmony and unity of the town and college appeared in pleasing and undimmed lines in all the ongoings of the semi-centennial. Town and college really began together, let us say, in 1765, ten years after Colonel Williams's death at Lake George, when the town was incorporated by the Commonwealth under his name, and his executors were nourishing the small and scattered sums he left by will to found a free school for the use of the citizens. There had been, indeed, from time to time transient disputes and some ill blood, but on the whole the town had gathered sturdily around the College, and the College had rested upon the bosom of the town. This harmony and union strikingly appeared in many phases of the half-centenary. Never before and never after did so many citizens crowd within and around the meeting-house as on that Commencement day; and there was a broad and eager fringe of local men and women around all the tables on the campus the day before, watching the faces of the individual alumni and listening to their speaking till the sun went down. There was scarcely a house in the whole valley that did not entertain at least one college man, and that did not enter thoroughly into the fervor

of the recollections and inspirations of the time. Even Thomas Robbins, who had been away from the town for forty-seven years, enters in his diary, "See many former acquaintance." There is not good evidence that the earlier graduates saw and appreciated so much of natural beauty and grandeur in the town and its region as the later ones have done; and yet there must have been some of them so familiar with the earlier (uniformly the better) poetry of Wordsworth, as to be reminded even in relation to the externals here, of those inimitable lines written a little above "Tintern Abbey," in 1798.

> These beauteous forms.
> Through a long absence, have not been to me
> As is a landscape to a blind man's eye:
> But oft, in lonely rooms, and mid the din
> Of towns and cities, I have owed to them
> In hours of weariness, sensations sweet,
> Felt in the blood, and felt along the heart;
> And passing even into my purer mind,
> With tranquil restoration: — feelings too
> Of unremembered pleasure: such, perhaps,
> As have no slight or trivial influence
> On that best portion of a good man's life,
> His little, nameless, unremembered, acts
> Of kindness and of love. Nor less, I trust,
> To them I may have owed another gift,
> Of aspect more sublime; that blessed mood,
> In which the burthen of the mystery,
> In which the heavy and the weary weight
> Of all this unintelligible world,
> Is lightened: — that serene and blessed mood,
> In which the affections gently lead us on, —
> Until, the breath of this corporeal frame
> And even the motion of our human blood
> Almost suspended, we are laid asleep
> In body, and become a living soul:
> While with an eye made quiet by the power
> Of harmony, and the deep power of joy,
> We see into the life of things.
> If this
> Be but a vain belief, yet, oh! how oft —
> In darkness and amid the many shapes
> Of joyless daylight; when the fretful stir
> Unprofitable, and the fever of the world,
> Have hung upon the beatings of my heart —
> How oft, in spirit, have I turned to thee,
> O sylvan Wye! thou wanderer through the woods,
> How often has my spirit turned to thee!

CHAPTER IV.

TOWN AND COLLEGE TILL THE CENTENNIAL.

As the insect from the rock
  Takes the color of its wing;
As the boulder from the shock
  Of the ocean's rhythmic swing
Makes itself a perfect form,
  Learns a calmer front to raise;
As the shell, enamelled warm
  With the prism's mystic rays,
Praises wind and wave that make
  All its chambers fair and strong;
As the mighty poets take
  Grief and pain to build their song:
Even so for every soul,
  Whatsoe'er its lot may be, —
Building, as the heavens roll,
  Something large and strong and free, —
Things that hurt and things that mar
  Shape the man for perfect praise;
Shock and strain and ruin are
  Friendlier than the smiling days.

— J. W. Chadwick.

Professor Albert Hopkins had his study and lodging-room, and his recitation-room also, for many years in the old East College, which was burned to the ground on a Sunday in October, 1841. He had very properly and necessarily assumed the leadership of religious matters in College, at the same time and under much the same circumstances as required his elder brother to assume the teaching and control of the Senior classes, some two or three years before the departure of President Griffin. He began his stated, and thereafter uninterrupted, services to the College in 1827 as a tutor, his brother ceased a two-years' tutorship at the same time, and assumed uninterrupted service as a professor in 1830. From this time on for forty years they stood together in efficient and harmonious, though very diverse service. The four years from 1827 to 1831

were what Albert Hopkins was accustomed to call "the turbulent period in College." President Griffin was breaking down, both physically and mentally, and there were not yet any firm hands on the rudder. As he carefully set down afterward: —

> Since the year 1831 there has been a general improvement in the order of college, petty annoyances have become less frequent, and cases of discipline have become rare. Except one or two 4th of July occasions, there has been next to nothing of an outbreaking character. I have lived in all these years in the East College building, and could not wish in general for a more quiet habitation. This statement can not be made, with equal truth, in reference to the West College, occupied by the two lower classes. The order there, however, has been generally good.

The Junior recitation-room, in which Professor Hopkins did his work until the fire, was in the south end of that building, and the Senior room in the north end; and the classes, so far as their lodging-rooms were concerned, grouped themselves generally in the same way. At the rebuilding, the Junior room was located at the south end of South College, first floor, and there Professor Hopkins continued to teach so long as he taught at all; so that the new East College held no recitation-rooms, the Seniors having migrated some years before this over to the new room made expressly for them in the new chapel, now called Griffin Hall.

Professor Hopkins himself left on record a remarkable account of the origin and continuance of the noon prayer-meeting, so called, which met uniformly (until the fire) in the Junior room of East College at one o'clock on Mondays and Tuesdays and Thursdays and Fridays of term-time, and thereafter uniformly in the Junior room in South College, until at length the meeting died out, in 1867, — thirty-five years in all. The present writer is desirous of helping his readers make the thorough acquaintance of the mind and manners of Professor Hopkins; and this end can best be reached by giving them, whenever possible, his own language in relation to the critical passages of his career. It is indeed history and not biography, that is attempted in this book; and it is because Hopkins was a chief actor along some lines of college progress and upbuilding, that so much pains is taken to furnish in outline a just picture of the man as he was. The noon prayer-meeting was his conception and his achievement. It was his most distinctive contribution to the ongoing of things here in his active day. It was novel. It was influential. It was lasting. All are likely, accordingly, to be interested in his own account of it.

I am now going to explain in what way I think the revival of 1832 contributed to a more permanent religious order. It did so, I think, by exercising the principle of personal exertion and self-sacrifice, till it became habitual, and led on to a system which I shall presently give some account of. The principle of persevering, steady devotedness has been firmly established in individual minds, in all ages. But too little has been done to perpetuate this sentiment. One and another has cut his way through the solid rock, and, as it were, filled up the space behind him, so that others have been little benefited, except as they have seen them safe out, and therefore gathered hope, on the ground that such a thing was possible. Peter says, to be sure, "The God of all grace, after that ye have *suffered* awhile, stablish you." But we are not to infer from this that direct means are of no use toward the confirmation of piety. There is, no doubt, in respect to means, such a thing as a millennial order (using the term millennial generically here), and it was towards this that numbers among us were led at this time to look. Having become inured to a pretty steady course of religious action, anxious to persevere in this without faltering, sensible at the same time of the sluggishness of nature, and warned by the experience of the past, the inquiry came up, What corrective can be thrown in, what stimulus to excite us forward in an unwavering onward course of Christian action? It was in the way of righteousness, "doing his will," that light was thrown on this subject, — the doctrine of means. It was resolved by the Christians of that period that they would meet together at noon. This, it was thought, would furnish a strong antidote against a tendency, so prevalent everywhere, but perhaps especially in college, to fall in with the tide of worldliness. By setting up, as it were, a dam at midday, it was thought possible to check the current, and thus to prevent our Christianity from being overflown, and everything relapsing again into a stagnant and dead state, as had been the case after most previous revivals. I must be permitted to say, that I think the idea of a perfect Christianity, that is, of living in perfect conformity to the injunctions of Christ, without regard to seasons or circumstances, and without references to the feelings or practices of others, had to do with the institution of this system of means. A very good opportunity was approaching to test it, or at least to test the strength of the resolution which determined on its adoption, namely, the approach of the summer term, when there is uncommon temptation to laxuess, and a letting down of the Christian watch. The result proved that the idea was a very practicable one, and very salutary in the operation of it. A few, from five to seven, from the two College buildings, met in rainy as well as sunshiny weather, during the term, and felt improved by it. This meeting, somewhat modified in its character, has continued to the present time, and has more than answered the anticipations of those who originated it. It has served as a balance-wheel, to check the irregular movements of individual action, to temper well-meaning but injudicious zeal. I am just now in from one of these meetings, consisting of from forty to fifty students. The average sometimes ranges considerably higher than this, in times of awakening, and sometimes falls short of it.

The general order of these meetings continued the same from first to last. They began by singing a stanza or two of some familiar hymn, indicated by number in the hymn-book, and also often by the

leader's repeating the first line, which he could always start in tune if necessary, but preferred that some student present should start it. Then the professor always repeated with great solemnity a brief text of Scripture, and the recitation of such texts then passed round the room in order whether five or fifty were present. If any student verbally slipped in repeating his passage, from whatever part of the Bible it had been brought, it was invariably corrected by the leader, either instantaneously or else as soon as the word had passed round the circle. His verbal familiarity with the Scriptures was so great, and his memory so retentive, that he could give the entire verse or sentence out of which a member had been culled. Usually two or three short prayers, offered by students, preceded any word of exposition or exhortation given by him. He always had some strong or weird word in the course of the meeting, sometimes drawn from the text he had repeated, but more often from one repeated by another. He himself rarely offered prayer in these meetings, and students spoke but rarely; but it was seldom the half-hour was out before he had gained full possession of the meeting on some thought or duty, and when he rose to his feet to conclude with the single stanza of a hymn, all rose with him simultaneously, and he had the power to hold with his eye (which was deep-set and extraordinarily bright) every person present so long as he pleased at the close of the song. Not a foot stirred till he dropped his lids, whether it were one minute or less or more. This was a subtle and spiritual power, and he was fond (not to say proud) of exercising it. Any person who possesses a genuine and unusual power like that, is not only fully conscious of it, but is also glad to employ it on occasion. To the writer, who was long a pleased attendant on these meetings, both during and after his student life, the professor spoke once or twice familiarly of this gift of keeping a religious gathering in perfect stillness at will after the last word was said or sung. It was not something he had ever aimed at or thought of till he found he had it, and then he sometimes used it with great solemnity and effect. It was a silent, but most expressive testimony on the part of the participators that the meeting was *his* meeting, — to come and stay and go.

But there was also uttered testimony a plenty, on the part of hundreds of students, to the spiritual benefit to themselves of these noon meetings, and to their observed benefits upon others. Thomas K. Fessenden, of the class of 1833, wrote long afterward: —

> It was during the summer of 1832 that he commenced the daily noon prayer meetings; which for years afterward became a most valuable means of grace

to a little circle of ten to twenty attendants. I can never forget how earnestly and forcibly Professor Hopkins then and there enforced upon us the exceeding breadth and purity of God's law, and the duty of Christians to rise above the ordinary standard of Christian character.

Professor Phillips, of the class of 1847, wrote: —

It furnished a sort of spiritual exchange, where Christians from the different classes met and exchanged views upon religious experience and religious work, mingled their prayers and praises, and girded themselves for the common conflict. It was a place, too, where any impenitent person who was beginning to be anxious about his salvation might come, or be brought by a friend, and be welcomed and guided and helped on his way to Christ. It was alike a training-place and a recruiting-station for the band of Christians in college. It was the true prayer-gauge also. It showed, as the mercury the pressure of the air, the intensity of religious fervor in the college. The exercises invariably began by each attendant repeating, in his turn, a verse of Scripture, — the Professor correcting all errors in quotation. His remarkable familiarity with the Scriptures was the result of daily reading and study, helped by a naturally retentive memory.

Professor Bascom, of the class of 1849, let slip from his pen in a single sentence, a compendium of the good results of the noon prayer-meeting: —

It was the most firm, persistent, and steadily influential means of religious life, that I have ever had occasion to observe.

William D. Porter, of the class of 1850, once instituted a comparison by way of illustrating one feature of what he called "the blessed noon prayer-meeting": —

Across the Menai Straits in England is built the Britannic Tubular Iron Bridge. Just under the very centre of the structure, where one would naturally feel the most insecurity, there peeps above the water a small island. On this a pier has been erected, reaching up to and supporting the bridge. The noon prayer-meeting was to the College day what this pier is to the Britannic Bridge.

The keen eye of Professor Hopkins perceived at the outset, and numbers of students had opportunity to observe ever after, that all the good of the noon meeting was not confined to those who attended it. There was an incidental good. Speaking of the first of these meetings about thirty years afterward, the professor said: "A few, perhaps six in number, assembled accordingly at that hour. This was in the year 1832, on a pleasant day in June, which will no doubt be vividly remembered by those who were present, and who yet survive. *Numbers were on the college green, and under the shade of the maples, as these brethren, with hymn-books in hand, passed*

through on their way to the conference-room. By some professors of religion the movement was looked on with disfavor; most supposed, no doubt, that it would be ephemeral. But not so. God was evidently in it. Little was said, but the meeting by degrees increased. From that time it has not been intermitted, but has been, on the whole, a growing power till now." The persons gathering to the meeting went quietly over the campus and through the halls, and were mostly unnoticed by others; but when, two or three minutes later, the song burst forth, sometimes, according to the numbers and the state of feeling within, with swelling and reverberating volume, it was heard all over the building and all around it, and an impression was made on the careless and irreligious that something was going on in college that they knew nothing about. What is it? Song perhaps called more from this class into the meeting than invitation or curiosity. In certain states of feeling within and without a favorite stanza in closing began with the words, "Oh! there will be mourning at the judgment-seat of Christ." What transpired in the room was usually a benefit to those within; the fact that such a meeting was known to be held was sometimes a benefit to those without. Not that the meeting was always fervid in tone. Sometimes it was dull. Occasionally it was cold. But it was always genuine. There was no pretence about it, and no machinery in it. The next noon after the burning of the East College there was a scene near by and a sequel, which Professor Hopkins described long afterward as follows: "This building had witnessed many scenes of deep religious interest. Many of its private rooms had been bethels, and here, especially, the daily meetings had long been attended in the Junior recitation-room. The day after the fire we rallied around the spot. It was a desolate place, but the feelings of those who had been wont to gather there seemed rather quickened than depressed.

> Those ruins shall be built again,
> And all that dust shall rise,

were words which seemed to have a spiritual significance. It was determined not to abandon the meeting, but to adjourn to the Sophomore recitation-room. We accordingly went over, and the step had a good effect. The lower classes were encouraged by seeing so many, and not a few zealous Christians coming to their support."

The professor merely noticed fact, when he said above, "By some professors of religion the movement was looked on with disfavor"; he did not state the grounds of that fact, and probably he never fully knew them. Without doubt there were valid grounds

why many excellent Christian students did not favor, and could not attend, the noon meetings. It is not worth while at the present time to dwell with any fulness on the nature of these objections felt and sometimes expressed. The phase of Christian feeling and striving so strikingly exemplified in Albert Hopkins has passed away, no more to return to college or town. Indeed, it had practically passed away a decade or more previous to his death, in 1872. He himself did not understand why his wand, which had been so potent, seemed slowly to lose its power to bring the spirits from the vasty deep. The reasons lay partly in himself, in his own theological beliefs, and in his practical construction of a living Christianity. He had been the accepted religious leader so long, and the work of the Lord had so evidently prospered in his hand, that he came to feel that his way was the only right way; that the modes of the noon meeting, with its heart-searchings and sin-confessings and subjective revealings, were the true means of spiritual progress, both individual and social; and he came unconsciously to look with some distrust upon those Christians in college and in town, who felt that for themselves there was another and better way of following alongside the footsteps of the Master. A single illustration of what came to be a more or less mutually repellent attitude between him and them, may be seen in his bearing toward a small circle of Episcopalian brethren, of whom William Tatlock, of the class of 1857, was the leader in college, and Thomas Mole in town. These subsequently became the founders of the now flourishing St. John's Church. Tatlock, with a couple of these students, came into the noon meeting one day undoubtedly with the best of motives, but rather for spiritual observation than for fraternal communications. The writer was present as usual, and noticed that the leader did not have his usual freedom; the meeting lagged, and when, after giving the visitors conspicuous opportunity and invitation to speak, they naturally remained silent, the leader rebuked them in sharp tones for having nothing to utter by way of testimony to the Gospel! Not far from the same time Mr. Mole had occasion to ask Professor Hopkins, who was then supplying the village pulpit, to read a notice from the desk of the time and place (in a private house) of a meeting for church purposes of this little handful of brethren. He not only refused, but, handing back the paper, remarked also, that there was little difference between Episcopals and Roman Catholics! Mole and Hopkins had then been for a long time near neighbors and fellow-citizens and brother Christians. These facts were exceptional in the life of an extraordinarily good man; but they mark a

narrowness, a self-sufficiency, an assumption of judgment, that could not but clip the wings even of an eagle.

The excellent and intelligent family in Stockbridge, in which Albert Hopkins was brought up as the youngest child, was not distinctively a religious one. He lacked consequently an early theological training at home, such as perhaps most boys of his time in New England received, crude indeed, but current, and effective as against special peculiarities and idiosyncracies of belief. His religious life began early and in a strangely isolated way, and he did not make a profession of religion until after his graduation, in 1826; and when his mind fully turned to the adoption of theological tenets, he reached and long maintained certain beliefs quite divergent from the prevailing ones. In December, 1832, about six months after the establishment of the noon prayer-meeting, which itself, as he tells us elsewhere, was instituted under the pressure of the same belief, he makes the following entry in his journal, which is a cardinal passage for the right understanding of his career. "For a year and a half I have regarded entire sanctification as a duty; but now I have come to regard it as attainable. This change has been wrought by entering, under a sense of duty, upon what I considered a course of godly living. While in this way I fell in with one who supposed himself entirely sanctified. This led me to search the Scriptures with prayer, endeavoring to lay my heart all open to conviction, throwing off entirely the shackles of sect, and here I found the doctrine as I supposed clearly stated. The Scriptures now appeared a new book; nearly as much so as when I experienced justification. And now I am expecting when God shall take up His abode in me, and walk in me." This view of complete sanctification, whatever that phrase may really mean, colored the course of the noon meetings from first to last, not obtrusively, not in a way to excite friction in minds doubtful or hesitating, but in the way of a tacit and quiet, and yet pervasive and insistent leadership. It was in him and of him and went out from him. Here came in one of the weaknesses and, consequently, one of the sources of decay of the noon prayer-meetings. One could not be in regular attendance upon them, even for one's brief college course, without insensibly coming to feel that he must, in order to be a good Christian, think as the leader thought, pray and strive as he did, and so in an unnatural, and therefore unwholesome way, become an imitator of a fellow-Christian. Such imitation is always weak and futile. Thomas à Kempis, on the other hand, gave the pitch to the true Christian song the world over in his "Imitation of Christ."

It would be wrong to imply that the decay of the noon prayer-meeting was wholly owing to any decay in the professor's powers in his old age, or any lessening on the whole of his activities and influence. He became a changed man amid the changes that were taking place around him, but never a listless or unenterprising one. He said little or nothing in his later years about sanctification as attainable in the present life. His subjective experiences, sometimes racking and sometimes rapturous, of which his journal is full to a surfeit, slowly gave way to objective schemes and efforts for the amelioration of mankind. The battle-field of faith and righteousness shifted from the region of an exaggerated self-consciousness to the more palpable region of the wants and woes of his fellow-man. He became an outspoken antislavery man. He and the good Deacon James Smedley carried their sentiments on this topic to the ballot-box together for several years before any other of the citizens of Williamstown accompanied them thither. When the Civil War broke out, in 1861, he gave up to the service and to an early death in battle the only child he ever had. When the war was over, and he had personally recovered his dead, and buried the remains by the side of the long-time invalid wife and mother in the college cemetery, he seemed to have nothing else to do or care for, but to spend the remaining years in the building up religiously of the long-neglected waste places of the White Oaks. There he bought and cultivated a small and poor farm, for the purpose of showing what were then a mostly shiftless people what industry and thrift are. There he built a chapel, mostly from his own resources, in which he preached and prayed so long as he lived. There he formed a church, which he named "The Church of Christ in White Oaks." The present writing is just twenty-five years since the gifted pastor's death. Church services and the Sunday-school have not been intermitted since. The chapel has been rebuilt and enlarged, the grounds around it greatly beautified, and the whole neighboring population uplifted, during this interval of time. Dr. L. D. Woodbridge and his wife, from this side of the river, and from unusually busy professional and family cares, have been the main support of the Sunday-school. Able and faithful young ministers mostly in a course of preparation for pulpit labors on wider fields, have kept up in growing power the weekly services in the chapel; so that now the entire work in that region is stronger and steadier than ever before, — all a beautiful and useful fruitage of Professor Hopkins's own planting.

It is probable that no other man connected with the College dur-

ing the first century of its work, had an influence so varied in its direction and so far-reaching in its continuance, as that of Albert Hopkins. He was not equally successful in each of his manifold activities; no man of such activities ever is, or can be, on account of the invincible limitations of human nature: the remarkable thing about him is, that success did not fall to him in the line of his earlier efforts and greater promise. His department was the natural sciences. He went to Europe in 1834 to procure some apparatus for his class-room, and to confer more or less as to matter and method with the men of science abroad. In 1835 he built his astronomical observatory, and a year or two later the magnetic observatory. The auspices seemed to point strongly toward an eminent teacher of these and the kindred sciences, — toward a man who should add to the sum of current scientific knowledge. His department at first included mathematics; but he was not a good mathematician, and this branch was passed over to John Tatlock in 1838, and the department thereafter called Natural Philosophy and Astronomy. But he did not prove to be a good teacher in any of these branches. His heart was not in them. His manner of teaching was not adapted to enlist the interest of any pupils, except those who had a strong bent to that class of studies, and some of these are said to have soon surpassed him in their acquirements. Others of these easily made perfect recitations in class, but gained nothing new from him. John Bascom was one of these, and has been heard to say, that he could not recall a single new idea in science or a single impulse to personal research in any scientific direction, derived from his lecture-room. He did not encourage questions from his students while even his experimental lectures were going forward. It would be nearer the truth to say that such questions were so wholly unexpected that they were not even allowed. The writer remembers to have asked a question once in his eagerness to understand a complicated point which the professor was unfolding. It is hard to say whether the class or the professor were more astounded at the interruption. The latter stopped, answered the question courteously, but not clearly, and was evidently disturbed by it. That was the first and last question ever put by the men of 1852 to Professor Hopkins in the class-room.

In the street, on a walk, at his own study, he was genial enough with the students, often jocose, always communicative. John C. Goodrich, of the class of 1863, a harum-scarum and devil-may-care student of good character and innocent purposes, relates an experience of his own, as follows: —

I envy you the hearing of Professor Bascom's paper on Professor Hopkins; and did not other matters render it impossible I would go to hear it. I had the greatest affection for Professor Hopkins. We became friends through some law of opposites. I recall now how that comparison was once expressed, — one of the students made a remark and it passed current.

One day I ventured to tell it to "Prof. Al." I said, as we were walking in town after a mountain trip, "Professor, do you know what the boys say when they see us together." He said he did not. "Well," I said, "they say, 'There goes the Apostle Paul and Captain Kidd.'" "Do they?" said he, with scarcely a motion on that grave face.

What imp of darkness possessed me, what state of depravity came over me, I know not, but I next broke the silence with the remark, "I wonder if they think I am the apostle."

The good old saint's face was then smooth-shaven, and I shall never forget the expressions that came over it. It commenced with a certain smack of the lips and ended with a peculiar twinkle of his eye that we rarely saw. The subject was dropped, and I knew I was forgiven, but I have always thought it a miracle that I was not eaten by bears, or had some of the sudden punishments dropped upon me, such as in old times were meted out to those who reviled the prophets.

No one anticipated or could have anticipated from his apparent interest and zeal in scientific pursuits at the outset, that his teaching in these would become so formal in the class-room, so cold and dead, as it unfortunately did become in following years. On the contrary, the index-finger pointed the other way. During the summer vacation of 1835 he organized and conducted a natural history expedition, which is believed to be the first one in this country, to Nova Scotia. Dr. Ebenezer Emmons and Tutor S. H. Calhoun were associated with the leader in the conduct of the expedition. President Chadbourne, in his sermon at the funeral of Professor Hopkins, in 1872, makes the following reference to this: "Such expeditions are comparatively common now, when travel is easy and the necessity of field work in natural history is well understood. But that such an expedition should have been planned in a college among the Berkshire hills, and successfully carried out nearly forty years ago, when as yet it was necessary to travel a hundred miles to reach the railroad, shows that the organizer of the expedition was one of those minds that see in advance the demands of science, and have wisdom and energy enough to adapt the most efficient means for its advancement."

Professor Hopkins himself in an account of the college revival of 1835, written about 1860, developed a connection between the revival and this expedition as follows: "It deserves, perhaps, to be mentioned here, as evidencing the fact that Nature and the Christian

religion are not unfriendly, that the day after the close of the term, an expedition started under the auspices of the Natural History Society, consisting of about twenty individuals, most of whom had been affected more or less by the awakening. Indeed, had it not been for the awakening, I question whether the expedition would have moved at this time. There was a disposition to blow the Gospel trumpet about the land, and as the news of what the Lord had been doing for us had gone before, it seemed to be taken for granted that we would hold meetings as we travelled; which we did, much to our own gratification, and we have reason to believe, in some instances, not without special benefit to others."

After an absence of about four weeks on shipboard and among the Blue Noses of the northeast, the expedition returned safely; and Professor Hopkins wrote out a full account of it for the *American Traveller,* in three numbers. The *Traveller* was then edited by a graduate of the College, and we are now going to give our readers, at this late day, the pleasure and benefit of reading about half the first number in the professor's own words.

SCIENTIFIC EXPEDITION

Of Students of Williams College, from Boston along the Eastern Coast to St. Johns, N. B. and Halifax and Windsor, N. S.

WILLIAMS COLLEGE, Oct. 19th, 1835.

MR. PORTER: — A few weeks before the close of our summer term, the idea was started here, of an expedition to Nova Scotia, during the September vacation. The interesting account of the Mineralogy and Geology of that section of the country, recently published by Messrs. Alger and Jackson — the fame of the high tides and romantic scenery of the Bay of Fundy, aided, perhaps, a little by that love of adventure which is so natural to young men — gave the idea an unexpected degree of popularity. In a few days it became evident that several, especially, those connected with the Lyceum of Natural History, would be satisfied with nothing short of an excursion. It was accordingly agreed upon, and a vessel was forthwith chartered for the purpose. As you have appeared, sir, to take an interest in our movements, prompted either by your professional sympathy with all the *travelling* community, or as we would more readily believe by the feelings of an Alumnus, and have requested some brief sketch of our adventures, we readily comply; assuring you, however, that our object in the tour has been rather to benefit ourselves, than to enlighten the public.

Our party consisted of twenty, mostly undergraduates — three who were instructors in the College — some few old College friends, and one or two young men of liberal curiosity who were anxious to join us. Having laid in the requisite stores, we left Boston harbor in the sloop Flight, (a Yarmouth packet) Capt. Hallett, on the Monday evening ensuing our Commencement. The sun was setting as we got under weigh, leaving us less time than we could have wished to enjoy

a view, more rich in interest to a child of the Pilgrims than any other, and scarcely yielding to any in intrinsic beauty. The Capitol with its imposing dome, the old South Church, noted in revolutionary annals, Bunker Hill, and Dorchester — standing watch-words for the last half century, wherever the cause of human rights has been at issue — came successively before us. Under the lengthening shadows of these imposing objects, associated with our earliest ideas of valor and patriotism, we would willingly have lingered, but a favorable gale bore us rapidly away. In a short half hour, nothing could be made out of the dim outline of the distant Capitol, which itself in turn disappeared. — The night was now closing fast upon us; and as there seemed to be a desire to give utterance to some united expression both of our grateful remembrances and hopes for the time to come, we did so in the lines

"With grateful hearts the past we own,
The future — all to us unknown," &c.

The sentiments of these noble stanzas chimed in with our feelings as we committed ourselves, most of us, for the first time to the Ocean, on a voyage which, though short, is fraught, probably, with more danger than one across the Atlantic.

A fine sail of about 40 hours, with a uniform rate of nearly six knots, brought us in with the west Quoddy Light. The heavy bell of the Light House was tolling with a quick startling toll, as is the custom in these seas in foggy weather, to warn the mariner of rocks which lie near by. A steep and isolated one was pointed out to us by our Pilot, on which, not long since, a vessel foundered in the night. In the morning, none of the crew were to be found, but one poor woman with an infant child in her arms, who had been washed up by the surf upon the pointed rock. She was rescued in safety.

We gazed with more than ordinary interest upon the point where the Light House stands, as it is the most easterly in the territories of the United States; lying in Lon. 66 deg. 15 min., and in Lat. 44 deg. 50 min. Less than an hour's sail from the light brought us to anchor in the harbor of Lubec. This is a busy, commercial village, the most eastern on the main land. Eastport, which lies about 4 miles due north, or a little east of north, is on an island. The collector of the port boarded us in a few moments, to whom we had letters, and who had for several days been waiting our arrival. He is a gentleman partial to science, and maintaining a taste for it, even amidst the active engagements of the Legal profession. It is perhaps not surprising, certainly it is a fact, so far as our observation extends, that very few, next to none in this profession, give time to scientific pursuits. The physician you shall find, with his cabinet carefully collected, often, and tastefully arranged. He whose office it is, "to vindicate the claims of Providence and justify the ways of God to man," occasionally finds room for a few specimens of his works, among shelves richly laden with the spoils of vanquished sects, and the massive weapons of polemic theology. But beside the pandects of Justinian or the commentaries of Blackstone, we have rarely seen a mineral or a plant. The first object which struck our attention, on entering the office of Mr. Thayer, was a telescope, which we immediately recognized as the workmanship of Mr. Holcomb. We were not a little surprised, that the instruments of our worthy friend, should have found their way so soon into the remotest village in the Union. We think they may yet get across the Atlantic and be picked up, perhaps, by some of our learned professors who are rang-

ing the British Isles and the continent in search of similar objects: this was one of Mr. Holcomb's $100 instruments, and yet Mr. Thayer informed us, that it would distinctly divide the north star. But to return from this digression.

The next morning there was a fog. For, in this part of the country, if you enquire of one who is weather-wise, what the prospect is? he informs you gravely, "that there is an appearance of a fog." So we were informed the evening before, and so in the morning we found it. However, Mr. T. proposed visiting the lead mine, "which was only a short row of eleven miles." This to us, young as most of us were, and inexperienced in rowing, among narrow arms of the sea, rapid tides and a dense fog withal, appeared somewhat formidable. However so great was the zeal to be of the party that, in order to prevent difficulty, we concluded to decide who should go by lot. — And here we may state, that our expedition went on the peace principle. Several of us were quakers, at least so far as the New Testament goes, and those who were not, never meant any harm, we believe, still it was difficult for them always to be exactly right. A *good man* will not dispute *a very little*. Having rowed an hour or two, we found ourselves setting on a strong tide, we knew not whither, our pilot having lost his bearings. At length we came under land, and on enquiring found it to be Moose Island, the same on which Eastport stands, several miles out of our way. — Here we got our bearings and proceeded on until afternoon; when the fog suddenly melted up. — The effect can scarcely be described; the nearest objects having been until this moment completely shrouded from our view. We lay in the bosom of a retired bay, studded with rocky and romantic islands. These islands were crowned with evergreens, whose reversed pendent branches gave to the scenery an aspect decidedly northern; whilst the familiar shrubs and trees, interspersed here and there, and the warm shining of the sun, reminded us that we were still in New England. Some of us had been familiarized to scenery, like that which soon opened, during our expedition, last Autumn, to Umbagog and other Lakes in the interior. To others it was entirely new. All probably felt repaid for a fifteen miles row, for such it proved to be. The lead occurs in veins, which run completely down to the bay; though we traced several of them quite a distance back into the country. The veins are from one to six feet in thickness. The ore, which has been but slightly wrought, is a fine crystallized mineral, resembling much both in external characters and composition, that found at Southampton in this State. Zinc occurs abundantly at this locality and specular iron on the opposite shore.

Our space forbids but a single excerpt further from the copious and humorous account, which the professor gave to the *Traveller*, of the varied experiences of his party in their month's wanderings and collectings in the region of Nova Scotia. There were two or three in the party who cared little or nothing about its natural history phases, but who joined it at the professor's invitation for the purpose of health or recreation. One of these was Mr. B. F. Mather, a merchant of Williamstown, whose long and honorable life here in church and town made him influential and memorable in both. Of course the variety in the position and interest of those whom he was

conducting added something to the leader's perplexities, to which he makes some amusing allusions in the passage following, which is selected from among others perhaps equally entertaining, mainly on account of the grotesque contact between the party and Judge Haliburton of Nova Scotia near the latter's summer home on the coast.

Next morning the rock bound coast of the Peninsula, a long wall-like barrier of Greenstone, lay close beside us. This was Nova Scotia, which we had long had before us, and every foot was eager to step off — the point where we were, abounding in interesting minerals. It is termed Peter's Head. At such times it is necessary to restrain young men a little — you must check them, and not suffer all to go overboard at once — the older and graver members must get into the first boat, and go quietly ashore — then the younger ones must follow. This was all done up without any difficulty. In fact no restraint was necessary; they always urged us to go first, which we sometimes did to save time and trouble. The members of our party, in one word, had all been *brought up*, without which a person will never respect either age or character, or any thing else — but himself. And now all hands were busy with the minerals. The Capt. himself, it appeared, had caught the spirit of the expedition, running around among the rocks, as wild and eager as any of us. One of the company, meanwhile, who had found his way on to the table land above the cliff, brought back word of a fine mansion he had seen — said to be the country seat of Mr. Haliburton, the Chief Justice of the Province. Lured in part, by a curiosity to see the cottage, (for such it was) and, in part, by the prospect of a fine view of the bay — most of the party went up to a little dwelling which stood just on the brow of the cliff. Whether the fame of our expedition had gone before us, or whether the Chief Justice, like the hospitable Patriarch, was watching an opportunity to entertain strangers, we know not — certain it is that he soon appeared in person, and constrained us, though little in the guise of gentlemen, to go up and partake the hospitalities of his house. It was one of our greatest mortifications to have been absent on this occasion. Having wandered farther than the rest, and lighting in a cave, roofed and paved with stilbite, we were at work very honestly, without any knowledge of what was taking place above. On returning, and finding not a solitary mineralogist, we began to be suspicious; and hastened as fast as possible, up the steep and across the fields, to the Cottage. Having on our pea jacket, and coming after the rest, we were somewhat apprehensive of being mistaken for one of the *crew*. However, making a shift to bring our sledge hammer into a prominent position, it served as an ample passport. The interesting family of the Judge (for he himself had been gone some time with the party) received us with polite attention. We of course stayed but a moment, returning immediately to the beach, where we arrived nearly at the same time with the Judge, and had the pleasure of a few moments conversation. On enquiring into the state of society and morals, he informed us that it was not unusual, with him, to pass through his extensive circuit, without meeting a single criminal case. In a few moments the party were all at the boat, and the Judge with a hearty shake of the hand took his leave, making his way among slippery rocks, under the patterings of a smart shower, to his now dis-

tant residence. This was a specimen of Old England, and *old* New England politeness. We remember to have seen a few, in our early boyhood, who we think would have done that thing; but since they have got into the habit of *coining* gentlemen at the mint, one might look almost in vain, among us, for a specimen of this old and venerated school.

Judge Haliburton, of whom nothing was then known in the United States, was a native of Nova Scotia in 1797, educated at King's College, and admitted to the bar in 1820. He practised law in Nova Scotia many years; was a member of the Provincial Assembly; and became a judge of the Court of Common Pleas in 1829, and later of the Supreme Court. During this very year of 1835, when the Berkshire party encountered him on his own estate, he was contributing a series of articles to a Nova Scotia newspaper, satirizing the Yankees, which became exceedingly popular in the United States and even in England, and which were published, with additions and alterations, in 1837, under the title of "The Clock-Maker; or Sayings and Doings of Samuel Slick of Slickville." Whether or not the striking courtesy and hospitality of the first great American humorist to this Berkshire crowd had any part of its root in a desire to see and hear some new specimens of the genus Yankee for his own current literary purposes, we shall never know; but we may know one thing with absolute certainty, namely, that when he grasped the hand at parting of Albert Hopkins, in his pea jacket, he saw a man of uncommon physical presence and strength, — a man described about that time by one of the alumni, as possessing "a frame which would have suited an athlete, and a head such as the Greek sculptors gave to their great orators, large in feature, but symmetrical and well-poised, clad with soft curly hair, and wearing beneath the shaggy protection of a rugged brow eyes of raven hue and of unmatched depth and brilliancy."

No single key is adequate to unlock the complex life and tendencies of Albert Hopkins. The results in different directions do not seem to be consistent with one another. What one would have confidently anticipated, he does not in reality find; and he indisputably finds much that seems to be in no logical connection with what went before. But so far as any one principle appears to be predominant over others his whole life through, it comes out in his own words (but just quoted) in relation to this Nova Scotia expedition. It was a natural history expedition. They went to observe the high tides in the Bay of Fundy, and to bring back what they could of scientific interest of botanical and geological and mineralogical specimens. Still, they would not have gone at that time,

he tells us, if it had not been for the religious revival of the preceding term. They went, after all, "to blow the Gospel trumpet" on shipboard and in remote regions. In his few minutes only with Judge Haliburton on the beach, the topic was solely the state of society and morals in Nova Scotia. In his account of their imminent shipwreck, it was its religious aspects chiefly that his mind dwelt upon. "This was the moment of jeopardy. *Say your prayers, say your prayers,* said a wicked sailor, who had run below and brought up what little money he had. Poor fellow, he did not seem to feel that we had attended to that while the sky was clear. *Now* was the time to look out for the body. Only about twice the length of the vessel remained to make a tack in, — a little space, — but to us as good as an ocean. She turned firmly on her unstable pivot, — poised a moment, — and then left for ever this, — *Ebenezer,* — so we called it, — to be still dashed on by the ocean surf; but not soon to be forgotten by the youthful band who met deliverance under its threatening summit."

The spirit first, and then the "body"; the next world "while the sky is clear," and afterward this present evil world with its cares and duties: this was unquestionably the key-note of the professor's life. But it was above pitch even for his own high-toned instrument, take it through and through. Still more was it above pitch for his orchestra generally. There could not but be more or less dissonance under such circumstances; and, to drop the figure, it was impossible for him to maintain year after year this marvellous precedence in thought and action of the uncertain and the unseen and the eternal over what is seen and scientific and, in one sense, temporal. One world at a time, in the proper construction of that abused phrase; and still more a conception of the profounder truth, that all worlds are one, as that is now beginning to dawn on the docile and the waiting and the thoughtful of mankind, — would have been an unspeakable boon to the lofty spirit of Albert Hopkins. But hush! Every man is for his own generation, and not for the next. He is not, and he cannot be, essentially and on the whole, far in advance of his environment and his contemporaries. What he contributes is indeed his own, but the ability to receive on the part of others limits the contribution as really as his own ability to impart limits the same. What New England needed in the two decades on either side the middle of the nineteenth century was not so much the doctrine of evolution, or the unity of God in all his works and in all his worlds, as it needed clear-eyed and disinterested and fearless men to perceive and believe and announce in word and

in life the invisible government of God in and over mankind. Within his sphere men understood to a large degree the life and testimony of Albert Hopkins in his day. They did not and could not understand the broader and deeper and loftier words of Darwin and Huxley and Martineau. In a sense, accordingly, he was more useful to the men of his generation than they could be to the same men. If he had been a better scientist than he was, if he had learned the charm and the sweep of the inductive logic, and had given himself even as much as Silliman and Amos Eaton did to the then opening science of the United States, he would not have been, on the whole, so useful a man and so moving a force as he actually became. He saw indeed that Nature and Religion are allies, reaching one another the hand over a wide intervening space; he did *not* see that these are twin sisters nourished from the same breast.

The inevitable happened. He gradually lost his hold over the students in the class-room as a teacher of science, only to be stirred to greater effort and still more self-denial in their behalf as a religious leader. He could not be successful in both. The students, who began to be earnest and outspoken in relation to his growing unfitness to teach the sciences of his department, were among the best students and the best men who have ever taken the honors of the College. And it may be added that they were among those who estimated at the highest the value of Professor Hopkins to the College as a religious stimulus and guide. Two only of these will be mentioned here as examples of many more of like insight and character, George W. Northrup, of the class of 1854, and Charles Marsh, of the class of 1855. The former class was the largest that, till then, had ever been graduated from the College, — sixty-three men; and the latter class was only inferior in number to that by eight. Both held an unusual proportion of men who afterward became distinguished in their several walks of life. Without trying to draw a sharp line in the matter of reputation, a thing impossible to be done in any case, the following fourteen men of the class of 1854 may be fairly reckoned as "distinguished," just one-half of them being marked on the triennial as doctors of divinity: —

James M. Anderson
James R. Dewey
Henry M. Grout
Elbridge Mix
Francis L. Robbins
Norman Seaver
Charles A. Stoddard
Charles R. Bliss
John Doud
Abbott E. Kittredge
George W. Northrup
Jarvis Rockwell
Robert B. Snowden
Orson V. Tousley

The same number may properly be designated in the same manner of the class of 1855, six of this class being noted as doctors of divinity, three as members of the United States Congress, four prominent college professors, and two noteworthy foreign missionaries. The fourteen may be grouped in this way: —

William W. Adams	William R. Dimmock
Cyrus M. Dodd	Hanford A. Edson
Charles E. Fitch	Phineas W. Hitchcock
John J. Ingalls	Edward P. Ingersoll
James Orton	William P. Prentice
Henry W. Seymour	George T. Washburn
Abraham Lansing	Charles Marsh

The next class, that of 1856, though smaller than the two preceding, may justly claim an equal number of members of public note. Of course, all might not agree in the following selection of the fourteen: —

Stephen W. Bowles	James A. Garfield
James Gilfillan	Charles S. Halsey
James K. Hazen	Clement H. Hill
Ferris Jacobs	George B. Newcomb
Franklin Noble	Almon F. Rockwell
Henry Root	John T. Stoneman
John Tatlock	Frederick F. Thompson

Now, it is important to the present purpose to record that the entrance and course and exit of these three college classes, at that time and under those circumstances, brought in a new phase of life and opinion to this institution. If it may not be truthfully said of those six years that old things passed away then and behold! all things became new; it may at least be truthfully said, that those six years, 1850–56, were a pivot of time on which college things turned to face thereafter in new directions. It has already been unfolded in these pages that a full-orbed college consists in the action and interaction of four distinct yet constantly changing bodies of men, — namely, the trustees, and the faculty, and the students, and the alumni. The last came into organized and wholesome operation upon this ground in 1821, — the first instance of such activity in the history of New England colleges. Up to the middle of the century, and somewhat beyond, it may be said with certainty that the feelings and opinions and forecastings of the student-body, so far as there was any occasion and opportunity for gathering these to a head in expression, had had little or no influence on the stated action of the two bodies having primarily the College in charge.

But in the decade already referred to, there was a very considerable change in this particular. The student-body was much larger than ever before. Each class contained a considerable number of clear-sighted and disinterested, and more or less experienced, students, who came to know thoroughly what was going on in College, what was going wrong in College, and that they had and could not escape some personal and coöperate responsibility for all these things. A sort of coöperate self-consciousness was developed in the student-body for the first time. Individual students began to talk these matters over among themselves in a sober and reflective and responsible way. There were small and informal and indecisive conferences as between some of the best students in the different classes. There were two young professors at that time, neither of them long out of College, both of them beginning their work of instruction at the same hour in 1853, neither of them certain for several years that they themselves would make a thorough success of it; but both of them drawing the general moral confidence of the students to a degree in which the older professors did not. These were Professor Lincoln and Professor Perry. Some of those students just characterized spoke with more or less freedom to one or the other of these gentlemen about their older instructors, without any concert as between themselves, and without any resulting conference as between the two. Neither of the latter could say much, if anything, in the way of comment on the confidential talk of the former. Their position as newcomers forbade it; and their personal relations to the older teachers, who had but recently been their own, forbade it also; and besides, there was more or less dissatisfaction, freely expressed, in relation to the two young professors also. Nevertheless, these, at any rate, and undoubtedly others, too, connected with the College, became aware that there was a deep-seated feeling among some of the best students in College, in relation to the unsuitableness as college teachers, — not at all as Christian men, — of Professor Hopkins and Professor Tatlock and Professor Griffin, and in that general order of delinquency. The present writer, as one of those more or less an object of this critical feeling and discussion, wishes to express his conviction of the propriety and usefulness of such discussion and animadversion on the part of college students as toward their college instructors and governors. When the motive is good, when the spirit is temperate, when the real or supposed interests of the college furnish the light and atmosphere of such discussions, they can do no harm, — they never did any harm in this College certainly. Perhaps one or more

bits of injustice have been done and suffered, but these rather in consequence of the mismanagement by others of such reasonings and conclusions than of their direct effect.

So far as Professor Hopkins himself was concerned, the marked disaffection toward him as a teacher was diverted for a time by the skilful manipulations of his brother and others, and he continued to teach his sciences nominally for ten years longer, or until 1868. This was no real boon to him, and it was a positive loss to the College in many ways. Through the munificence of David Dudley Field, his old townsman in Stockbridge and fellow-collegian here, Professor Hopkins was then put upon a new foundation of astronomy alone; but so far as the instruction even in that single branch was concerned, during the four years of his further life, it amounted absolutely to nothing, and tended to disorganize the entire discipline of the Junior class. In the meantime, and indeed all the time, the immense vitality of the man was seeking other outlets than those commonly encircling a professor's life. He was never satisfied with what he sometimes called "the mill-horse round." Like other versatile and original men, he tired after a while of almost any routine, no matter with how much enthusiasm he had entered upon it and persuaded others to embark in it with him. The only long-time exception to this was his noon prayer-meeting, which itself, however, palled at last. He took up at different periods of his life radical ideas in relation to missions, in relation to education, and to practical Christian conduct, — ideas very diverse from those of his brother and of the community; and would press these for a time with vehement zeal on all convenient occasions. By and by, dropping these special phases of truth and duty, he would take up something else, usually cognate with the last, and all certainly bound together in his mind with the present and pressing need of the kingdom of God.

(1) He did not believe, for instance, in the training of Christian ministers through theological seminaries. It seemed to him something unreal, like the trying to learn botany out of the pages of a book, rather than in the fields in contact with the flowers themselves. He had his fling at the "dry wooden desk," and at the "lily-fingered clergyman, who never went into the heart of Greylock or into the heart of anything." All his life he disparaged books as comparatively useless for purposes of interpretation, and particularly the interpretation of Scripture; he commended a commentary "not of learned critics and theologians," but of rocks and mountains, of expanses of earth and sea and sky. All the same, he was very fond

and very proud of a literal and critical translation of the Book of Job, executed from the original Hebrew by his own invalid and scholarly wife, while his personal knowledge of the Bible was confined to an amazing familiarity with the words of both Testaments in the old English version, large portions of which he seemed to know by heart, and would upon occasion quote before an audience, with an apparently powerful effect, when sometimes neither he himself nor one person in the audience had a glimmer of any rational sense in the passage quoted. He called the rocks and nooks and fields and hills in the White Oaks, those in the neighborhood of his chapel, by Hebrew names culled from the Old Testament, and thus gave a grotesque flavor to his talk about them, and sometimes to his preaching. He seemed to think that theological seminaries put up a barrier between their students and the breezy freshness of Nature, — her direct impressions and solemn admonitions.

(2) Throughout one interval of several years' duration he denounced the methods of the American Board, of which his brother was then the president, of sending out seminary-trained and salary-paid missionaries in order to convert the heathen to Christianity. He thought the better way was to this end, to encourage the going out of volunteer colonies of young Christian people, composed of farmers and tradesmen of all sorts, and merchants, who should settle down together in a heathen land, and exhibit to the heathen practically the virtues and the thrift of Christian civilization, all earning their own living, and all laying by something for a rainy day; and thus and otherwise showing forth the precepts of Christ in actual operation before the very eyes of the unbelievers. He would have such colonies prepared after a little to build railroads and construct ships and found banks, and so demonstrate the superiority of Christianity (not in words, but in action).

He sometimes waxed very warm in unfolding the benefits of his system as contrasted with the here a little and there a very little of the current missionary societies, as applied, for example, to the worn-out civilization of India. "Why, when those Hindoos see the working of your railroad, and understand it, *they will pick up their old dirt roads and carry them off on their shoulders,* and fling 'em away forever!"

But he preferred in his discourse to make these experiments somewhere in the neighboring Catholic countries of Central and South America. Those unfortunate people were way behind the times. Without making much reference to their peculiarities in race and training, in climate and general environment, he seemed to think

that such a colony well established in Nicaragua, for example, or on the Isthmus, would soon turn the Catholics into Protestants, and the Spanish-mixed bloods into Yankees. He interested several students practically in such a scheme, and particularly Frederick Hicks, of the class of 1861. Hicks was a native and resident of Bennington, and died there Feb. 24, 1871. Professor Hopkins wrote the following memorial of him in the college paper of the time, the *Williams Vidette*.

Mr. Hicks inherited, in large measure, the missionary zeal and enterprise which first made its appearance on this ground in 1806.

The very summer of his graduation he visited South America, and travelled there somewhat extensively. His object was to select certain points where permanent Christian missions might be formed. Having made himself somewhat familiar with the country and language, he returned to Panama. Having an eye to future movements, he thought a station on the Isthmus would be convenient; and that he might be himself more advantageously located there. After some experience he saw the necessity of a religious centre, and to secure this object he erected a chapel at an expense of about twelve thousand dollars. He established various schools, Sabbath schools, and others not strictly of a religious character. He made excursions northward into Guatemala and other provinces, and was laying the foundation apparently of extensive usefulness, when his labors were interrupted by disease. Against this he fought heroically, but unsuccessfully. An unhealthy climate and frequent exposure proved too much for a constitution not originally strong.

Mr. Hicks was a man of earnest convictions. What he believed, he believed thoroughly, and he had sufficient strength of will to carry his convictions into effect. During his college course he became convinced that the Kingdom of Christ ought to be advanced in a business-like way, as other enterprises are. He saw enterprising young men going to California and elsewhere, setting up for themselves, amassing fortunes, and doing a good thing for their generation. Why might not Christian young men be as wise? Young men who go to the West do not ask their neighbors to help them, — they help themselves. If the land is full of Christians, why should they not go out, plant themselves everywhere, and thus disperse everywhere the leaven of the Gospel? This was the idea of brother Hicks. He believed *emphatically in the idea of self-sustaining missions.* If others chose to be sustained by the Board, he did not object; but for himself, the line of duty seemed to lie in another direction.

Twice during his stay on the Isthmus Mr. Hicks was called to act as Vice-Consul. In this way he became generally known. And it was very well understood that he carried his religion into his office. Clamorous applications were made to have business attended to on the Sabbath, as had been the custom; but the example of Nehemiah was followed, and applicants were told emphatically that if they had business at the office they must come on week-days.

Mr. Hicks was a man of *faith*. His views coincided, to some extent, with those of Müller, as delineated in his "Life of Trust." And his brief career was marked by many instances illustrating the doctrine, that it is safe to "trust in the Lord."

He revisited the college for the last time late in the autumn. Arriving with his family just as the noon meeting was about to commence, he was anxious to be once more in his place; and those who were present will well remember his exhortation, and how firmly he planted himself on the doctrine of *simple faith:* Who will be baptized for the dead?

(3) In connection with his peculiar views on the best method of conducting missionary operations in foreign lands, Professor Hopkins maintained for a number of years views still more peculiar in respect to college education. As his own grasp on the actual college training grew weaker and weaker, he seemed to think that the trouble was with the plan and organization of the College itself, and that radical changes were needful. One change that he proposed and dwelt on vehemently for a while, was that the College should actually become what it had been nominally called on very slight grounds indeed, "The missionary college." Instead of having the students who proposed a foreign missionary life for themselves pursue on this ground the ancient and modern languages as a part of their general education, and postpone the study of the language of the people to whom they proposed to minister until they should arrive in the foreign land as otherwise full-fledged missionaries, he would have heathen youth in very considerable numbers brought over here to Williamstown, and while they taught their native languages to the prospective missionaries, so that these when they went could begin their evangelizing labors immediately, the native comers would in the meantime learn English well, and see Christianity and civilization exemplified before their own eyes on a grand scale. When this was done, some of them might accompany the white missionaries back to their own native shores as their most efficient coadjutors, while others would naturally remain in America to plead the cause and exemplify the wonders of universal evangelization.

Professor Hopkins had a constructive imagination of marvellous power to set forth the amazing benefits of such a visionary scheme as this; but he was not equally facile to put one side the obvious difficulties and impossibilities of such a plan to be realized in such a narrow and remote and inaccessible valley as this of the upper Hoosac River, and between almost contiguous mountains. Still, his mind foresaw one of the inevitable objections, and he made a rude attempt to parry it. "I used to think," he exclaimed, raising his voice to its utmost pitch and volume, "I used to think *that we couldn't have more than two hundred students here, but now, considering what kind of students these are to be,* I DON'T CARE IF WE HAVE TWO MILLION HERE!"

Of course the incongruities of such a burst of fervor necessitated a burst of laughter on the part of those present, of whom the writer was one. Naturally the speaker subsided, not without some signs of wonderment as to what caused the laughter!

In April, 1863, while the clouds of the Civil War hung heavily around the whole horizon, while his only son was meditating on the military service, which he entered shortly after in the First Massachusetts Cavalry, to be killed in a charge near Ashland, Virginia, May 11, 1864, and while College was depressed in every part by the loss of sixty students gone to the war, Professor Hopkins formed the "Alpine Club of Williamstown," likely to be long remembered as the first organization in the United States for recurring pedestrian mountain climbing. The original club consisted of twelve members, as follows: —

Fanny Dewey	Louisa Hopkins
Ruth Sabin	Fanny Whitman
Carrie Hopkins	Elisabeth Kilby
Albert Hopkins	Paul Chadbourne
Bessie Sabin	Harry Hopkins
Maggie Tatlock	Kittie Foote

The only officers of the club, — and their tenure was perpetual, — were a "Leader" (Miss Dewey), a "Chronicler" (Professor Hopkins), a "Secretary and Treasurer" (Miss Carrie Hopkins), a "Surgeon" (Miss Bessie Sabin), and a "Bugler" (Miss Whitman). The object of the association was declared to be "to explore the interesting places in the vicinity, to become acquainted, to some extent at least, with the natural history of the localities, and also to improve the pedestrian powers of the members."

In the course of the year, and in a little time subsequent, twelve others were admitted to the privileges of the club, under this express provision of the constitution, that no new members were to be admitted "unless they are possessed of good pedestrian powers, are enthusiastic lovers of Nature, and show a willingness to receive instruction from the members of older standing!"

Maggie Adriance	Edward Griffin
Samuel Scudder	Edward Hopkins
John G. Goodridge	Henry Griffin
Mrs. D. Dewey	Julia Gould
Henry Tatlock	Charles Gardner
Abbie Marher	John Denison

Nineteen excursions were made in 1863, of which the longest was a two days' camping trip to Manchester, Vermont, for the ascent of Mount Equinox. The record book of the club contains some account of all the excursions, whether short or long. The short ones were usually taken in the afternoon, often lasting until late in the evening, to gain the advantage of the cooler air and to see the beauties of Williamstown by moonlight. The following record may be taken as a fair sample of the rest. *Ex uno disce omnes.*

On Wednesday afternoon, October 18, in spite of a cloudy and threatening sky, a walk which had been planned to Eolacca was undertaken. Professor Hopkins offering, however, to take the party to Huge World, — a spot unexplored by the club, — it was resolved to go there instead. The gathering of chestnuts, bright leaves, and berries made the progress up the mountain a slow one, and a light rain was falling when Laurel Glen was reached. Undeterred by this, however, the club clambered up the ledge, and, seated on the edge of Pulpit Rock, enjoyed the view of the valley with the shower sweeping over the distant mountains. Just north of this they stood on Solomon's Housetop, and watched the crashing descent of numerous rocks which Professor Hopkins and Mr. Denison, by great exertions, loosened from their resting-places and rolled down the steep. After a visit to Geological Rock, and a climb to the top of both Seneh and Bozez, they descended once more into the glen, and the rain coming down quite briskly, found a cave where they built a fire and rested for a while till the shower passed on and they were able to return home.

During the next year, 1864, eighteen regular tramps were taken ; the first on April 16 and the last on October 6, including two camping excursions, — one to Pontoosuc Lake, where the party, with invited guests, numbered twenty-six; and one of three days to the Hopper, in which seventeen persons joined. They camped at Bacon's, then the town poorhouse, the ladies occupying the ground floor of the house, and the gentlemen bestowing themselves as best they could in the barn. The chronicler entitled his account of the varied occurrences of these three days "Baconian Reminiscences; or the Short and Simple Annals of the Poorhouse." Fun enough. Ascents and descents; getting lost in the night, coming down from Bald Mountain; getting found; — "a blast of a trumpet. the advance of torches through the murky night, a rush, a passage of arms, embraces, kisses *unequally bestowed*, a Babel of tongues, a rush of the famishing to the groaning board, the clash of steel, questions and answers; — and then over the home of the Bacons silence reigned supreme."

Nineteen excursions were made and recorded in 1865, — the last year of the active operations of the club. Professor Hopkins did

not join the party of eight, — five ladies and three gentlemen, — who represented the club in their crowning exploit of a twelve days' excursion to the White Mountains. Samuel Scudder, a trained mountaineer, conducted this expedition, the members of it rendezvousing at White River Junction, August 22. The professor had wearied somewhat of the excitements and labors and festivities of an organization of which he was the source and the inspiration; and had turned with new ardor to his evangelizing work in the White Oaks, probably already conscious that this was to be the last and best, as it certainly was the most characteristic and permanent, of his earthly labors. He was planning this summer for his chapel there, which was built in the next, and dedicated Oct. 25, 1866. He christened both the building and his little band of believers "*The Church of Christ in the White Oaks.*" Here he preached and prayed and labored with his hands in unflagging zeal till the very end. The body of believers in covenant there was organized, Dec. 20, 1868, with twelve members, increased in 1895 to seventy-three; but it was not till March 6, 1872, two months before his death, that he wrote the formal covenant and form of admission into this church, which he fain hoped might be adopted as a formula by many Christians of every name everywhere. A parsonage was built in 1880 through the efforts of S. H. Woodbridge, class of 1873; and the enlarged and beautified chapel was rededicated in January, 1895.

No such funeral as that of Professor Hopkins, in point of numbers in attendance, in point of universal sympathy of each and every class in the community, and especially in point of Sunday-school scholars with May flowers in their hands filling the galleries of the large church, has ever been attended in Williamstown. The funeral of his brother, just fifteen years later, brought together many more distinguished people from abroad, and filled the body of the church with sincere mourners. The funeral of Professor Dodd just twenty-five years later also filled the body of the same church with college people and townsfolk who admired and loved a diffident and faithful and nature-loving man.

The writer closes these extended memoranda of Albert Hopkins with a skilful portrayal of him from the pen of Professor Phillips, professor of Greek from 1857 to 1868, and afterward librarian. It is almost more in endeavor to keep green the memory of this good man of insight and sympathy indirectly, than in hope of adding any new lineament to him who is thus portrayed, that this beautiful sketch is appended.

Professor Hopkins first became known to me upon my entering College in 1843. He was then in the prime of life and as fine looking a man as one would meet in many days. — He was tall, erect, dignified though unassuming, simple in garb even to plainness and sometimes to rudeness; but always refined and courteous in demeanor, with a frame which would have suited an athlete, and a head such as the Greek sculptors gave to their great orator — large in feature but symmetrical and well-poised, clad with soft curling hair, and wearing beneath the shaggy projection of a rugged brow eyes of rare hue and of unmatched depth of brilliancy. With the more sober and religious part of the students he was a great favorite, and in their estimation he fairly divided the honors of the College with his more distinguished brother. He was their chosen spiritual guide and moral hero. His was the favorite type of religious devotion. His prayers, exhortations and appeals — his methods of religious work were commended. His religious earnestness and separateness from the world, his reputed fastings and struggles with the powers of evil invested his person with a peculiar sanctity in the eyes of enthusiastic young disciples. As may be supposed his moral influence was great. Humanly speaking he stood at the head of the religious powers of the College. But he had other claims to hero-worship of a different order, and such as brought him a larger class of adherents. His physical strength, agility and endurance were remarkable, and he was not averse to testing them, whence it happened that many stood in awe of his physical powers who were not greatly moved at his spiritual excellence. Students engaged in barring their associates out or in — blocking hall or chapel door by forming a wedge, were shy about resisting the weight of his hand or the momentum of his push. Nocturnal depredators were not fond of attracting his notice. To be aware of his presence at any spot where anything unjustifiable was going on was enough to sober if not to stay the stoutest hearted actor. His low knock at the door of a room where there was a sound of revelry was a signal for unconditional surrender. Many stories were told about encounters with him — some real probably and some imaginary. It was said that on the way to a preaching exercise at Pownal, as he walked according to his custom, he came upon a couple of pugilists somewhat heated by drink, who were about to settle their differences by personal combat. As a messenger of the Prince of Peace, he interposed to prevent the strife at the risk of drawing upon himself the vengeance of both the contending parties, and was actually upon the point of being struck by one of them, when he gave the man a *look* and said in his deliberate way "You'd better not strike *me*, Sir. If you do, you won't strike another man in some time." The assailant quailed before the look and the tone, and concluded to defer his fight for a season. One night when there was a disturbance about College and the watch were out, a very muscular person chanced to be stooping for some purpose — to pick up a fireball perhaps — when he felt a heavy hand laid on him from behind. By a sudden effort he wrenched himself free and fled, but found that he had left as a trophy in the grip of his adversary a handful of stout cloth. This person always believed that the man who tore his trousers for him that night was Professor Hopkins. My acquaintance with the Professor began in the Junior class room. Thoroughness was his motto there. Hurried and confused utterances were discouraged. Deliberate clear and precise statements were required. All things were made ready before permission was given to move. Then every one was expected to go in his own

strength — at least he received no help from the teacher. There were no catch-words to pull one's self along by, nor was there any changing the terms of a question to indicate the answer. Every one in general was suffered to "gang his own gait" but a brilliant dash was sometimes suspected of hiding a defect and the ground had to be marched over more slowly, the lame were allowed to stumble and the slipshod to scuffle along as they might, but when they came to a stop they found all their labor vain for *the next* was invariably asked to *state that.* He never to my recollection indulged in jocose remarks while hearing a recitation or encouraged undue familiarity on the part of the students. He gave his attention strictly to the business in hand, and expected them to do likewise. He once refused to hear our debate and broke up the session because the subject chosen, viz., the expediency of bringing water to the College from a neighboring spring, as he alleged, was frivolous. Of course his presence insured order. It would have seemed an impertinence if not a species of sacrilege to have attempted any disturbance. Another place where many of the students became acquainted with Professor Hopkins was the daily noon prayer meeting which he almost always attended and conducted. He established this meeting and it continued to be held as long as he lived. There can be no doubt that it was a great blessing to the College. It furnished a sort of spiritual Exchange where Christians from the different classes met each other and exchanged views upon religious experience and religious work, mingled their prayers and praises, and girded themselves for their common conflict. It was a place, too, where any impenitent person who was beginning to be anxious about his salvation might come or be brought by a friend, and be welcomed and guided and helped on his way to Christ. It was a training place and recruiting station as well for the band of Christians in College. It was the true prayer-gauge also. It showed — as the mercury the pressure of the air — the intensity of religious fervor in the College. It was a precious season to many who are now engaged in a purer and loftier service on high, and to many who still tarry here. The Exercises invariably began by each attendant repeating in his turn a verse of Scripture, the Professor correcting all errors in quotation. His remarkable familiarity with the Scriptures was the result of daily reading and study helped by a naturally retentive memory. I imagine he rarely needed to consult a concordance to discover where a particular passage was to be found. The solemnity of his manner at these meetings, especially when there was unusual interest and the room was filled, and the fervor of his prayers and addresses and singing were very marked and impressive. A green spot in the latter part of my college life is the Thursday evening meeting held in Professor Hopkins' study and attended by a circle of choice spirits from the town, and by some of the students in the College. The walls of the study were covered with cases of minerals and with bookshelves, and in front of these were ranged sofas, benches, and chairs which were occupied generally by perhaps twenty-five or thirty persons. Sometimes we were crowded out of the study into the Conservatory, where we had a glimpse of Mrs. Hopkins sitting secluded in the back parlor but with the door ajar so that she could hear what was said in the study. The Professor was expounding the Psalms with a delightful freedom, and unction and power and beauty. The meeting was conducted mostly by him — some other generally offering a prayer and occasionally brief remarks. The throng became so great that it was thought best to adjourn to the schoolhouse, but the meeting was spoiled by the change and had to be brought back soon.

Probably the estimate generally set upon Professor Hopkins' power as a preacher is not high enough. His efforts were very unequal. He had a poet's soul, and when the inspiration came he rose to the loftiest heights of oratory, while at other times he remained stationary. He never sank to a low level, however. His pulpit efforts were never commonplace, though when chilled by untoward circumstances his manner was constrained and his tones low and spiritless. But when in good bodily health he stood before a company of appreciative and sympathizing friends, especially when there was fresh religious feeling and signs betokening a coming revival for which he always watched and waited, when the clouds began to gather and draw nigh and stand overhead, big with mercy and only needing to be pierced to discharge their treasures and pour out a blessing greater than could be received, then he rose in the pulpit as from a throne of power, and with nerves unfluttered, rather steadied by excitement, with rare command of picturesque speech and with the highest display of dramatic force in look, tone, and gesture, he enforced the lessons and raised the spirit of the hour. We shall never again hear such sermons as he preached upon the "Beginning of the End," "The Barren Fig Tree," and "The Conversion of Zaccheus." He labored much in private for the spiritual welfare of individuals. I remember his entering my room one summer evening as I sat alone in the late twilight, and having taken a seat, remaining silent for a few minutes as if lost in thought, then looking up pleasantly and saying, "Well, aren't you about ready to go with us?" Without waiting for an answer, he struck up some familiar and appropriate hymn, — I believe it was "We're Marching to Immanuel's Land," — sang one verse, and disappeared quickly with a pleasant "good night." He often gave a religious turn to ordinary conversation. Once when the year had opened with a revival and there had been many conversions in the College, some students who had been taking a walk met him and informed him that they had heard the notes of a blue-bird. "Yes," said he, "the time of the singing of birds is come and," with a significant smile, "the voice of the turtle is heard in the land." A marked feature in Professor Hopkins' character was his love of nature, the delight he had in some fine scenery, and the interest he took in individual objects of the outer world, as birds, flowers, trees, and rocks. He was proficient to a considerable degree in nearly all the branches of natural history. He was the presiding genius of the Natural History Society of the College, whose career has been long and honorable. He was well acquainted with the local Fauna and Flora, the habits and habitat of its individual members. He knew in what sunny nook the earliest blooms of the arbutus were scenting the air. Every June he visited the secluded dale where the woods were gay with the curious clustered cups of the broad-leaved Kalmia. Once, when in taking a short route to the Cascade we had reached the centre of a large and barren field, he stopped before an inconspicuous shrub and asked if I knew what Species it was. I was about to take hold of it when he exclaimed, "Don't touch it. It is the Rhustoxicodendra, the most poisonous of plants." He was the best and most genial guide to the many places of interest about the College. In fact they had become places of interest largely from the interest which we had taken in them. The numerous summits and cascades and glens had their names and fame mainly from him. The Alpine Club of Williamstown and Tent Life upon Graylock were originated by him. and he rarely appeared to better advantage than when he met the little company of his followers to open

a geode or crack the nuts, literary or artistic, gathered in their rambles. Any one who accompanied him for half a day over East mountain and through the White Oaks, and kept by his side as he strode over the open, darted in and out of thickets, climbed over ridges, and plunged down precipices, with all his senses of exquisite fineness on the alert, observing everything, but pausing only to notice something special, — a remarkable tree, or rock, or flower, — or to gain a view of the valley from some spot of vantage, visiting the nether and upper springs, the cliffs Bozes and Seneh, the lake Ulacca, and other places to which his playful fancy had assigned names, stopping to council with poor people about things temporal and spiritual, and finally reaching and examining the Chapel with its neighboring missionary plot, and apple trees for the wayfaring man, and its own grounds set with grapes and roses and Japanese lilies, and having its miniature water works, any one, I say, who ever had this experience found himself by turns amused, interested, fascinated, and at the close profoundly tired. In the line of his special studies, Professor Hopkins was particularly fond of Astronomy. The grandeur and the mysteries of the stellar worlds appealed strongly to his imagination, and he loved to lie and watch through the telescope the appearances of the moon and the planets — the fixed stars and nebulæ and comets. He often kept late hours in his Observatory. One night when I happened to be with him, he made an interesting terrestrial discovery through the telescope. It was at the close of a series of Indian summer days such as we usually have in the latter part of October — about ten o'clock in the evening that he turned his instrument towards the full moon and was surprised to see flocks of small birds drifting across the object glass, birds which he quickly recognized as flying steadily and in countless numbers toward the south. A closer inspection showed the species to be the common American Robin. They were passing through one stage of their annual migration, and they chose to do it by night. The fields had been alive with them during the day. In the morning they had all disappeared, and within twenty-four hours the ground was white with the first snow of the season. The last time I saw Professor Hopkins while he was able to be out of doors was a beautiful summer evening when the azure sky was studded most thickly with its diamonds. He gazed for a long time and with great enthusiasm, first with the naked eye, and then with his glass, remarking at the same time on the number of the stars then visible in the milky way. Not very long after, the blind disease which was gently working in him, gained the mastery, and he was parted from his weeping friends and translated to a fairer world above the stars, where he may feast his soul on the transcendent glories of the heavenly state. Sad, indeed, should we be, did we not believe that the ties which are broken here, will be reunited there — that the pleasant intercourse with our friend will be resumed again when the night is gone.

Alongside of Professor Hopkins, and closely associated with him, there labored for many years, as professors, and, in a very subordinate sense, as successive librarians also, two graduates of the College who must now be characterized, both individually, and, too, in connection with each other and their work. These were Nathaniel Griffin and John Tatlock. Griffin was graduated in 1834, and Tatlock in 1836. Both were associated in College in the Kappa Alpha

Society, then just established, and the first of its kind on this ground. Both were good scholars in College, as scholarship was then reckoned, and Tatlock was the valedictorian of his class. Each married in due time into a leading family in Williamstown, Griffin into that of the Buckleys, and Tatlock into that of the Whitmans. Both were called to a tutorship at the same time, 1836, the year in which Mark Hopkins was called to the presidency, and Griffin served one year and Tatlock two years in that capacity. Griffin studied theology in Princeton, had a brief Presbyterian pastorate in Delhi, New York, returned to the College, and passed a year supplying the place of Professor Tatlock in his absence and that of Professor Kellogg in his illness, and then established himself in Brooklyn as a teacher for some years. He was born and bred and fitted for college on Long Island. He entered at sixteen, in 1830.

John Tatlock was just six years older than Griffin, and eight years older at his graduation. He was born on the Island of Anglesey, North Wales. His parents removed to Liverpool, and seem to have come into some sort of relations with Sir John Gladstone, himself also a Welshman in part, though born in Leith. Sir John won wealth and eminence in Liverpool as a wholesale wine and spirit merchant. William Ewart Gladstone, born in Liverpool, was just a year younger than John Tatlock. In September, 1822, at fourteen years of age, young Tatlock entered the office of Sir John Gladstone as a clerk, and remained with him for eight years, when he left Liverpool for the United States, landing at Philadelphia. After some mutations, he found himself in Hunter, New York, where he came under the influence of Rev. Calvin Durfee, of the college class of 1825, who helped him to prepare for college, and persuaded him to come to Williams. On the Commencement schedule of 1836, his residence is put down as "Liverpool, England." According to the custom of the time he taught both languages and mathematics as the Freshman tutor, and the same the next year to the Sophomores; and in 1838 was elected Professor of Mathematics. Seven years later he was transferred for a single year to the chair of languages, then vacated by Professor Kellogg. In this he made no impression, except a confused and sinister one. It is somewhat characteristic of the man's mind as a teacher, that he undertook to learn by heart each day's lesson in Livy, to carry no text into his recitation, and in that way to teach students who were as a rule extremely ill-prepared for college in the classics, their complex and difficult constructions and translations. It was a dead failure of necessity; and

so he went back to mathematics again, and kept his place till 1867, — twenty-one years.

Griffin in the meantime had been elected, in 1846, in the succession to Professor Kellogg, who died that year, to the chair of Latin and Greek, which he held till 1853, when he was given the Greek alone, and the Latin passed over into a new department, which was first held by Isaac N. Lincoln, of the class of 1847, for nine years, until his death in 1862. As a memorial of Professor Kellogg, a small but substantial brick building of three stories was erected in the West College garden in 1847, and named "Kellogg Hall." The first floor was occupied by two commodious recitation-rooms, then called the "Freshman" and "Sophomore" recitation-rooms. Unless there was disorder of some sort in one of these rooms, the two were so far separated from each other that the proceedings in one were not noticed in the other; but any such matter as the egress from either of a whole class at once could not but be a great disturbance in the other. At this point Professor Griffin, who often occupied one of these rooms while Professor Tatlock was nominally occupying the other, was placed at a great disadvantage; for Tatlock, having come to possess great facility in the elements of mathematics, such as geometry and conic sections, and naturally losing interest in them from not carrying forward further researches in them, rarely giving any oral instruction to his classes, but merely calling up a few to recite the propositions and another few to demonstrate these at the blackboard, gradually came to have very short recitations, lasting usually from fifteen minutes to half an hour, and then his class, on being dismissed, plunged out of the room in a body and noisily to the great detriment of the work going on to its full hour's limit in the adjoining room. More than this, — as Tatlock grew older and lazier, relishing the *quasi* popularity that came from short and easy recitations (especially if they went off without a break in their flow), perhaps insensibly to himself, came to call up the good mathematical scholars only, while the lamer ducks could paddle through an entire term without being once halted. It was the testimony of at least one[1] good mathematician in the class of 1852, that he did not remember and did not believe he was ever in one of Professor Tatlock's recitations in the whole course when he was not called up to recite.

Professor Griffin was a competent and conscientious teacher. He needed and desired a full hour each day in order to test the members of his class without discrimination as to their previous skill,

[1] Henry M. Hazeltine.

and to give such instruction to all as he supposed was fitting and desirable. His department was not popular; he had grave faults as a teacher, and still graver difficulties to contend with in the miserably inadequate fitting of the bulk of his students in their classics. To such a man, wishing to do his best with such students, it was no light additional burden to carry to have his class made restive and impatient by the bursting out of a neighboring class from their already completed task, some of them, perchance, peering through a window in mockery upon those still kept in durance vile. Griffin worried along, doing the best he could, all the time useful to the College in various capacities, not supported as such a man ought to have been by his colleagues, including the executive head of the College. In every class he encountered at least two or three of the students who were fond of the classics and willing to be instructed, to whom he always gave quick recognition, and all the help fairly at his disposal. His chief fault as a teacher was that he did not keep to a progressive proportion in his questions and instructions. He would examine a Freshman for admission in much the same style as a Junior on a passage in Demosthenes. Closely connected with this fault, even if it were not a part or a cause of it, was his failure to keep himself fresh and growing in all the ever-new events connected with his department. It is essential to the sustained success of a college professor that he read and study much in order that he may teach a little. Griffin was useful and efficient as the secretary of the Society of Alumni. He was for twenty years, till his death in 1876, the active and intelligent college librarian. He was an earnest patriot. "*We must back up the Government at all hazards!*" he cried, at the news of the second battle of Bull Run, in the last of August, 1862. "*It is time for the Government to back us up!*" instantly responded one of his colleagues. In less than a month both things followed, — a newly recruited army, and Lincoln's preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, dated September 22.

The writer saw Professor Griffin on his death-bed. No wavering of his life-long faith in Jesus Christ, but an honest and earnest expression of ignorance of what the future is to be. Whittier's stanza expresses exactly the spirit of that conversation: —

> I know not where His islands lift
> Their fronded palms in air;
> I only know I cannot drift
> Beyond His love and care.

No words should be spoken or written in extenuation of the short times and partial nature and wrongful neglects of Professor Tat-

lock's recitations. He slighted and shirked his proper and needful work. He came to keep few or no records of the absences or of the standing of the members of his classes. He often casually threw upon others more conscientious the duties that were peculiarly his own. Whatever was easiest in relation to all college matters seemed to him to be best. He gradually and naturally lost the respect and control of his classes, and wore out the forbearance (much too long extended) of the president and his other colleagues. College became more or less demoralized throughout by his own remissnesses and occasional absences. Things came to a preliminary crisis in 1860, which was a critical year in the history of the College, when the trustees came together to inquire into abuses and negligences (not his alone by any means) that had become noised abroad, and when, in consequence, discipline was superficially and temporarily tightened up. Tatlock, however, did not resign till 1867.

Let no reader infer from all this that a man who was out of his place as a college professor did not have some excellent traits of character, and a practical benevolence perhaps unusual. He educated at the College, mainly at his own expense, three of his nephews born in the old country, — William, John, and Henry Tatlock, who were graduated respectively in 1857 and 1856 and 1871. William, the eldest, born in Liverpool in 1833, became prominently useful as a rector and otherwise in the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States; he was secretary to the Bench of Bishops for about a quarter of a century, nearly until his death in Stamford, Connecticut, where he was a rector after May, 1866. John, born in 1835, was and remained a distinguished minister in the Presbyterian Church. He, too, like his uncle, married into the Whitman family of Williamstown. His son John, Williams College 1882, became a skilled and trusted accountant in the office of the "New York Mutual Life Insurance Company."

Professor Tatlock had a homely wit, and often made a quick and telling retort. For a perfect recitation, the students were always supposed to be marked 10, or, expressed colloquially, "to rake an X." When the news of General Pope's capture of the rebel "Island No. 10" in 1862, reached the College, some students rushed to him with the announcement, — "*Hm! hm! he raked an X, didn't he?*" This was quite as good, though not so severely classical, as Lawyer Evarts's expression on the same exploit, which was achieved by sawing off the trunks of trees four feet under water for access for the gunboats to the island, — "*A new Cæsar! He came,* SAWED, *conquered!*"

Throughout a part of his teaching career, Professor Tatlock preached occasionally both in town and in the neighboring towns; and while his sermons were never labored or original, they were often sensible, and sometimes piquant and impressive. They were more apt to tell upon young men in common and artisan life than upon any other class of persons. Instances are known to the writer of great and permanent good coming to such from his preaching. But he repeated himself in the pulpit to the weariness of any stated hearers. His sermons lacked depth and solemnity. They were always short, like his recitations; they were often iterated, both in parts and as wholes; and they soon ceased to be called for in any one particular place. In College, they never became common. We have no call to follow the professor in his after life as a lawyer. Following one year's study he was admitted to the bar and opened an office in Lenox. He was sixty years old. He soon moved his office to Pittsfield. He never gained a foothold in the county as a lawyer. Of course he could not. His character deteriorated sadly under his inevitable disappointments. He died in 1886, and was buried in the college cemetery. What are the lessons of this man's life and failures? (1) Waste not through indolence or other neglect the given golden opportunity. (2) Inflexible and invariable duty to others the only key to life-success.

The celebration of the semi-centennial of the College, in 1843, and the publication of the striking address of Mark Hopkins upon that occasion, extended very much the reputation of the institution and of its president, who was then forty-one years old and had been seven years in his place. Neither had yet become widely known. The average number of graduates for the nine years up to and including 1843, was twenty-eight; while the average for the nine years following was forty-two. This steady increase in a college remote from the centres of population, and itself difficult of access, can only be accounted for by some general cause; and that cause was unquestionably a good name, extending out on longer *radii* of influence. Nor were increased numbers the only indication of this. Even a surer proof of it was the public attention then and thereafter centred upon Mark Hopkins, and the invitations addressed to him to perform public services or fill public positions elsewhere than in Williamstown. The earliest one of these noticeable invitations was that to deliver a course of lectures on the then newly laid foundation of the Lowell Institute in Boston. John Lowell had bequeathed, in 1836, to his native city about two hundred and fifty thousand dollars to maintain there in perpetuity annual courses of free lec-

tures on natural and revealed religion, the sciences, literature, and eloquence. The lectures went into operation in the winter of 1839–40. Dr. Hopkins was chosen to lecture upon this foundation in the winter of 1843–44. He chose for his theme "The Evidences of Christianity." He was doubtless led to this choice by his interest in and through study of Paley and Butler, who had been the chief text-book authors in Senior studies from the beginning of the College, and over some of whose points, especially Paley's, he had combated, as a student, with Dr. Griffin as his teacher, and both of whom he had now been critically teaching to Seniors for several years. Paley's "Moral Philosophy" was published in 1785, his "Horæ Paulinæ" in 1790, his "Evidences of Christianity" in 1794, and his "Natural Theology" in 1802. The first and last of these were college text-books, and they quickened Hopkins's mind, first and last, more than any other text-books he ever used, except it may have been Butler's "Analogy." It is altogether likely that he had access in the college library to the other two books of Paley just mentioned; but the "Horæ Paulinæ," which was the broadest and most original of the four, was not adapted to the structure of the president's mind; and while he quotes from it once in his own lectures, there is no evidence that an historical argument based upon the undesigned coincidences between the Epistles of St. Paul and the statements of the four Evangelists ever deeply affected his mind, or colored his own lectures.

In his later life, to the writer particularly, for reasons which will appear in a moment, and to others also, Hopkins communicated freely and repeatedly the circumstances of this appointment and of its fulfilment, which pleased him greatly at the time, and ever after in the retrospect. The interval of time between appointment and fulfilment was about a year; nearly all of this time was preoccupied by pressing duties, both teaching and executive; he postponed as much in the way of preparation as he could until the summer vacation, when he would give all the days long to the writing of his twelve lectures; when the time came, he devoted himself assiduously and exclusively to this writing; "*when the vacation was about two-thirds gone, and I had put in my utmost strength, suddenly one morning while writing, and as quick as a flash, I heard something snap in my head, and I found I could not write at all. I do not know what it was — never experienced anything like it before or since, and never heard of anybody who had anything like it, but I could not write a word. I flung up everything, kept out of doors most of the time for a week or more, walked and drove and climbed, and then I found I could*

write again, but not at the previous pace, which I have never since resumed." This is his own account of the matter orally and often given.

While he was thus hastily writing these lectures, he never had a thought of their being printed. They were written for a popular audience and for popular effect. They were well adapted to both. Lowell lectures were then new in Boston. They were popular. They became the talk of the town. They were resorted to even from considerable distances by families in their carriages. The Unitarian controversy in Boston had somewhat subsided from its previous virulence. The Lowell lectures, though founded and largely supported by Unitarian families, were acceptable to and frequented by the Orthodox also. This was particularly true of the Hopkins course on the "Evidences of Christianity." There was nothing whatever sectarian in the theme or in the treatment of it. The lectures formed a common ground of meeting and fellowship for all the sects. The man was the man for the time and place and subject. This proved to be very fortunate for him and for the College. It was at this time and in this way that his lasting relations were knit with Amos Lawrence, who became thereby a munificent patron of the College. The Unitarians of Massachusetts as a body, by this initial course of lectures and by three subsequent courses upon the same foundation, were more or less drawn toward the College, and became more or less patrons of it in the way of sending students. The ability and breadth of the president as manifested in these four courses of Lowell lectures, and in another course of lectures later delivered before several of the theological seminaries, and especially the masterly baccalaureate sermons, both as individually printed and as collectively published under different titles, persuasively disarmed all sectarian feeling, and gradually brought to the support of the College members of all Protestant denominations, and many Catholic students also. The debt of the institution to its fourth president along this line of forceful Christian attraction was and remained very great indeed. This personal attractiveness of the man and his manner, and more specifically the attractiveness of his public presentations of moral and religious truth, did not depend very much upon the accuracy (or want of it) of his citations of fact, whether for argument or illustration; nor did it depend very much on the width of his reading (or want of it); and still less did it depend very much on whether his main points were what is called "original" or borrowed. It *did* depend very much on a broad-minded and warm-hearted and thoroughly honest

attitude as toward his topic, combined with an ever-hospitable aspect toward all cognate truth known to him, by whomsoever stated, and also with an always luminous and often beautiful style of language.

J. R. Marvin, a printer of Boston, though in no sense a publisher, finding the echoes of these lectures pretty clear and strong for some time after their delivery, requested leave to print them at his own risk, which was granted. They were issued in good form, but not with so good a promise of circulation as if they had been in the hands of a regular publisher. Dr. Hopkins took occasion long afterward to express his regrets to the present writer that he had not put his book into one of the regular channels of communication with the public, and that he himself had not divined before, and while writing it, that it would probably be printed, and so come under the eyes, in every part, of careful and critical readers. He was compelled to pay the inevitable penalty of his haste in composition, and of his want of foresight and diligence in comparing his quotations with their originals and his statements of fact with authorities of ready reference. The book had some sale from the first. The circumstance, however, that gave to it subsequently its main success deserves to be recounted in these pages at length.

Joseph Alden, a name fast interlinked with the history of Williamstown and Williams College, although not in the deepest or highest or longest relations, was ordained pastor of the church in town in 1834, at the age of twenty-seven. He had spent two years at Brown University, and then two more at Union College, where he was graduated in 1828. He then spent two years at the theological seminary in Princeton, and then was a tutor in Nassau Hall for two years more. In his brief pastorate in town his health apparently gave way, and he was chosen, in 1835, Professor of Rhetoric, Political Economy, and History. He had seen much more of the colleges and of the intellectual life of the country than either of the Hopkins brothers, then both professors here, and he was of just the same age as Albert, and but five years the junior of Mark. He was a young man of fine personal presence, tall and handsome, of a good voice and superior elocution, though lacking in the clear and courageous and dominating eye of each of his two compeers. He had just married into the very prominent Livingston family, descendants of the emigrant Robert, of a noble Scottish family, who obtained, in 1686, the patent of Livingston Manor on the North River. Mrs. Alden was the daughter of Rev. Dr. Livingston of Philadelphia, whose widow spent much time in Williams-

town in her daughter's family. Had Joseph Alden, in connection with all these external advantages, been possessed of a real love of college teaching and management, the power of gaining and holding the confidence of his classes as their friend and instructor, and been persistent and patient in all his relations with others, there is no telling what a social and academical pillar he might have become. As it was, he stayed seventeen years as a professor without ever becoming locally rooted. He helped and stimulated individual students a good deal, both rhetorically and politically, without ever receiving the majority of the suffrages in a single class. The members of his family were highly esteemed in the town and in the College. He built a handsome house for them, and lived in better style than other members of the faculty. But he was not contented in his work. He complained of living under the *densissima umbra* of Mark Hopkins's growing reputation, when he might apparently have made no small shade of his own. He resigned in 1852, under circumstances which will be later referred to again, becoming at once Professor of Moral Philosophy in Lafayette College, and in 1857 president of Jefferson College, and in 1867 president of the State Normal College at Albany.

Shortly after the appearance in print of Hopkins's "Evidences of Christianity," Professor Alden volunteered to introduce the book into his own department, as a text-book for study and recitation; and did so, continuing to teach it in a rather cursory way so long as he stayed. By this casual stroke he left his own mark on the College in a longer and deeper form than in any other; for when Professor Perry succeeded, in 1853, to Alden's professorship, this study, by the president's express order, went over to him, along with the history and political economy. A separate disposition was made of Alden's rhetoric by the appointment of Addison Ballard, of the class of 1842, as brief professor of that branch, and then of John Bascom, of 1849, as a permanent professor. As a student, Perry had studied the "Evidences" under Professor Alden, and had become much interested in them; as he had also gained more than the other members of his class from all other of that professor's studies. Accordingly, when he became charged with the instruction out of that book to successive Junior classes, he devoted himself anew to that study, resolving that nothing in it should escape him; and that he would communicate to his class everything pertinent that he himself might acquire. He began by preparing his own lessons in such a way that he had no need to carry into his recitation-room a text-book at all. He did not memorize the paragraphs, but

he mastered them thoroughly, so that he could explain the allusions and enforce the arguments and apply the illustrations. His own interest and zeal gradually communicated themselves to the members of the successive classes, so that it was said, and the president certainly believed it, that there was no study in college that, speaking generally, drew out the attention and the powers and the continuous efforts of the students as this did. The president often attended the oral examinations at the close of the study, and always expressed himself as more than satisfied and more than gratified with the results thus exhibited. In other words, the book, when given ample time and thorough discussion in the class-room, proved itself, under all the circumstances, to be an excellent text-book. The president more than once expressed his surprise as well as gratification that it had proven so.

At the same time, and in harmony with the result, the book proved itself also, under such continuous handling, to be imperfect and defective in places. All books are imperfect and defective; while a book written under such circumstances as that was, and by such a man as he was, necessarily showed weak spots, and many of them. It needs to be said in this connection, that Perry, however deficient his college education had been in other important directions, had given himself, wholly outside of the curriculum, a thorough course, lasting over a year in all, in Mill's "Logic," which had then newly appeared. Said Dr. Hopkins to him many years afterward, "I picked you out for a professor in your Junior year in that first public debate between the societies." This self-imposed and solitary and long-continued training in a subject, then and still too much neglected in the College, had given him a keen scent for logical fallacies of all kinds, and also a keener delight in all kinds of logical proofs. In the first and preparatory lecture in the "Evidences," there fell an attempted refutation of Hume's argument against miracles, and what purported to be verbal extracts from Hume's essay upon that subject. Almost from the first of his teaching the book, Perry did not like the form of the refutation, nor did he see the germaneness of its alleged accessories. He went to the college library to draw a copy of Hume's "Essays." To his surprise, he found there was no copy there, and never had been. After delays of a year or two, for in those days such books had to be imported to order, and were not kept in stock by the city booksellers, the library procured a set of Hume's "Essays," and the "Essay on Miracles" was eagerly perused by the professor who had wanted it. He found that the refutation was not relevant to Hume's argument; and what

surprised him more, there were no such sentences in the essay as seemed to be verbally quoted in the lecture. There was a reference in the latter to a note in the essay, and an ostensible summing up of the contents of the note; but no such note was found in the essay itself or in any connection with it.

Of course these points were kindly and fully communicated to the president by the professor at a proper time, and were considerately and kindly received. The two men then went over the points together; and the president pleaded carelessness on his own part in copying or condensing from the arguments of others against Hume. "*I never read Hume's argument,*" said he. He was more or less disturbed by all this, but not distressed as most authors would have been under such circumstances. As soon as he could fairly bring it about through his printer, which was not indeed very soon, the whole passage was remodelled and put into a more defensible shape. When he had undertaken his original task, he divided the "Evidences" into external and internal. Naturally the external, or historical, part should be treated first; and so indeed he had begun, as he told Professor Perry more than once; but he had no interest in and no special qualification for writing upon that branch of the general subject, which was ultimately put over into the four final lectures of the twelve; which were introduced by the remark that nothing new was left to him, either as to the matter or manner of presentation. In this final third of his lectures he had merely copied or summarized from the books of other authors upon the historical evidences. It is to be presumed that his chief source was Paley's "Evidences." He took no real interest in this part of his task. History he had never conned, and did not care for. Eight lectures to four was the proportion he gave to the internal evidences, in which his own personal interest and preparation lay. Fortunately the bent and training of Perry led him in the opposite direction. What was of dead weight to the president in the preparation of these lectures was a live concern to the professor in the teaching of them. He gradually schooled himself in the authorities quoted, in the comparisons and contrasts instituted or implied; and so was able in general to keep up the enthusiasm of successive classes perhaps to the plane of their interest in the earlier and better lectures. There were, of course, a good many mistakes in the last four lectures; but they were of such a character as could be easily smoothed over and swallowed up in a new and fresher presentation of the argument. For seventeen years consecutively Professor Perry taught the "Evidences" in this general fashion, when the claims of

his own more special studies, history and political economy, led to another arrangement.

Moreover, all the emphasis is to be put on Lectures II.–VIII., if one seeks to investigate the normal action of the author's mind in the day of his prime, or would find the clew to determine the oft-mooted question whether Paley or Butler (almost his sole teachers) exerted the more penetrative and permanent influence upon his mind. In these seven lectures on the Evidences of Christianity, the master-working of both these great leaders of English thought is clearly enough discernible, and it is rather a matter of curiosity than of any practical consequence which of two cognate influences predominates. Hopkins had an original mind of his own, which acted in its own way, which it is interesting to watch and wait upon, and which, while it rarely or never strikes out a wholly new path for itself, indicates its own greatness by receiving only the really great impulses from without. In these lectures Hopkins borrows bodily from Butler much more than he takes in the same way from Paley. In the third and fifth lectures, for example, there is little else than adoptions and adaptations from the "Analogy," whose author he declares in another connection "the highest English authority in morals." In the three lectures following the fifth, there are several main points unquestionably suggested by his complete familiarity with Butler's "Analogy." Nevertheless, it is the writer's firm conviction, that, were all the teaching and preaching and all the books of the president subjected to a fair analysis under the present point of view, it would abundantly appear that William Paley, rather than Joseph Butler, guided the trend of these lifelong investigations and expositions in mental and moral science. In Hopkins, as well as in Paley, the ethical elements by much outweigh the metaphysical, and the two, as developed in each, lie along paths noticeably similar, although not identical in direction.

In his "Historical Interpretation of Philosophy," page 268, Bascom has this illuminating sentence: —

> The completeness with which the English mind was subjected to the ethics of Happiness is seen in the "Moral Philosophy" of William Paley, a dignitary of the church, and remarkable as a writer for his clear, terse statement, and the firmness of his hold on the nearest and most conclusive arguments. He does not hesitate to bring forward, as the last and most inclusive motives to obedience to the Moral Law, — itself resting on the will of God, — the pleasures and pains of another life.

The same comprehensive author, in the volume just quoted from, page 320, has this also further to say pertinent to the other passage:

Most of the expositions of Ethics in this country, arising in connection with the timid claims and half-way concessions of Scottish philosophy, have been of an unequal, incongruous order. They have sought to reconcile experience and insight as sources of authority. The theory of Dr. Hopkins, that Blessedness is the ultimate ground of duty, is a favorable example. A distinction is made in pleasures, which, after all, cannot be sustained without a prior recognition of moral vision. Few have been able to find, in the manifold teachings of experience, simply the indispensable conditions under which the inner life is called out.

The widespread popularity, in the best sense of that much-abused word, that came to Dr. Hopkins in connection with the delivery and publication of his lectures of the Evidences, rather suddenly in point of time and almost without stint in point of measure, coming as it did outside the lines of that distinctive Christian sect of the country with which he was connected, coming particularly from Unitarians and Episcopalians and Presbyterians and Methodists, while it was deserved and did him good in some ways, and the College a great good, it must also be said that the popularity and its accessories, namely, a flood of invitations coming in on all sides for years to take permanent positions in city churches and in theological seminaries and in newly organized universities, — for most of which positions he was wholly unfitted, — did him an immediate and lasting harm. He was by nature unusually susceptible to flattery. That appetite, beyond all others, grows by what it feeds on. Public recognition was grateful to him and wholesome to him, as it is to all men; but in his case, certainly, there came in connection with this from various sources something quite different in its nature from recognition, namely, the subtle suggestion of the wizard, of something marvellous in power and stroke. To some of those who knew the facts about the brevity of the time in which the Evidences were prepared, it was a strong temptation to suggest or imply to him: No other man could have done that thing, and with such results! No matter in what form it came, his manifested pleasure at all such insinuations but drew the speaker on to say more, with even a heartier reception. It was not by any means those alone who had private ends to gain, though these were present in increasing numbers as the years went on, but more especially it was those who love to confer pleasure for its own sake, and who only erred in not being scrupulous enough to keep within the exact truth while they were conferring a happiness which cost them little and which seemed to go a good way. In most cases innocently enough, but in others for the sake of warding off from themselves

or from their clique deserved censure or college discipline, certain students in almost every class caught on to this trick of flattering the president; in both classes of cases alike ill effects followed sooner or later to both parties, and for obvious reasons. The president was the chief sufferer in the end. Insensibly to himself he came to regard the sweet-smelling offering as his due, and when it was withholden, he deemed himself wronged; what was worse in the result, some such stimulus came at length to be a need of his life, and a future page may record one or two instances of such painful deprivation and reaction.

Seventeen years after his first experience with Lowell lectures, namely, in 1861, Hopkins was invited to deliver a second course upon the same noble foundation. His topic this time was "Moral Science." The lectures were originally written in 1830, when he became professor of Moral Philosophy and Rhetoric. They were thoroughly revised and enlarged at intervals during the three years preceding their delivery, although it does not seem that their fundamental principle was changed. According to Paley, the last and most inclusive motive to obedience to the moral law is Happiness; according to Hopkins, the ground of moral obligation is Blessedness. When he came to publish these lectures in 1863, he referred to a change of view on his own part, addressing his former pupils in the Introduction, as follows: —

> When these lectures were first written, the text-book here and generally in our colleges was Paley; not agreeing with him, and failing to carry out fully the doctrine of ends, I adopted that of an ultimate right, as taught by Kant and Coleridge, making that the end. If, therefore, any of you still hold that view, as doubtless many do, it is not for me to say that you have not good authority for it, or to complain if you object to that now taken.

"That now taken" appears to some of the best authorities to be a decided going back to Paleyism; and if it be such, it is of some interest in relation to our recent contention that Paley was, after all, the master-spring of Hopkins's mind throughout. In searching for the ultimate ground of the Ought, it seems, even to laymen, in these controversies, that simplicity at least must crown the finding. But Dr. Hopkins's ultimate is not simply composite, but a ganglion of powers and functions. Possibly his early training as an anatomist may have insensibly favored the conception he repeatedly unfolds. He says: "The whole moral nature consists of those powers whose activity gives the moral quality, and also of those which judge of the moral quality, and are affected by it, and it would conduce to

perspicuity if the term 'conscience' could be confined to the latter." The newspaper controversy carried on between Presidents McCosh of Princeton and Hopkins of Williamstown turned almost wholly on this point of the ultimate ground of Right. In McCosh's review of the "Law of Love and Love as a Law," he introduces his criticism by the remark that the "reading of Dr. Hopkins, like that of Edwards, seems confined, and confined to rather commonplace works"; to which Hopkins rejoins with dignity: "While I acknowledge fully the want of reading referred to by Dr. McCosh, and regret it, I may be permitted to say that on this subject he has presented no point that I had not seen, and has raised no objection that I had not considered." McCosh presented his own, the intuitive, view of what is ultimate in Morals, which is the view Hopkins had discarded, and the view now taken by the leading thinkers of the world, in these words: —

> Why ought I to love my fellow-men? Why ought I to love God and to love Him more than I love even my fellow-men? To *us*, whatever there may be to higher intelligence, there can be no answer but one, and that is, that I ought to do so. And if any one puts the other question, "How do I come to know this?" there is but one answer, and this is that it is self-evident. In other words, an action is right because it is right, and that is the end of it.

Dr. Hopkins was often heard playfully to remark on the contrast between the circumstances under which were delivered his first course of Lowell lectures, in 1844, and those in which came off the second course, in 1861. The fine carriages from the city and suburbs bringing in and taking away at the steps of the hall the fine ladies, old and young, in their silk gowns and handsome bonnets, probably accompanied by well-dressed husbands and brothers, to fill up the hall to the very walls, had mostly disappeared in the long interval of time. The ladies and their style were no longer prominent. Lowell lecturing was slowly coming down to hard-pan. Audiences were not the popular audiences of two decades before. Besides, the Civil War was drawing on in January, 1861. Gloom was overspreading the whole land. Before the president sailed for Europe, with certain members of his family, in the spring of that year, there were several earnest conversations in the weekly faculty meeting over the prospects of the country. Many of the States had already seceded, and blood had been shed as between the sections. There are but two persons now living who remember the vigor with which the president expressed his doubts whether the two parts of the country would ever be politically reunited. He took for

his parallel case the division of Solomon's kingdom at his death into the two kingdoms of Judah and Israel. *And they never came together again — never. There was no more reason for that division than for this — perhaps not so much. But they parted. They spilt each other's blood. They never became one kingdom again.* John Bascom took up the cudgels valiantly in behalf of a hoped-for reunion of the States. But he had no concrete historical example to aid him. When the war was all over, and the president made a speech before the students in their public jubilation, he asserted confidently that he had never felt a doubt of what the good issue would be from the beginning. There were at least two persons present who "never felt a doubt" that the good president had forgotten what had happened at the beginning.

The third course of lectures before the Lowell Institute was delivered in 1868, and the volume ensuing was entitled "The Law of Love and Love as a Law." This, like the second, was a thorough discussion of Ethics, in which, after a seven years' interval of time, while the fundamental ground of Obligation was not changed, there was perhaps a wider and riper scope given to the entire presentation, and certainly a more direct and full appeal made to Scripture confirmations of his own well-developed system.

In January, 1872, the year in which he resigned the presidency of Williams College, but retained the professorship of Intellectual and Moral Philosophy, he gave a fourth and final course on the Lowell foundation, entitling it "An Outline Study of Man." This also proved to be a popular book, perhaps as much so as his "Moral Science" had been. It was at any rate the final statement of his matured views in the nature and action of the Mind, in its relation on the one hand to the Body, and on the other to the Soul. The studies of his earlier years, and those of his middle life and ripe old age, all brought their contributions in due form to this crowning and comprehensive book. So far as books are concerned, he then ceased. But he went on to prepare a course of lectures on "The Scriptural Idea of Man," which were read first in 1875 before the Yale Theological Seminary, and some years later at Princeton and Oberlin and Chicago. He prepared also in 1876 a course to be read at Yale on "The Scriptural Idea of God." As he himself had no knowledge of the Scriptures except what he had gained in the ordinary way from the common English version, and no background whatever for their interpretation in any acquaintance with Oriental (in distinction from Occidental) history and modes of speech and conceptions of the universe, and held, too, in a bald way, the dogma

of a verbal inspiration, these last-mentioned lectures had very little significance in the eyes of scholars, who were then beginning to find in the varied books of the Bible a vastly increased significance and a greater assistance in personal living, from a view of their origin and interpretation in the natural, and hence divine, aspirations and findings and anticipations of holy men of old, who thought their thoughts and said their words in a racial and historical and traditional setting quite different from those in New England. And it should be added in this connection, that Hopkins had little sympathy with and considerable prejudice against two or three of his younger colleagues in the faculty, who were then in an earnest and devout spirit searching the Scriptures daily in the light of all outward helps accessible to them whether these things are so. This only means that the best and wisest man is for his own generation, and for very little beyond it.

Wide and sound as the reputation of Dr. Hopkins became from his lectures and books, it was on his skill and success as a college teacher and preacher that his main fame always rested. The Senior classes passing out from under his instructions for more than forty years carried with them to their homes and elsewhere, and consequently disseminated widely, a high opinion of him in these two functions, or rather in the one function as combined toward them in the class-room and college pulpit. There were some differences, of course, in the ways of his teaching as from desk or pulpit, but there were more likenesses than divergences between the two. He did everything in public in a certain large way. He was a large man in person. He was possessed of a large mind. His grasp of the points he wished to present, whether in class or in church, was usually broad and firm. He looked like a master, and he was masterful in his way of putting points in whichever place he might be. In a preliminary way, he often conceded a good deal to any party of the other part, who might seem to be present or might have a claim to be present; and in this manner and otherwise he gained a general attention; and, his hearers once well in hand, he was careful not to let them drop, never drowning his points in too many words, passing readily from one to the next, and often finishing before he was expected to finish. He did not seem to wish to take any advantage of anybody anywhere. There was a "lucid sanity" about the man, as Francis Palgrave predicates it of William Wordsworth, that gave him a moral advantage, both as teacher and preacher, of which he was well aware, which he availed himself of to the fullest, which he made a means of conveying truth to ordinary

minds without much effort, and which enabled him with a very little special preparation to preach an acceptable and often excellent sermon on any ordinary occasion. His general resources were so constant, his possession of them and of himself so calm, that he was rarely or never disconcerted or his theme belittled. He preached so much and for so many years, both in town and in college, and to these as often and for long united in one audience, that almost of necessity he came to borrow more or less from himself; but it must be said that he usually adorned the thought presented before, and polished up the old illustrations. All this of his ordinary sermons delivered to an ordinary mixed audience, and always *ex tempore*. "How long does it take you to prepare these sermons, such as you give us from Sunday to Sunday?" "Very little time indeed."

But when it came to his baccalaureate discourses, the story is quite different. These were elaborately prepared. These were always written out in full. They had a body carefully moulded in moral and religious philosophy, and a form fashioned after a severe but lofty rhetoric. Much came to be expected of them, and much was devoted to a realization of these expectations. There is a moral interacting in demand and supply, much after the pattern of the more open economical demand and supply. On baccalaureate Sundays Mark Hopkins rose to the occasion; and the occasion rose in crowded pews and galleries to the sermon. The neighboring towns sent in their quotas, and strangers came from a distance, to hear. By all odds his best writing and most eloquent speaking were therein displayed. All of these printed discussions were admirable; two surpass all the rest, namely: "*Strength and Beauty are in His Sanctuary*," and "*They shall mount up as on Eagles' Wings*." Looked at as a whole, the baccalaureates slowly climbed up to this lofty watershed, and as slowly declined from it till the end.

In partial distinction from his preaching powers and methods, description must now be briefly attempted of his ordinary manner and success in the class-room. This is the more needful in the interest of truth and candor, inasmuch as some frightful exaggerations of his skill and power became current toward the end of his life which were by no means free in their origin from that strong temptation to flatter him of which previous mention has been made. He was an easy master in his own lecture-room, not in the way of exercising authority there, not in the way of exacting requirement of any kind from his pupils, and not at all in the way of a sharp discrimination made between those who had studied their lessons and those who had not. He put them all at their ease at the out-

set. He did not call the roll, nor did he look around to note the absences of any who might not be in their places. There were no preliminaries whatever. He assumed that all came to be instructed, and for no other purpose, and that he was the instructor, and they the pupils. He knew perfectly well that there was a considerable fraction in every class whom he would not be able to benefit, because they had not reached that sufficient discipline of mind enabling them to grapple even with the elements of mental and moral science, which was his staple; nevertheless, he did not allow that fact and his knowledge to create any friction anywhere. He did not seek to eliminate from his room any such, or bring home to their consciousness in any way a sense of their inferiority. "Let them come in and get what they can. Some of them will practically get nothing, but they do no harm. Most of them will get something, and some of them will get much." So he expressed himself in substance over and over again. In a somewhat different connection he used to say in substance: "There are always from six to ten in my classes, as to whom I do not care whether they are present at my recitations or not,— that is, morally care,— of course we must see to it that there is a fair attendance." Practically, this meant with him, they can come or not as they see fit, for all I care. But to the classes themselves, coming up out of the hands of men who did care, and who made more or less friction and trouble in class and faculty meeting about attendance, and who seemed to the students less securely seated in their chairs than the president did in his, this coming under the free and easy conditions of the Senior year seemed like paradise regained. They came for the pleasure of it and for the profit of it and for the freedom of it. *Prex is great, and we are the beneficiaries.* In most cases, probably, they did not gain so much as they seemed to themselves in the course of the year to be gaining. No matter. They gained a good deal, and they were fond and proud of the president.

What was the general method employed by him when once the subject was reached? Speaking generally, and mindful of the motto that exceptions but prove the rule, he followed the drawing-out rather than the pouring-in process. He rarely referred to the etymology of words, and was seldom guided thereby in his expositions, but he did call attention to the origin of the term "education," as implying something led forth rather than something imparted. He did not appear to have any special theory of education in mind, and he did not believe that a really good teacher could be *made*, least of all by the copying of others, while his own teaching was surely

adapted to himself and to his training and to all his surroundings. As to text-books, he always used one in each and every his subjects taught, and he expected his pupils to know something about the order of the thoughts in the book; he almost invariably began his questioning by asking what the book said upon this or that topic, while usually he pretty soon got away from the line of the book, especially if he had up a few students in succession who actually knew what the discussion was about, and the most important and the most common question under these circumstances was pretty sure to fall in: "What do *you* think about it?" This question, if not in form, yet certainly in spirit, is the central key which unlocks the remarkable success of Mark Hopkins as a teacher. *What do you think about it?* It stole the hearts of crude young men to hear such a man as he was plumping down upon them from his desk, as if it were a matter of much importance, such a question as that! It suddenly increased their own self-respect. If they had no opinion then, they felt bound thereafter to gain one, and a sound one, if possible. It quickened their interest in the subject, however abstruse it might be. It led to some research, and to a comparison of opinions of others. It sometimes led the foremost of a class to think of themselves more highly than they ought to think, rather than soberly according to the measure of real acquirement. But these were pretty sure to fall to their proper level afterward. Of course a section in every class could not be roused to interest and introspection by this or any other means; but even they were lifted up to some attention by pat questions and answers back and forth, although they saw very little of the drift of either. Suspended animation is better in a college class-room than a dull level of death.

It has been sometimes said that Mark Hopkins pursued the Socratic mode of instruction. That depends on what the Socratic mode is. If that be, as it is, a mode of reasoning and instruction by means of a series of questions and answers leading to a *desired* result in the case in hand, then the Hopkinsonian was not the Socratic mode. In his earlier and middle and some of his later teaching, the president rarely, if ever, prepared a lesson beforehand with any reference to leading the class to any desired and definite position at that time. He did not know himself what course the recitation and discussion would take. He did not much care. His purpose was to awaken the minds of the class, and to give a general training to their intellectual and ethical powers. He did not himself see the end from the beginning, and he did not care to have his pupils suppose there was any special end toward which he was

driving. From his point of view this general method had great advantages, for he did not care to tie himself down to any particular trend within a comprehensive subject. More than most teachers he liked to keep himself foot-loose for emergencies. He escaped any casual charge of inconsistency of view with wonderful adroitness and plausibility. But the manner had its disadvantages also. In certain states of the weather and of the class and of the teacher, a profitable general discussion could not be started, or, if started, could not be maintained. The conditions were adverse. Hence a dull hour,— sometimes a very dull hour. Again, some classes were better fitted than others by nature and previous culture for such a free and high and coöperative method as this. A few classes spoke against it in such numbers as indicated a majority of voices. One day the president called on one of the professors, in whom he had confidence, in more dejection than that man ever saw in him throughout an almost lifelong association, and told him that his copy of Dugald Stewart, from which he had taught classes twenty-five years, had been purloined through the agency (he had no doubt) of members of the Senior class. He never saw his copy afterward, nor did he ever teach from Stewart any more. This incident would not be worth the noting, were it not for a false impression that went widely abroad years ago, that, whatever might happen to any one or all of his colleagues in the way of unpleasant experience with the students, Mark Hopkins always rode the topmost wave of college popularity. This was not the fact. Taking his whole college career from 1830, when he became a professor, till 1872, when he laid down the presidency, as one piece, he had about his share of sinister manifestations from the students as compared with three or four of the most permanent and successful professors in the same interval of time. Even as a college preacher he received a personal insult from a few despicable scapegraces, such as was never offered to any other in the whole history of college preaching here. It was when he was regularly officiating in the college chapel Sunday forenoons, while the clerical professors were alternating afternoons, that the entire furniture of the desk was removed before one morning service, and many of the students' seats were outrageously defiled.

It is important to notice, in order to do full justice to Dr. Hopkins as a teacher of Ethics, that, in his own opinion, and in the opinion of some of his best critics, he changed in his later life his mode of questioning in his classes more toward the Socratic method; and this, not because he knew or cared much about the Socratic method, or any other method but his own, but because he had slowly come

to the doctrine of Ends, or to the doctrine of the Conditional, or to the law of Limitation, by each of which three terms he expressed his view of the ground of moral obligation. "If the End accomplished by any system or group be conditional for any other end beyond itself, it will be lower than that end." Or, again: "Every activity may be put forth, and so every good be enjoyed, up to the point when it is most perfectly conditional for a higher good."[1] As it was incumbent on him under this view to indicate the rank or order of the various forms of good, and so to offer a criterion of pleasures, and a law of precedence among them, he gradually came to arrange his questions and discussions in a way subordinate to his system as a whole. This appeared more distinctly, and indeed very distinctly, in his examinations of his classes in Morals. He was a skilful questioner under all circumstances, and in all subjects; but particularly so in Senior examinations on his own book of "Moral Science," because of these gradations or goings-up from the lower to the higher, from the body and its innocent pleasures to the mind and reason with their insights and approbations. Great pleasure was often experienced and expressed in connection with these examinations, not only by the committee of the trustees, which always attended them, but also by returning graduates and other gentlemen, to whom they were open. Competent and attentive Seniors easily took the cue in these examinations, and often appeared extremely well in them, which, perhaps more than any other one thing, gave rise to the common saying, that Williams graduates bore the stamp of Mark Hopkins in their after lives. Under a wide observation, this was only true in the sense in which all competent and enlightened teachers influence strongly the lives of their pupils. His teaching was always broad, lucid, and attractive, but never incisive. "What is the use of being so earnest about it?" was once his query to a teacher, who had just lectured to a normal-school class under the direction of the Secretary of the Board of Education. *Nothing too much* was so much in the make and spirit of the man, that *much too little* was often the criticism of him and of his attitude in relation to great public questions involving moral rights of a part of the people, in respect to which the people themselves were divided. Then, too, the college subjects that he taught, including Health and Metaphysics and Morals, do not commonly allow such sharp and certain judgments as do some at least of the sciences.

It remains to this branch of the present inquiry to consider President Hopkins in his relations as head of the faculty and gen-

[1] *Moral Science*, pp. 68 and 72.

eral administrator of college affairs. The circumstances have already been detailed, and may now be remembered, under which Mark and Albert Hopkins were forced during the decline of the powers of President Griffin to assume advisory and executive functions. This they did wisely and modestly and successfully, with the full approbation of those trustees who knew the most of the state of things. If these two had been common men, they would naturally have assumed more and more control after the final retirement of Griffin, under whom both had become professors, and after the accession of the elder of the two to the presidency in 1836. But they were not common men. The younger continued, indeed, almost to the close of his life to have the direction in matters religious, not because he had been compelled at that time to assume it, but because he was the fittest of all men to have and hold it. On the accession of Mark Hopkins, the faculty consisted of Professors Kellogg and Emmons and Hopkins and Alden and Lasell, and Tutors Griffin and Tatlock. The tenure of tutors was too brief to reckon them as members of the faculty in general; but it so happened that these two tutors became permanent professors afterward. Emmons and Lasell were only employed about one-third of the year each. Kellogg was then creeping into his dotage, having been appointed professor in 1815, and having never been a strong man in the matter of government; Alden was then new in his place, and peculiar in his views, and never, in his seventeen years of service, became a really thorough coadjutor; and all this left the two brothers, young and strong and united, in such a situation as must have tempted, and certainly invited, them to assume more of influence and domination than they actually took. Both showed themselves to be rare and admirable men in the spirit of fellowship and concession exhibited to all their colleagues. The elder brother would have been more than human if he had escaped altogether the flush sense of new and almost untrammelled authority in the first years of his presidency. No one would now have known that he did not escape it, if he himself had not repeatedly spoken of it in his later life. He pressed his authority in two or three cases almost to the point of snapping it, with the result, as he used to phrase it, of being told to his face by one of the students that he had scarcely a friend left in their whole number.

This fact is the more noteworthy, inasmuch as a notable and lasting reaction in his own mind from mere or bare authority was evidently the result of it. He gained back all his friends in the classes fast enough, when he himself fell back from authority to persua-

sion, or sometimes to *finesse*. But he always thereafter governed through the faculty ostensibly, and almost always in reality. He relied on his own powers of persuading them in cases of decided difference of opinion, or in shifting the question in one way or another so as to secure unanimity. He was exceedingly skilful in devising verbal or other compromises so as to avoid friction or division. He did not always expect to bring over his colleagues to his point of view, or always succeed even when he did expect this. He knew how gracefully to surrender when it came to that as well as graciously to receive capitulations. The latter were the more common of the two. It was take and give, back and forth. Faculty meetings were held on Wednesday evenings throughout term-times, and were not intermitted in his rare absences from town. Very frequently there was no business to bring before the meeting; but that made no difference, the meeting was held all the same; there was a social chat, and the president made it a point to make it pleasant for all present. He never seemed to be in a hurry. He seemed to enjoy the hour or more so spent as much as anybody. All enjoyed it. He always contributed the most to the flow of conversation, or to any discussion that chanced to come up. If there were any business it was much the same, so far as informality and mutual good-fellowship and hospitable greetings were concerned. General business was presented first, and always by him, and was guided by him to its conclusion; special business was then in order, and was always called for, and each one presenting it was patiently heard and courteously treated throughout, until that, too, was brought to a satisfactory conclusion. It is not meant to be here asserted that there was never sparring or retort or transient ill-blood in these faculty meetings while Mark Hopkins presided in them (1836–72). Something of these was a matter of course in such a changeable body, for so long a time under recurringly diverse circumstances. The exact meaning is, that during this long interval of time, for more than half of which the writer was in constant attendance on them, the faculty meetings were pleasant, harmonious, consolidating, useful in acquaintance-making and friendship-forming, and extremely useful as a place where extra steam was let off, and budding feuds nipped, and loyalty to the College strengthened, — all which was promoted by the wisely generous leadership of the president.

New men came into the faculty almost every year, as the elders fell out from one cause and another, and as new branches of instruction were established from time to time. Tatlock and Griffin,

who were both members of the Kappa Alpha Society in college, and fellow-tutors, became permanent professors, the former in 1838 and the latter in 1846. Professor Lincoln and Professor Perry both became professors in 1853, and both held their first recitations at the same hour in the same building. Professor Bascom was appointed as such in 1855, and Professor Phillips in 1857. The same broad policy that characterized President Hopkins in the management of the faculty meetings, characterized him also in his relations with these and all later new professors appointed under his administration. So far as times and interrelations of instruction needed adjustment when new professors came in and new departments were formed, these questions were determined, after discussion, in open faculty meeting; and each man was then left at full liberty to decide on his own text-books and peculiar modes of instruction, as whether by lectures or recitations or the proportions between each. The president's bearing toward all his colleagues was open and friendly; toward the younger and inexperienced ones kindly and fatherly; he often called on these at their rooms, and gave them encouraging or cautionary words, as their case might seem to him at the time; he quickly recognized and acknowledged good service in all; and he was too large a man to play the small despot toward any because he chanced to have authority and opportunity to do so. He was patient and forbearing toward all, — sometimes too much so toward some who may have been inclined to slight their work. He was perfectly conscious of his own superior success and popularity as a teacher, and was more than willing that this should be enlarged upon by any who consulted him about their own relative failures in this regard; while his general attitude of encouragement to those about him tended to bring out all that was good in them, and to develop all that was peculiar to them, so that their ultimate failure (if it fell) could not be justly referred to him, and their ultimate success (when it came) came with a personal self-respect and sense of independence that doubled its value.

As there is no ground for supposing that his college relations to Professor Perry were essentially different from those to a dozen others, who began with him and served long with him, it would seem to be fair and logical to select some of these as a single example, for the sake of definiteness, among many other possible ones, in order to illustrate in some detail the mind and heart of perhaps the most illustrious college teacher in New England during the century now closing. It was his habit to watch critically and persistently any student who manifested a special talent along any

line, and particularly along his own line, of studies. In the fall term of 1850 occurred the first of those annual public debates between the Philologian and Philotechnian Societies, which were kept up with interest for several years thereafter. Perry, then a Junior, having already given himself a careful training in Mill's "Logic," to which reference was made some pages back, was one of the debaters for the 'Logian. The question turned on the influence of civilization upon the imagination. It was doubtless crude enough, but the Junior did the best he could for his side and society, noticed that the president gave him close attention, and then forgot all about it. Near twenty years after the latter said to the former, "*I picked you out for a professor, when you were a Junior, in that first public debate between the two literary societies.*" The next year, when the president took entire charge of the Senior studies, the boy, largely owing to his previous studies in Mill, had a deeper interest in and a firmer grasp on the Senior course than any other member of the class of 1852. So, at least, thought the president; and, accordingly, as his Commencement appointment, he assigned to this boy the "metaphysical oration," never given out but once before, and then to P. M. Bartlett, of the class of 1850, a man much older and more mature than the average graduate of those days. This honor of the metaphysical oration on the Commencement stage, which was only given in four cases in all (possibly in five), was justly regarded by each of its recipients as a great honor, because a more personal one than the valedictory itself, which was always bestowed on the scholar with the highest aggregate average in all the studies of the course. The last person to receive this special honor was E. H. Griffin, of the class of 1862.

During the year following his graduation, Perry was an assistant in an academy in Washington, and received the subjoined letter from the president of the College.

WILLIAMS COLLEGE, May 2, 1853.

DEAR SIR:

It gives me much pleasure to say that at a recent meeting of the Faculty you were unanimously elected as a Tutor for the ensuing College year. I hope it will be in accordance with your views and arrangements to accept the appointment.

With much Regard, Yours,

MR. A. L. PERRY MARK HOPKINS.

To this letter a response was given on the 18th of May, declining the appointment of tutor, partly on the ground of the supposed smallness of the salary attached, but chiefly for the reason that the

writer had chosen the Christian ministry as his profession, and was intending to enter in the fall the theological seminary at Andover, and did not wish to incur the delay of a year in Williamstown. The following rejoinder by President Hopkins to this response changed in the issue the whole course of Perry's life, and hence has been regarded by him as the most important letter he has ever received; but the principal reason for its printing now, for the first time and in this connection, is, that it illustrates in almost every line some one of the president's deep-lying qualities of character; — his forethought, his caution, his kindness, and his deference to the opinions of other trustees.

WILLIAMS COLLEGE, May 27th, 1853.

DEAR SIR:

As I have been absent during the vacation Yours of the 18th inst. has remained unanswered. You are right in regard to the smallness of the salary. It is only $400. This is too little. I have endeavored to have it increased, but have not yet succeeded, though I think I shall the present year. That however is of comparatively little consequence. In writing to you I had another object in my mind, of which I think I may and must speak to you now confidentially. We have not as yet been able to find any one to fill the place vacated by Dr. Alden; and after conversing with gentlemen here, I have preferred to look to some young man, who should prepare himself for the place. We could not elect you professor now, but if everything should go right, I think we could at the end of a year. This is my present view of what would be best for the college, but I do not know that the Trustees would concur in it, and there might be other reasons why such a plan could not be carried out. It was however with special reference to that that I wrote to you, and now I do not like to give up the hope of seeing this carried out. I can, as you will see, promise you nothing absolutely, because I must always hold myself open to act as the good of the Institution shall require; but if you will come, I will do what I can to have the compensation at least $500, and I should hope the result might be that you would be associated with us permanently. This is all I can say. I should have preferred to have you come and say nothing about it, but it is evident I must either state to you all that is in my mind or give it up altogether, and I prefer the former. Under these circumstances I hope you will make up your mind to come, and we will see what the leadings of Providence may be.

With much Regard,

Yours,

MARK HOPKINS.

This considerate and fatherly letter came to Perry, then just turned of twenty-three, in perfect health, and with a physical constitution as firm perhaps as any boy ever had, as the voice of God. He had been reared in extreme poverty in northern New Hampshire, son of a young minister graduated at Cambridge and Andover, deceased at Lyme in 1830, and of a mother of Scotch-Irish blood, born

at Worcester (as was also the father), of keen intellect and of indomitable will and work. The perspective of an earnest young life was shifted in an hour. A letter to Dr. Hopkins accepted all the contingencies of his proposal. At an interview in August the president offered the young man an immediate election to the professorship, which the latter declined, preferring the issue of a year's experiment in the department as a nominal tutor. At the end of the year, he was chosen Professor of History and Political Economy, in continuation of Dr. Alden's work, exactly in accordance with the plan outlined in the president's letter quoted above. In an association with Mark Hopkins of forty years all told, 1848–87, Perry probably came to know him better than any one else outside of his own family. His sense of personal obligations to the president, which continued strong till the last; his free admiration for the great talents, practical wisdom, constant benevolence, kindness, and courtesy, and silent forbearance under undeserved and cruel treatment toward the last, — never blinded the mind of the younger man to certain minor yet persistent faults of the elder, manifested for two generations alongside of and in connection with conspicuous virtues on a theatre of life that may well be called illustrious. To attempt to catalogue these faults would afford no pleasure or profit to anybody, least of all to the writer. Some of them have already been implied or referred to in these pages, and others will in like manner appear as we go on.

> To his own self not always just,
> Bound in the bonds that all men share, —
> Confess the failings as we must,
> The lion's mark is always there!

The weekly rhetorical exercises in the college chapel on Wednesday afternoons, otherwise a half-holiday, which had probably begun with the beginnings of the College, and certainly continued till about 1860, at which the president presided, assisted by the Professor of Rhetoric, constituted a prominent feature of college routine, particularly under the imposing leadership of Griffin and Hopkins. All four of the classes were assembled in their places as at prayers; two members of each class declaimed on the stage from Freshman to Senior; the president criticised each declamation in turn, usually at some length, laying down from time to time the principles applicable to oral expression in public, and the professor in attendance sometimes followed in supplementary criticisms; and the exercises, taken as a whole, were profitable and popular in college. The better

speakers took pains in these efforts, and were somewhat dependent on them for their "moonlight" and other rhetorical appointments. The order in the classes on these occasions was usually pretty good in the time of Dr. Hopkins; but he was in general so thoroughly a master of the situation that he was not scrupulous about some whispering and laughing in the classes, some applause or its opposite at the end of a declamation. One day in 1852, not long after he had been urged to accept the nomination as president of the University of Michigan, there was rather more disorder of these sorts in the classes than usual, to which he had quietly called attention in order to check it; but as it continued nevertheless, he rose to his feet and rebuked it with dignity, and added (with less dignity), "*I am not obliged to remain here longer in my present position.*" The incident is trifling in itself, while it gave rise to a little talk as between two Seniors, each of whom expressed himself strongly, that that was the very first indication, in word or act, on the part of the president of any lowering of the highest dignity and self-control they had ever witnessed.

Perry had not been very long a member of the faculty before he had occasion to witness and experience a trait in the make-up of its head which, continuing its manifestations from time to time toward other members and at times toward the entire faculty, became at length the main cause of the lessening of his legitimate authority and the moral necessity of his resignation. The pettiness of this occasion makes it all the better illustration of a trait which, longer indulged, became at last a weakness irresistible by him. When the class of 1856 were Sophomores, and Perry was the officer of the class, and thus in some sense responsible for their current discipline, he ascertained the names of three members who had repeatedly hazed and abused a Freshman rooming alone in West College, an entire stranger in town and college, a boy very slightly built, but excellently fitted, who had come as a first-fruit to Williamstown from an academy in central Vermont, which sent most of its well-fitted boys to Dartmouth. The three Sophomores were big, burly fellows, just brave and chivalrous enough to think it an exploit to boast of to harry and browbeat a small, solitary Freshman in his room. Eldredge, one of the three, a smooth-tongued fellow (nothing is now said of his other qualities), suspecting that he was known, went to the president, landed him to his face, told him two or three of the class had just had a little fun — nothing more — with a new Freshman, — they had not touched him to hurt him, — and proceeded to deprecate as useless, and worse than useless, the making

any case in discipline out of any such innocent matter; the class was all right, the individuals were all right, and the College was the best in the country. Eldredge won his case before it got into court. The Freshman stole out of town in the night; and from that day to this not another student has entered here from that academy. What the president promised to Eldredge, if anything, is not known; what he said to the class-officer is well remembered. He forbade a word being said to the Sophomores in the way of rebuke, or a thing being done in the way of discipline; only, when the term was over, and the term-bills to parents made out, a minute might be entered of the offence, if the officer thought best. In this way an easy victory came to the three rowdies, of which they were fully conscious, and in general the class also, with such results to general discipline as might of course be expected. A son of Governor Marcy of New York, the same who was afterward hung at the yard-arm of a naval vessel for mutiny, was a member for a time of this Sophomore class; whose ill reputation for lawless conduct was redeemed during its last two years by the accession of James A. Garfield and several others of a like spirit, and also by the coming forward into relative prominence of the better members of the class from the first.

There is evidence, although it is indirect and would not stand of itself as such, that this instance of a weak concession by the president to offenders against good order and express college laws was not the first of its kind. This should in justice be said, in partial extenuation at least of the want of proper control of their classes by Professor Griffin and Professor Tatlock. To take the odium of following up an offence and ferreting out the offenders, and then to be secretly thwarted in the application of proper punishment, does not conduce to the self-respect of a college professor, and least of all to the respect in which he is held by those for whose good conduct he is held responsible. Such things, if much repeated, go far to excuse faithful college officers for ultimate laxity in discipline. The only problem here is to reconcile, as far as it may be done, the ostensible and actual deference of Mark Hopkins to his colleagues, both singly and collectively, with a personal action recurring too often, whose result was their humiliation and also a deep-cast wound into general college discipline. The result crept on for the most part invisibly, but ever inevitably, until 1860, when there came a crisis, which makes that year an epochal one in the history of the College, although but few persons now living know it to have been such. It is but fair to suppose that the president did not realize that an

apparently simple function, which afforded him great pleasure, and which he was extraordinarily well-fitted to exercise, namely, to bring all sorts of students (whether presently offenders or not) into personal allegiance with himself, must in such cases bring pain to his colleagues, and injure of necessity the reputation, because the efficiency, of the College itself. The institution was to him as the apple of his eye. He had done much and suffered much and forborne much in its upbuilding. It was by no means a case of personal selfishness as over against general interests. Dr. Hopkins was not a selfish man in this sense. Selfish men in this sense have indeed been seen on this ground, and their actions weighed in a balance and been found wanting; and the inescapable consequences have come home in ignominy and disaster. But Dr. Hopkins was not at any time in that boat. The circumstances under which he and his brother came into almost absolute control in the College, about 1835, were not favorable toward preventing him from continuing, in minor matters, a personal removal when possible of what he dreaded more than almost anything else, namely, a public friction in the ongoing of College. This, too, after matters had come to be well established under a reasonably full body of professors, who, in order to move effectively, must needs move together. He doubtless seemed to himself to be doing a good thing, to be relieving both the College and his colleagues of some impending trouble by compromising, by privately settling, the matter with the student or students involved. Whether it were a good thing or not, depended very largely upon how far the matter had already gone in other hands than his own. His general motives in action were good; but he did not see as clearly as he might, nor estimate as highly as he should, the principle, that general college discipline in the hands of a body must suffer by being taken out of the hands of the body.

The trustees have always passed over into the hands of the faculty, not into the hands of the president, the general control of instruction and discipline. The president is also a member of the Board of Trustees, and is the usual channel of communication from them to the faculty. This is the theory and practice of the College. This has been the express tenor of the college laws, so called, from the beginning, and in every one of their editions and revisions. Dr. Hopkins understood this, and often expounded it to others, and acted on it himself in good faith. Even in the particular already now sufficiently indicated, he doubtless acted in good faith, but with too little prevision and circumspection of the natural ill conse-

quences. His fault lay in a subconstruction of his duty, rather than in a false construction of his position relating to others. When this very question came before the trustees as a body, it was decided as against the president, and in favor of the rights and privileges of the faculty as such. This was very important action on their part. Whether it were properly recorded or not may be doubtful; but it is pretty certain to have passed out of the minds of most of those who have had to do with the management of the College since that time. Whatever may be said of the language of charters and laws and precedents, there is a practical region of cloudland between the spheres of action and influence respectively of trustees and faculty and alumni and students. There are certain rights and privileges to each of these four conjoint bodies that constitute the College in the largest sense of that flexible and comprehensive word. The trustees are not the College, the faculty are not the College, the alumni are not the College, and the students are not the College; but all of these together, in certain actions and reactions, in certain living and reciprocal relations, which it is as impossible as it is needless precisely to delineate in words. All that is necessary in order to the harmonious interworking of these bodies as toward the great ends of education and righteousness is good sense and good will and reciprocal respect and forbearance on the part of the most in each of these four bodies toward each other.

That these conditions with this issue are not utopian and unattainable, has been demonstrated for considerable and recurring intervals of time in each of the older New England colleges during the century now closing. Individualisms and colleges are a contradiction in terms, and in practical hostility to each other. Any undue exaltation of one person in any one of these four bodies becomes at once an element of mischief to that part, and consequently to each of the other three parts. This vital principle in the constitution of colleges, which may be prejudiced in some minds by its comparative novelty, does not mean, or imply, that a man in any position may not have or ought not to exercise all the weight that comes to him from superior intelligence or experience or character; but it does mean that all such or other influence, in order to be wholesome and safe, must be exercised with sincere deference and kindness to all colleagues and with a quiet submission to any decision of the most of questions belonging to all. A lifetime of college experience and observation has brought this conviction to some men, that most college difficulties of any depth (and they have been very prevalent), have come from the *assumption* on the part of somebody of func-

tions that did not properly belong to him, or the personal *exhibition* toward his colleagues of qualities unworthy a man and a Christian. This does not require of college men that they be perfect men; but it does require of them that they be kindly and just gentlemen. All others are unfit for college officers. And it does particularly, also, require of these men that they be open and above board and honest in all their relations to colleagues, or else pay the certain penalty of the opposite, always at the expense of the institution itself as well as at their own expense. It is fortunate, on the whole, that the name "college," both in the etymological and customary significance, that the theory of the selection and action of all the bodies constituent of a college, and the natural and unmistakable ill effects of the violation of these in practice, — all alike and all the time forbid any college man to maximize himself, that is, to minimize his colleagues, in any matter of their conjoint responsibility, by and through the above-mentioned assumption or exhibition.

As the annual Commencement season drew on, in 1860, at Williams, there came evidence to some of the men then in active service on the ground, that the trustees would come together with deep dissatisfaction in their minds as to the condition of college discipline. When they did come together they adopted a novel means of ascertaining the precise views on this subject of all the responsible college officers. They summoned the faculty to appear in two sections simultaneously before a large committee of the trustees, themselves sitting in two sections. The professors then in service were Hopkins, Tatlock, Griffin, Chadbourne, Emmons, Lincoln, Perry, Bascom, and Phillips. The trustees then in service were C. A. Dewey, Emerson Davis, H. L. Sabin, Charles Stoddard, George N. Briggs, John Todd, Absalom Peters, H. W. Bishop, Adam Reid, Joseph White, A. C. Thompson, E. C. Benedict, Homer Bartlett, William Hyde, and Nicholas Murray. The professors in each section were subjected to a courteous and sharp questioning, the preliminary in case of the younger men being, "How long have you been here?" and then each was invited to state his own view of the reasons why discipline in College was so slack. That it was too slack was assumed at the outset and throughout by each party. It is believed there was no discussion on this point in either section; there was certainly none in one of the two sections. How the trustees came so generally to believe that the faculty were negligent in their duty in this regard is not now known, nor is that point one of much moment; the point of moment was, that they did believe it, and that it was true. It is possible they had noticed a decline in the average num-

ber of graduates. For the five years 1854–58 the average had been fifty-five; in each of the years 1859 and 1860 the number was forty-eight. It is more likely that individual members of the Board of Trustees, several of whom resided in the town or the neighborhood, had learned through conversation or correspondence with members of the faculty the fact of baffled discipline and the point at which it was being baffled. At any rate, however this matter may have been, when the question came to be pointedly put to each of three or four professors in turn in each of two committee-rooms by the spokesman of three or four trustees in each room, "What is the matter with college discipline?" the answers brought forth were all of one tenor in substance, namely this, *the executive officer of the faculty, the president, either softened down or ignored the decisions of the majority in cases of discipline brought before them, or took out of their hands altogether important cases, either patching them up himself or more likely letting them drift.* It should be said here, in explanation, that no records of the ordinary faculty meetings were kept at that time; and the exact terms of votes passed could only be reproduced by memory; and the president's memory of words, though good, naturally presented the softer rather than the sterner expressions.

The next forenoon after these important meetings in the library, it so chanced that Professor Perry met two of the influential trustees together in the office of their late colleague, Judge Daniel N. Dewey. Neither one of these two had been in that section the evening before, in which he had given expression to his views concurrently with Professor Lincoln and Professor Tatlock, and perhaps more fully and pointedly than either of them. Probably these two trustees had been present in the other section. At any rate, they knew thoroughly what had been the responsive voice in both sections; and they proceeded to address him in language and with an earnestness that has never ceased to seem strange to him, considering that he had been but seven years in service, and these quiet years absorbed in the work of his own department. They must have gotten an idea from some source more favorable to his vigor and influence in the faculty than the facts would then have warranted. They urged him as from the side of the trustees, and as expressing the sense of the trustees, *to pursue a policy in faculty meetings independent of the president's, more strenuous and steady in the line of good discipline; and, if this individual action did not prove effective as toward that end, to make combinations with other professors like-minded, in order to outvote the president on occasion, and to hold him up strongly to a line of college conduct to which he was naturally and by habit disinclined.*

Doubtless it may be said that this was improper talk as between two trustees and a single professor after such formal and official meetings as those of the evening before, unless the two were specially charged by the whole to communicate such a message to a member or members of the faculty. Whether it were improper talk or not, it was actual talk and emphatic talk, passing from the two to the one as if it were the judgment of the whole, though it was not announced in words as such judgment. The professor was wholly passive in the interview, receiving the message as a personal one and as from authority, saying nothing, least of all making any promises. Whether there were any one or more of the trustees present at the meetings deeply friendly enough to the president to frankly tell him what had passed there, can now never be known; that there was communication over the matter between them and him is proved by his telling the faculty not very long after, that "the trustees felt better about it when they went away than when they came." Why they should have "felt better about it" has never been revealed. The only known immediate result of a very considerable official procedure on their part was the chance interview with Perry just narrated.

There were, however, more distant results of that interview of some consequence to the College. Perry did not speak of it to any one of his colleagues, or to any one else, for more than thirty years. He remembered it nevertheless, and profited by it. (1) He could do no less than assume from it that he had already gained the confidence of the trustees as a competent and faithful college officer, knowing what the institution was established and maintained for, and willing to take risks (if need be) for the furtherance of those ends. (2) With this, their confidence, in mind, and seeing no evidence of any more stringent methods in the president's hand, and distrusting the efficacy of any such possible combination of professors as had been commended to him, he determined quietly, but firmly, to take the control of each class as they came in succession under his instruction into his own hands, so far as his jurisdiction in his own lecture-room and his own studies might be extended, and thereafter to bring no case of discipline thus occurring before the faculty in any event. He did so, saying nothing to any one of his purpose and of its gradual success. He was the first professor in the College to call aloud the roll of his class at the beginning of every exercise, and thus to keep an exact account of all absences. If any one's number of absences in any study became considerable, he spoke to the student about it privately, looking him always right in the eye, and

saying that if such unexcused absences continued, his name would be dropped from that roll altogether. If any student appeared to be culpably negligent in his preparation of the lessons, he, too, was seen privately, and asked the reason: if he were a poor scholar and found the subject difficult, he was uniformly encouraged and helped; if he were shirking and indifferent, he was told that unless there were evidence of an immediate and continued improvement, his name would be dropped from the roll, and there would be no replacing it. These simple customs, kindly and firmly administered, did much more than secure a fair attendance and proper progress in study in that lecture-room ; they drew the confidence of pupils toward the teacher, as aiming solely at their good and at the good reputation of the College. The teacher also strove to make the acquaintance of all the members of his classes, trusting every one until he saw good grounds for distrusting him; pursuing a course frank and open as toward all; and paying particular attention, unobserved, to those pecuniarily poor and those poorly fitted for college, trying the most to help along those who needed it the most. The moral rewards that have been coming and that keep coming to that teacher from those thus slightly assisted at the outset of their course in life, cannot be expressed in words.

(3) In more direct accordance with the intimations received from the trustees, Professor Perry rarely or never failed, after 1860, to support in the faculty meeting, in all cases of discipline brought there, the view that seemed to him the surest in favor of good and steady government. There were then no "sides" in the faculty properly so called. The president was the acknowledged head and leader. No one in the faculty desired to make any combination to outvote him on any question of discipline, current or prospective. But opinions even then pretty sharply diverged. He was sure to take the smooth side in all such questions relating to the students, for two main reasons: namely, first, he believed and frankly avowed that college government was a sort of family government, extended and modified, in which precept and example and moral considerations brought to bear upon the students individually and collectively, were far better than a system of offences with difficulty precisely defined, and with rigid penalties attached to them; and, secondly, he was conscious of possessing superior facilities himself in thus handling students to good ends, and of having had remarkable success along these lines in the time past. At the same time, he wanted no monopoly of these influences in his own hands. He desired each of his colleagues to use these general methods in his

own way, and the better each succeeded with his classes, the better the president was pleased. He knew nothing of Perry's special experiments or the motives that led to them, but he knew that the latter was gaining the good will of his classes, and getting in a modest way good work out of them; and he rejoiced at this, and communicated to the others his satisfaction time and time again. Particularly did he do this, when the young man seemed to be succeeding well in his preaching in turn in the college chapel. After three successive written sermons, which had taken him all the summer vacation to prepare, he called attention to them in a faculty meeting, commended them, and, especially, the skill displayed in each in making transitions, and expressed the good-humored wish that the professor might go on so throughout the term; and when, some terms later, the young man ventured on his first *ex tempore* delivered discourse in the chapel, the president took pains to come down to his house early Monday morning to congratulate him, — "I did not see but you succeeded perfectly." He did not require of any new professor adhesion to his principles of moral government in College, nor did he ever prescribe to any one the manner in which he should teach or govern in his classes. Every man had unrestricted liberty in his own department. On the last day of June, 1897, the trustees of Amherst College voted unanimously that each professor should be head and master in his own department, in spite of the president or anybody else. Exactly that liberty, and nothing short of it, was enjoyed at Williams by each and every professor throughout the entire administrations of Mark Hopkins and his successor. Nor did this liberty rest on any vote of the Board of Trustees. It rested on the original constitution of the College as such, on which no doctrine in conflict with this can find any foothold.

(4) It is true, nevertheless, that an increasing number in the faculty, as well as in the trustees, were feeling that something more tangible and immediately applicable than family government was needed in the daily administration of the College. The trustees appointed a committee, of which Joseph White was the chairman, to prepare a code of college laws. Mr. White gathered together the printed codes of all the New England colleges, and of several outside of New England, and then, feeling that he was not really adequate to the work, thrust the whole batch into the hands of a member of the faculty, at the beginning of a long vacation, who did not feel at liberty to decline the task. Thorough and long-continued labor was given to the codification, and it was read *in extenso* by Dr. Hopkins to the faculty in manuscript, and, being approved by them,

was enacted by the trustees without a single change, and with only the addition of one sentence relating to the annual meeting of that body; and then was printed as the laws prescribed by the trustees to the faculty and students. But Dr. Hopkins did not like rigid rules prescribed in this formal and roundabout manner any better than rigid rules prescribed by the faculty as such to themselves. The new code, so unanimously approved, was rarely ever referred to in faculty meetings, and was soon forgotten altogether. John Bascom, of the class of 1849, had come permanently into the faculty in 1855 as Professor of Rhetoric. Though always lacking in the social and sympathetic impulses, which must be a part of the very best teachers as such, in intellectual insight and vigor and in moral purpose and power, accompanied with language appropriate for the expression of these, he was not equalled by any man at Williams during the first century of the College; and it shall go hard if any man during its second century shall present himself to surpass him. But rhetoric was not his natural department of instruction; nor did he ever become satisfied with it as the proper sphere for the exercise of his trained and profound powers. His book on that subject is entitled "The Philosophy of Rhetoric," giving, as he says in the preface, "the principles as well as the rules on which excellence depends. The discussions present the mental and moral laws of influence." These words indicate the ineradicable bent of his mind, which was toward and in the ultimate philosophy. He held the professorship, however, for eighteen years, when he became president of the University of Wisconsin for fourteen years, in which position he taught his favorite studies only. Partly on account of this lack of content with his department at Williams, and partly on account of some theological antagonisms aroused as between the president and him by his independent thinking and preaching in the chapel, he did not exercise so controlling an influence in and over the College as he otherwise would doubtless have done; for he was a master in the art of strong speech no less than in the art of strong thought. In 1860 and afterward, he was certainly, though quietly, in favor of more stringent rules of action by the faculty as toward delinquent students.

The same may be said of Professors Lincoln and Phillips, who assumed their respective professorships of Latin and Greek in 1853 and 1857. These men were classmates, graduated in 1847, were brothers-in-law, and always very intimately associated with each other until the death of the former, in 1862. They belonged to two differing types of men and teachers, each excellent in his way.

Lincoln, in his more pronounced and strenuous mode of instruction, had felt much more the need of external aid from the faculty in the governing of his classes, and had been vexed in spirit that such aid had been withheld, doubtless under a good deal of misapprehension of the real relations between him and his classes on the part of the president and others. Phillips needed no help from anybody, for his quiet and scholarly ways were masterful; but both alike would have welcomed in 1860 such deliberate action by the faculty as would have been forthcoming if the trustees had courageously fulfilled their duty by reporting back to the faculty as such what they had found out by painstaking inquiry. Paul A. Chadbourne, of the college class of 1848, had been appointed Professor of Chemistry and Botany at the same time as Lincoln and Perry had been appointed to their respective departments, and occupied for many years, till he was chosen president in 1872 to succeed Mark Hopkins, a somewhat anomalous position in College, in that he was never employed throughout the entire year, even after he became Professor of Natural History, in 1859, and was always changeable in times and seasons and in purposes and manner. Yet there is not the least doubt that he would heartily have favored a substantial change of policy in 1860, had but the trustees kindly and firmly told the president what the professors had said, and enjoined him to lead in a suitable conjoint reform in faculty action. The golden opportunity was missed. President Hopkins felt himself stronger than he actually was, and did not clearly perceive the danger signals ahead, that pointed to 1868 and 1872.

There followed a somewhat broken time of several years. In 1861 the president visited Europe for the first time. The Civil War breaking out while he was away, according to a public statement of his after its close, carried from Williamstown about sixty students, and among them three of his own sons and the only son of his brother Albert. Notwithstanding this, the average number of graduates for the five years, 1861–65, was fifty-three, only two less than the average for the five years 1854–58. The next five years, 1866–70, witnessed a decline in the average to thirty-nine, or fourteen annually less than for the five years preceding.

In the course of the decade, 1861–71, came into the faculty, at different times, the following gentlemen, each of whom deserves considerable notice at our hands at the present time, — namely, Charles F. Gilson of the class of 1853; Sanborn Tenney of the Amherst class of 1853; Cyrus M. Dodd of the class of 1855; William R. Dimmock of the class of 1855; and Franklin Carter of the class of

1862. In the course of impressive funeral services in memory of Professor Dodd, who died in his work in April, 1897, Professor Bascom said with solemnity of manner and depth of feeling, that *the most hospitable man in mind and heart* that he had ever met with in his life (he was then just turned of seventy) had been Professor Gilson. This touched a responsive chord in the hearts of many present, but none so deeply as in that of Professor Perry, whose house had been the other's transient home in Williamstown for very many years (he had no other), and within whose lot in the college cemetery the beloved brother had been sleeping since his death, in 1881. His monument there bears this inscription, suggested by himself, "Mein Trübsal war mein Glück." Gilson had come to the College as a Freshman in 1849, just a year later than Perry had come from the same general region of country, though Gilson's home was lower down on the Connecticut and on the Vermont side of the river. Gilson had an interesting ancestry and one connecting him closely with the Hoosac Valley, although he himself never knew of this connection. His grandfather, Michael Gilson, was for some time a soldier in the line of forts during the last French and Indian war, of which Fort Massachusetts was the chief. In 1755, John Perry and Michael Gilson and Philip Alexander, all known to have been soldiers in the east and west line, and others, were ordered by the General Court of Massachusetts to go up the Connecticut, above Northfield, and to build a block-house on the "Great Meadow," in what is now Putney, in the north and south line of forts along the Connecticut, of which the southernmost was Fort Dummer and the northernmost the Charlestown fort, or No. 4, on the other side. The new fort to be built in Putney was to be almost an exact copy of the Forts Shirley and Massachusetts in the other line. That Michael Gilson fulfilled his task, and helped also to garrison the fort when built, is proven by his becoming one of the first settlers on the fertile meadow a little above in the present town of Westminster. Among the landed proprietors of Westminster in 1760 were "Captain Michael Gilson and Susannah Gilson." From this farm Charles F. Gilson came to College in 1849. His grandfather had a brother, Zachariah, six years younger, both born in Groton, Massachusetts, who was in the disastrous siege of Fort William Henry at Lake George in 1757, who bore on his shoulder the scar of the tomahawk of one of the frenzied Indians who attacked the surrendered soldiers on their egress from the fort.

Gilson was a tall, muscular fellow, and, as he used to say, "ached with strength." In a friendly tussle with another student as strong

as himself, he dislocated a knee, and as he was carried on the shoulders of a group of students to Dr. Hubbell's office for treatment, he kept them all in a roar of laughter by the comicalities of the situation. The knee was set, the recovery was complete, and he had almost forgotten the incident, when he went bathing in the Hoosac River, and, as the phrase ran at the time, "took cold" in the injured knee, and never afterward was able to walk freely upon it, even when he could walk upon it at all. He used a crutch or crutches most of the time for the rest of his life. He suffered much of many physicians, and was nothing bettered, but rather grew worse. The inability to take proper exercise tightened the hold of dyspepsia upon him, which he had contracted in early life by being compelled to eat salt pork (the steady diet of New England farmers at that time). He knew that diet harmed his health, but he succumbed to the taunt that he was "*dainty.*" He was the son of a father's old age, who was stern and unreasonable and querulous. The son found but little respect for the father either living or dead. He attended the funeral perfunctorily, and read "Carlyle" in the cars both going and coming. It should be stated in candor that young Gilson was naturally self-willed and imperious. He was conscious of being well-endowed by a recorded ancestry, Essex County, England, whose first American representative, Joseph Gilson, was married in Chelmsford, Massachusetts, Nov. 18, 1660, to Mary Caper. The family moved to Groton, where Joseph's son, John, was born in 1674. John's son, Michael (the elder), was born in Groton in 1702, as were also his own two sons, Michael and Zachariah, born there in 1731 and 1737 respectively. The elder Michael was a soldier in the line of forts in the *old* French war, as his two sons were in the *last* French war.

Gilson often said to the writer in substance, that nothing short of his lifelong physical pains and disabilities could probably have reduced him to proper terms of docility and Christian meekness. Be that as it may, he made, with God's blessing, the most of himself, disabilities and all. After graduation he taught for a while in Hancock, and knit permanent relations and affections in the family of Silas Gardner, of the college class of 1822. In 1856 he went to Germany for purposes of health and study, and remained three years, spending most of the time in Heidelberg. He taught German in College for a single term in 1861, and was appointed later an instructor in Latin and modern languages; but was shortly forced to forego the position on account of illness. In 1865 he went to Germany again, and spent nearly a year in the mountains of

Saxony and Bohemia. Three years later he was elected Professor of Modern Languages and Literature, and held the post with great credit for thirteen years, until his death. Whenever and wherever he had health to meet classes in any continuity, he gained their confidence at once and held it thereafter as with hooks of steel. He was a kindly, masterful, and most successful teacher. He had the hearts of his colleagues also, because he respected them and trusted them and loved them. He was an Israelite indeed without guile. He stood (alas! his time was but short) in the first rank among the best teachers Williams College employed during her first century. He had a deep and fruitful Christian experience, which helped to make intercourse with him profitable in a high degree, though he was prone to speak out of this experience rather than of it. He was a faithful friend in all things.

Professor Sanborn Tenney was graduated at Amherst in 1853; after a considerable and successful experience in teaching elsewhere, he was appointed Professor of Natural History at Williams, and served nine years, until his death in harness in 1877; and he was the first professor on this ground who had been graduated elsewhere, to take and hold as such a place in that front rank which was accorded just above to Professor Gilson. He lost no time in taking firm hold of the work in his department, as it had been left by his immediate predecessor, Professor Chadbourne. He did not apparently spend one moment in looking about him in order to criticise his new colleagues, to find points of contrast, or even of comparison, as between Williams and Amherst, least of all to enter into any intrigue with others to find a place for himself as a leader before he had earned his own place as a colaborer. He was generously welcomed by all, and made a thoroughly generous response to all. And he proved himself throughout, in all the essentials of service, to be a truer son of the College than some have done in like circumstances who have borne its regular diplomas.

The illustrated lectures in natural history, which Tenney had given in some form in the normal schools of the State and in Vassar College, were attractive from the first to the students here, as was also the lecturer himself. His open face was an index to the transparent teacher. He carried about with him no mysteries, he attempted no surprises, and he made no pretences. He liked his classes, and his classes liked him. He loved nature, and introduced them into that fascinating realm. They followed with alacrity, and were rewarded manyfold. He was perhaps but the second of the professors at Williams who taught his subject out of

a text-book of his own construction. This is always a moral advantage to both teacher and taught, provided the text-book be but fresh and original. It is understood that the plates in Professor Tenney's books were drawn under his own selection and supervision, and that the text was in substance the lecture he had been publicly giving for years. The sudden death of Professor Tenney in middle life was a shock to the College, and particularly to the class then under his hand, the class of 1879 in their Junior year. Cyrus W. Field, of that class, was particularly attached to Professor Tenney, and at his instance and mainly at his expense, the class put a memorial window into the chapel, the first that found place there, which does much more credit to the genuine affection of the class toward their teacher than it does to the then state of American art in memorial-window building.

A day or two after the death of Professor Dodd, the editor of the Williams weekly requested Professor Perry to write a brief notice of him for the pages of that college periodical. He did so; and the paragraphs subjoined, without the altering of a word, subserve as well the present purpose also.

Cyrus Morris Dodd. — Professor Dodd would have been graduated in the Class of 1848, had he possessed the pecuniary means needful to conclude his college studies with the class in which he commenced them. As it was, he withdrew from college and devoted himself to teaching for four or five years, and then returned to be graduated in the Class of 1855. This was in some respects unfortunate for him; for he never felt fully at home in the new class relations, partly because he was much older than most of the rest, and partly for the general reason that such delicate relations as those of classmateship once snapped can never be in the nature of things perfectly reknit. The Class of 1855, however, proved itself to contain an unusual number of distinguished men, two United States senators and one United States representative, six doctors of Divinity, four prominent college professors, and two noteworthy foreign missionaries; and Professor Dodd by no means was lacking in pride of his ultimate college classmates.

He himself passed up in 1861 from what are commonly reckoned the lower forms of teaching to become professor of Latin Language and Literature in Jefferson College; five years later to be professor of Mathematics and Latin in the State University of Indiana; and then in 1870 to be professor of Mathematics in his Alma Mater — a position he held with credit for twenty-seven years. The reader of this brief record of life work will notice, that he gradually passed over from the studies of his first professorship, Latin, exclusively to the studies of his last professorship, Mathematics. This seems to have been a second unfortunate turn in his whole college career; for, while at his graduation he received as an honor the mathematical oration, thus indicating high proficiency and facility in that branch of knowledge, a glance at his library and the privilege of close conversation when he came hither in 1870, revealed the fact that his real enthusi-

asm as a scholar and teacher lay along the lines of Literature both classical and modern.

Among the strongest of the reasons that led him to Williamstown in middle life, and into a department of instruction that did not wholly satisfy him were the relations of his family with that of Captain Isaac Latham, a prominent and excellent citizen here. While these relations were in some respects a help to him in his new position, they became in other respects disappointing and perplexing and discouraging. His freedom of choice and action both pecuniary and otherwise became hampered. No one can begin to understand Professor Dodd in his course at Williams without reference to these circumstances which certainly reflect no discredit upon him.

By inheritance, by early training, and on mature conviction, Professor Dodd was extremely conservative. This tendency appeared in his class-room, in all his talk, and in his whole attitude toward current questions in Church and State. His methods of teaching were the old methods. He never changed them, mainly because his own point of view towards that which he taught never changed. He was not a natural mathematician in the sense of being a growing mathematician. All things continued as they were. This imparted a monotone to the exercises in his room, apt to be distasteful to the quick and eager mathematical minds in the division. On the other hand, the slow and dull (always the majority) knew exactly what was required of them, and most by patient work could compass it, and never failed to receive quick recognition and approval of even their partially successful effort. He bore with the feeble, who tried and did their best, with astonishing and reiterated patience. He would give them his time at special hours over and over again. He was discriminating and faithful and patient to the last degree. By such means as these, he carried scores and scores of young men through his mathematical courses, who would never have gotten through at all under (perhaps) better mathematical men and methods. This is the crowning merit of Professor Dodd as a teacher. Those duller ones whom he stimulated and helped through, esteemed him very highly in love.

Professor Dodd was a courteous, almost courtly, gentleman. He was a well-read and all-round scholar. He was attractive to strangers and dear to his friends. He drew confidence easily, and never betrayed it. His conversation and conduct to all were above-board and honorable. Subterraneanism he despised. The older of his colleagues in the Faculty knew him best, and valued him highest. More perhaps than any of the rest he worshipped at the shrine of Nature. He held communion with her visible forms. He was a personal friend and guest of Bryant, and familiar with many of the latter's local haunts. According to his lights, which were of the ancient pattern, he was a conscientious and consecrated Christian. He did not indeed know the joy of Hack and Hew in the Lord's name. He took too little of the risks for Righteousness. But he has done a good work. We shall never see his like again.

Franklin Carter, a native and resident of Waterbury, Connecticut, entered the class of 1862 at Williams from Yale College, where he had passed the first half of his course, and where he had been overtaken by severe bleeding at the lungs. He had shown himself

remarkably competent in his preparatory studies at Andover, and quite as remarkably competent at New Haven in the position at or near the head of the class of 1859. He was a boy extraordinarily self-conscious and extraordinarily ambitious. His physician did not deem it safe for him to resume his studies in any class at New Haven, but thought he might venture to resume them in the Berkshire hills after two or three years of general recuperation. He came accordingly to Williamstown to pursue, if possible, his studies here equivalent for the last two years at New Haven. With some precautions as to health, wisely taken on his own part, with some privileges properly accorded him by the faculty, and with at least one pronounced interruption of his studies, through the recurrence of his malady, he was able to graduate with the class of 1862. It was a large class for Williams, comprising an unusual proportion of able and (later) distinguished men. As a rule, its members did not seem to be very well acquainted with Carter at graduation, nor were they very generally drawn toward him as a classmate. His character was by no means simple, nor did he present himself to differing men in the same aspects and relations. It is always a disadvantage to a student to enter a college class so late as the Junior year; because, naturally, persons and things get, on the one hand, pretty well shaken together, or, on the other, repelled from each other, during the first two years. Carter never fairly belonged to the general current type of the Williams student; nor was he ever fairly aware that there was a peculiar prevailing type of student, both at New Haven and Williamstown, derived from college traditions and from the more usual modes and places of fitting, and from the popular characteristics of the main localities of student-supply. He was fond of saying at the time and ever afterward, that he, as a student, had found Williams College "*provincial.*" Precisely what he meant by that he never explained. It was not of much matter to anybody but himself what he meant by it. He meant by it something derogatory to the College to which it was applied as an epithet. The manner in which he pronounced it was invariably supercilious. In his "Life of Mark Hopkins," published in 1892, Carter repeated his favorite saying, that the College was "provincial" in his own student days; but he vehemently asseverated that Dr. Hopkins was never "provincial" in any of his attitudes toward the College or the public. As he manifested much concern to shield the president from the charge of "provincialism," and as the president was the undisputed leader in all directions, it is not easy to see just what the

provincialism was or where it came in. Nor is it worth while to try to see.

It was the phrase of an inflated boy, no doubt derived from his reading of Cæsar's "Gallic War." Gaul was a *province*. Rome was the capital city. Carter was a Connecticut boy with all that that implies, and a Yale student at a time when the average number of graduates was a little more than twice as large at Yale as at Williams. For the five years 1856–60 the graduates were 104 a year at Yale: at Williams for the same five years a fraction over 50 a year; but Yale had been running just a decade more than twice the decades of Williams: *ergo* Yale was Rome, and Williams was Gaul. Williams, however, had abolished tutors in 1853; and for seven years thereafter none but full-fledged professors taught in any Williams class-room. Yale kept up a full quota of tutors in 1860, and the bulk of all the instruction of Freshmen and Sophomores was given by inexperienced and usually short-lived fledglings. Perhaps this was a point of contrast that made Williams in Carter's eye "provincial."

Seriously, and to the vast advantage of each of the two colleges, there were ineradicable differences between them, the source of which, the value of which, and the depth of which, it was never given to Carter's mind either as boy or man to perceive or appreciate. He saw differences, anybody could see them; he supposed they were superficial and transmissible; and he even thought his own weak hands could transpose them. His mind had been carefully trained in the niceties of the two so-called classical languages, and not at all in the immutabilities of an historical development. A single line of one of Emerson's rather mechanical poems, if Carter had ever put his mind on it in its grounds and reaches, would have done more to make him a man and an educator than all his languages and all his fussings and fumings put together, — "Not the gods can shake the past!" Yale College was what it was in 1860, partly because John Davenport was what he was and where he was in 1638; partly because James Pierpont, whose wife was Davenport's granddaughter, gathered some books and named eleven trustees in 1700; partly because in 1717 its first building was lifted, 170 feet long and 22 feet wide, and Elihu Yale endowed the school with £400 sterling; partly because the first Timothy Dwight was a great-grandson, and Theodore D. Woolsey was a great-great-grandson of that same James Pierpont; and partly because Jonathan Edwards, himself standing genealogically between Pierpont and Dwight, was of the Yale class of 1720, and David Brainerd, "whose religious char-

acter was of a high order," was of the class of 1741; and more particularly because Jeremiah Day and Benjamin Silliman and James L. Kingsley and Chauncey A. Goodrich and James Hadley spent their useful lives there as professors. Williams College was what it was in 1860, partly on account of the settlement of Robert Williams in Roxbury in 1638, the same year in which John Davenport settled in New Haven; partly on account of a line of descent from him, mostly bearing his name, soldiers and statesmen and preachers and educators, one of them Elisha Williams, rector of Yale College, at one time a chaplain in the expedition against Louisburg and a colonel in the invasion of Canada, and described as "a man of splendor" who spoke Latin freely and delivered orations gracefully and with animated dignity; besides this Williams line, direct, and bearing the Williams name, wanting in no generation its distinguished members, and closing even now in Bishop Williams of Connecticut, the oldest bishop in service on the American Episcopal bench, Mark Hopkins and all the Dwights of southern Berkshire were in the direct line of Ephraim Williams, Senior; partly on account of local campaigns of the old French and Indian wars passing back and forth through the narrow valley of the upper Hoosac, calling for the location of forts and towns; and particularly on account of such professors as Amos Eaton and Chester Dewey and Ebenezer Kellogg and Albert Hopkins, who gave their lives to the broadening and uplifting of young men's minds and characters in Williamstown. Yale College was what it was on account of its pregnant past and present environment: Williams was what it was by means of a past more fixed in locality, more strenuous and continental in significance, quite as firm and distinctive and independent in its development and environment. Even pristine Williamstown had its considerable and continued contentions as between the men of the Bay and the men of the Sound.

Franklin Carter was not the first nor the only person who made the mistakes and encountered the moral defeats of a lifetime by ignoring the persistent powers of origin and the peculiarities hardened by tradition and usage and longtime adjustment. He came northward as a student, not from choice but by medical necessity. He came from Connecticut, which meant something; he came from Yale, which meant more; he had never apparently roughed it with other boys of similar age in the public school and on the village playground, and learned there the invaluable lesson that rights are equal to rich and poor, and that a boy can keep of any kind of advantage just what he can fairly win and hold, and not a fraction

further; he came as a chronic invalid, not without impending fears of a consumptive's death, which gained him instant sympathy from all, and a sort of welcome never perhaps accorded to any student here before; he took rooms and board for the course in the Mansion House, the sole hostelry in the village — to another instance of the like the memory of the College ran not back; he was reputed rich, and the style of expenditure confirmed the report; private rooms in a public house were unfavorable to college acquaintance; he soon showed good scholarship in those lecture-rooms which he attended, and manifested a deep interest in the religious condition of the College and in the personal welfare of certain classmates and others. It cannot be truthfully said, however, that his entering Williams under these circumstances increased the happiness of his class or the strength of the College in any way. He knew nothing whatever of the past of the College, or of the inspiring region round about, of the strenuous men and true who had created and who were perpetuating the atmosphere of struggle and service which was then at any rate more or less the distinctive environment of Williams. Young Carter could not forget that he had come from Yale, which was a large college, that he had been fitted under Samuel Taylor, a strict disciplinarian and a classical scholar polished to the nail; and he did not even try to conceal the condescension with which he stooped to certain studies and certain teachers and certain college usages. He did not seem to entertain any special scorn for the younger teachers who were then just buckling on their armor. Years afterward he asserted with emphasis to the present writer, "When I was in college, the instructions of Dr. Hopkins in philosophy did not amount to anything."

Thirty-five years after their graduation, that one of his classmates most likely to be informed of the other's bearing toward the Senior volunteer literary work for the good of the College, such as writing for the College magazine, and the one also who actually did the most of this work, said distinctly and verbally: "Carter was chosen one of the editors of the magazine, and used sometimes to come into the room where we worked, and patronized us, and said it was all a good thing to do, but he never wrote an article for us, nor did one thing to help us out. *His nose was up when he entered our class, and he never got it down so long as he was in our class.* It was all good enough for us, but it was not good enough for him."

The writer ventures to put down in this place a list of the fourteen most distinguished men in the class of 1862. He makes no claim to infallibility of judgment in a matter so impalpable and change-

able as public reputation. But one other of their old college teachers is still alive to approve of or dissent from the present list, whose judgment, if it could be obtained, would doubtless be preferred to the writer's by the living members of the class.

Henry Anstice	Samuel C. Armstrong
Franklin Carter	John H. Denison
Edward H. Griffin	Archibald Hopkins
George F. Mills	Charles P. H. Nason
Mason Noble	George L. Raymond
Joseph E. Simmons	Francis H. Snow
James F. Spalding	Edward W. Schauffler

In the summer vacation following the graduation of the class of 1862 was closed the remarkably active and useful life of Professor Lincoln, and he was the first professor to be buried in the new college cemetery. His death made a vacancy in the Latin department, which was transiently filled by his brother-in-law, the beloved Professor Phillips, Professor of Greek. In the course of 1863, an arrangement was made between President Hopkins and Franklin Carter, by which the latter assumed the vacant professorship, and it was understood at the time that the service was to be voluntary (in part at least) so far as the salary was concerned. He thus entered the faculty with all the auspices in his favor, with no prejudices against him in any quarter, but also of course under precisely the same conditions as to success and control of all other professors. There could be no special privileges of any kind on the ground of health or of fortune. There were then already in successful service by his side three young professors, Phillips and Bascom and Perry, of whom Carter himself wrote afterward, they "were among the truest men and the most conscientious teachers to be found in any of our colleges." It is not difficult to classify the conditions of success (or failure) among the professors at Williams during the first century of the College. Some of the conditions are more general and more vital and more observable than others, but a careful and continued analysis and induction will surely discover them, and safely guide in their application to particular instances. Nothing of much consequence in the happenings of a college is ever the result of accident. A college building may burn down in consequence of the careless placing of a block of wood on the fireplace, but a solid college influence and reputation was never yet built up or broken down by any series of accidents. Nor was such influence ever established by the direct choice and exertions as

toward that end of the man mainly concerned in the premises. Still less was such influence and reputation ever undermined or permanently weakened by secret and hostile machinations of one or a clique. Here, if anywhere on the footstool of God, we are in the region of moral forces acting in the open and toward the ends of righteousness. Concealment of any kind is out of the question. Self-aggrandizement is impossible. Cause and effect, action and reaction, on a small theatre and under argus-eyes.

It may not be presumptuous to attempt to classify in this place the conditions of success in college positions here during the last century. At this point there is no essential difference between a president and a professor. Success to both hinges on the same moral causes. Just so far as a condition of success is vital, its absence conditions a failure.

1. *A man must be in mental and moral and historical adjustment to his place.*

2. *A man must deem his present duties worthy of his best powers, and perform them with satisfaction for their own sake, not making these a stepping-stone for another place.*

3. *A man must remember that students are fellow-beings, endowed precisely as he is, and practically endowed with omniscience so far as his own motives and methods are concerned toward them. On this point they read him like a book, while he is spelling them out one by one. It is not fit that he should ask them to trust him one hair farther than he is willing to trust them.*

4. *A man must know and practise on it, that the word and thing College involves colleagues, and that he at his best estate is only a small part of a large whole; and that the best interest of all is his own interest.*

5. *A man subserves the best interest of all by primarily minding his own business, and never reaching out to broader ends except as the authorised agent of the whole; intrigues and cabals, accordingly, whisperings and back-bitings within the body, are always hostile if not fatal to the welfare of each and all.*

As a matter of fact, and one within the possible knowledge of any competent and patient inquirer, it may be safely said that no man has ever *succeeded* in Williams College except by a general concurrence in these five conditions, and also that numbers of persons have *failed* in each generation by running counter to them.

The campaigns of the Civil War, 1861–65, had comparatively little effect on the regular proceedings of the College. Considerable numbers, indeed, left their classes to join in the distant fray,

and made good record for themselves in camp and field; but probably quite as many came on to fill their places on account of interruptions to business and the then uncertainties of the future. One young man, however, is deserving of our especial notice, inasmuch as he gained a great and astonishingly rapid military promotion in the course of the war and directly after its close, namely, Ranald Slidell Mackenzie of the class of 1859. He was born in New York in July, 1840, fitted for college at Sing Sing, took a good rank in his college class till about the middle of the Junior year, when he was appointed a cadet at the United States military academy at West Point, where he was graduated in 1862. He was a frank and popular student here, and everybody was sorry to have him leave for West Point, nobody in January, 1858, having any premonition of that which was to come. He was sent at once from school to field, became a major in 1863, lieutenant-colonel in 1864, brigadier-general in the regular army in 1865, and in the same month major-general of volunteers. After the close of the war, in which he had been three times severely wounded in battle, when the new military department of Texas and the Southwest was established, he was put in command of it, with headquarters at Santa Fé, and with the rank of major-general. Not so young a man had ever borne such high ranks in the regular army. He must have been born an extraordinary military genius; for he filled each succeeding position with great credit, and also received the following incidental eulogium from General Grant, who was asked by Thomas Murphy at Long Branch, who reported the conversation at the time, in 1870: —

"'Whom would you put in command of a great army, say 50,000 men, should it become necessary?' The General, without hesitating a second, said, 'Sheridan.'

"'Next to Sheridan?' The General answered, 'Miles or Mackenzie'; and after puffing away at his cigar two or three minutes, he decided on Mackenzie." The present writing is at midsummer of 1897, and the "Miles" of this conversation is now in succession to the great Three as senior major-general of the army of the United States, and has just been to England to represent his country, and that organization in particular, at the Jubilee of Queen Victoria,— the passing of the sixtieth anniversary of her accession to the throne. The brilliant Mackenzie, in consequence of wounds and exposures and anxieties on the Mexican frontiers and from hostile Indians, became unsettled in mind in 1883, and was taken to the Bloomingdale Asylum for treatment. In 1886 he was removed to Staten

Island, where he was tenderly cared for by his sister till his death in 1889.

Another graduate of the College in the period under review, whose public career in certain respects reminds one of Mackenzie, particularly in the rapidity of advancement to very high places of authority, may be briefly characterized at this point. This is John James Ingalls, of the class of 1855. He was born in Haverhill in December, 1834, and was carefully and religiously trained by excellent parents, who sent here also a younger son, Francis Theodore Ingalls, of the class of 1864, who, after graduating with the valedictory oration, studied theology at Princeton and Andover, and was ordained to the ministry in 1870; and thereafter for eighteen years became a prominent pastor in Kansas, which was the home also of the elder brother; when the younger accepted the presidency of Drury College at Springfield, Missouri, and wrought a grand work in that position until his death in 1892. Both the college and subsequent careers of the two brothers were extremely divergent. The elder one is remembered on college ground as insubordinate, defiant, irreligious, and devil-may-care. Nothing seemed to be sacred to him. At that time students worshipped on Sunday with the people of the town, the president preaching one-third of the time. Most of the preaching was not attractive to the students, and comparatively few paid much attention to it, while Ingalls often passed the hour conspicuously reading from some book brought in his pocket. Whether his college teachers as such were worthy of his respect or not, it is certain that he did not respect them, and equally certain that they did not expect much from him in after life. He studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1857, and in the fall of the next year removed to Kansas, which was then in the throes of its frenzied birth; he became a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1859, which framed at Wyandotte a constitution prohibiting slavery, which constitution was ratified by a popular vote of nearly two to one. Ingalls put in good work down at the very roots of the statehood of Kansas. He was Secretary of the Territorial Council in 1860, and of the State Senate in 1861. He was State Senator in 1862, and the three following years rendered, as major, lieutenant-colonel, and judge advocate, efficient services in the Kansas State Volunteers.

All this, and much besides, paved the way for that political influence in Kansas which enabled Ingalls to be elected for three terms in succession to the Senate of the United States. What is in some sense more, he was repeatedly elected by the Republican majority

of that body to be President of the Senate *pro tempore,* with all the exalted contingencies then and now connected with that office. A candid historian must add, that in this long period of public service in high station, he made no mark as a legislator nor any valuable contribution to the political thought of his country. The only prose phrases of his that will go down to posterity in any connection are the already famous and infamous sentences expounding modern political ethics.

> The purification of politics is an iridescent dream. Government is force. Politics is a battle for supremacy. Parties are the armies. The Decalogue and the golden rule have no place in a political campaign. The object is success. To defeat the antagonist and expel the party in power is the purpose. In war it is lawful to deceive the adversary, to hire Hessians, to purchase mercenaries, to mutilate, to kill, to destroy. The commander who lost a battle through the activity of his moral nature would be the derision and jest of history. This modern cant about the corruption of politics is fatiguing in the extreme. It proceeds from the tea-custard and syllabub dilettanteism, the frivolous and desultory sentimentalism, of epicenes.

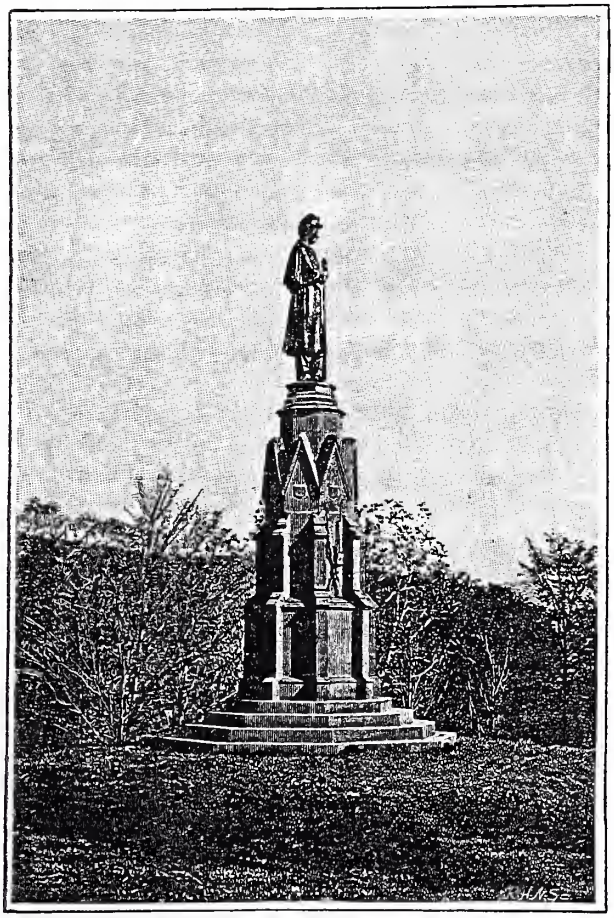
Ingalls also wrote a notable sonnet on "Opportunity," which may survive, for it has a fine form and considerable literary merit, while it is as godless in every line as the prose extract but just quoted is destitute of any sense of moral obligation. It follows, exactly as published by him.

OPPORTUNITY

Master of human destinies am I;
Fame, love and fortune on my footsteps wait.
Cities and fields I walk; I penetrate
Deserts and seas remote, and, passing by
Hovel and mart and palace, soon or late,
I knock unbidden once on every gate.
If, sleeping, wake; if feasting, rise before
I turn away; it is the hour of fate,
And they who follow me reach every state
Mortals desire, and conquer every foe
Save death; but those who doubt or hesitate,
Condemned to failure, penury and woe,
Seek me in vain and uselessly implore;
I answer not, and I return no more.

An outline of the history of the College from about the time of the ending of the Civil War until the close of the College century, will crowd the conclusion of the present chapter. The mass of material is abundant; the task of selection is difficult; to throw into a narrative form that shall prove somewhat attractive to the

readers of a future time, which itself is sure to be thronged with interesting events and persons, enough detail of past events with sketches of the characters of the chief actors already in the past, doubtless overgoes the literary ability of the writer. But what he had the boldness to undertake, he must now muster the courage to



STUDENT-SOLDIERS MONUMENT.
Dedicated on the Campus, 1868.

complete. The original motive to the undertaking was the desire to be useful to some of those coming after; the concomitant encouragement as each stage of the work progressed has been the same; and not for the pleasure of it to himself, nor primarily to impart

pleasure to others, will the concluding pages be written. Some help, some profit, some impulse and guidance, to those who shall be called on to upbuild the town and to develop and solidify the College, this mainly has been the pushing force and will be the shining goal.

In the interval of time between 1863 and 1868, causes and events were maturing, which gave in general a novel and sinister turn to the course of the College, which has not even yet rectified itself altogether. The lesson of this turn is too instructive to let go by. If Franklin Carter, when he became a member of the faculty under somewhat peculiar circumstances, had followed the usual and only wise course of young men beginning college instruction alongside of more experienced men, it would have been happier for him and more fortunate for all. That course is (1) to take a modest view of one's own position; (2) to learn thoroughly and perform quietly the duties heretofore attached to that position; (3) to get acquainted as soon as convenient with the individual students coming under him, and gain their confidence by fellow-feeling and a mutual good understanding; (4) to assume that there are some crooked things that cannot be made straight; (5) to take for granted that the past of a college exerts a powerful influence on its present; (6) to respect and trust older colleagues until positive reasons appear for the opposite; (7) to learn to wait for influence and leadership in the body till these are earned by long and proved service; (8) to secure influence and control in his own class-room so as not to have to appeal to the body for help in daily management; and (9) to suppose that the body as a whole knows at least as much as the newcomer about college evils and the way to handle them.

With many excellent traits of private character, Carter began and continued his public life as a teacher with such drawbacks as proved to be inexorable mainly because he himself did not perceive and implore them. Probably no young man ever commenced professor in a New England college with so small a knowledge of human nature in general, and of his own weaknesses in particular. As has been said already, the circumstances of his youth and his own idiosyncrasies were alike unfavorable to the attainment of self-knowledge, and of those conditions under which alone in all social relations men get on together with a minimum of friction and of hostile feeling. Carter never possessed instinctively nor acquired reflectively a good sense of proportion as between himself and others, — as between what was due from him to them and from them to him. Closely allied with this, if not a part of this, was a constant

overestimation of what he was familiar with and respected, as compared with what others were familiar with and respected. He maximized the one and minimized the other. This quality of judgment appeared so soon as ever he began to teach. It prevented him from fairly taking the usual and useful initiation into the mysteries of the proper relations of an inexperienced teacher with college classes, and of the relations of a new-fledged colleague with men older and wiser. In consequence of this, he soon came into hot water with his classes, and sometimes into very hot water. He attributed this unpleasantness to the general laxity of discipline in the College. It is true that the discipline was lax, as compared with that in the fitting school at Andover and with that in the college at New Haven; and it is also true that at least seven of the Williams professors at that time, in spite of the admitted laxity in general, were carrying forward in their own lecture-rooms pleasant and efficient and appreciated teaching. These had gained the confidence of their classes in the usual way, namely, by granting confidence to them in advance, and by manifesting in their places (because having) no motives except reciprocally conveying and receiving instruction and impulse. These had no occasion to bring weekly complaints to the faculty meeting of absence and negligence, although all were willing and desirous of strengthening the cords of discipline for the sake of each and all, by any means not issuing in the disturbance and weakening of the College as a whole.

Carter knew nothing of what had happened in 1860. He knew nothing of the delicacy and the difficulty under the then circumstances of lessening in any way, or trying to lessen, the influence and control of President Hopkins; especially as the latter had a well-thought-out theory of college government, and honestly proclaimed it on all proper occasions; and also because he almost invariably treated the faculty openly, very rarely attempting anything of general interest without their well-considered coöperation. Before he had fairly gotten a moral mastery over his classes (which always takes time), Carter began to busy himself, as if he alone were possessed of the knowledge, with telling his colleagues in what a bad condition things were, and how necessary it was that there should be rules of the faculty in particular controlling the matter of absences from recitations. In his own cautious and inimitable tones, the president said repeatedly to those in whom he had confidence, "Professor Carter finds things pretty bad here!" Members of the faculty listened to Carter's talks patiently, agreed with him partly, and wondered all at his youthful presumption in putting

himself forward as a leader in renovating the College. It was quite too soon, to say the very least of it, for him even to look forward to any such position. He was not yet master of himself. He was not yet master of his individual class. He had not yet gotten a glimpse of the fundamentals of college government. He still supposed that a written rule, mechanically enforced, could enmesh college students and land them in his boat without a slip. So far as is known, the only one of his colleagues whom he frankly consulted about his own want of success in handling his classes in his recitations was Professor Phillips; and he was the best one of all to consult, for he was kindness and good judgment and experience combined. Carter profited by the sweet advice thus given, and was grateful for it, and spoke warmly of Phillips ever after; and this little incident it is pleasant to record, amid matters of an opposite cast, which it is necessary to make mention of.

Men and things worried along in these general directions until 1868. In that interval of time, a few of the departments became considerably strengthened, and one of them at least enjoyed an unusual triumph, of which perhaps something may be said by and by. Carter was still very desirous to secure a faculty rule relating to absences from recitations; and at length in a full faculty meeting the whole subject was discussed, and a committee appointed to frame such a rule, and to report it at a subsequent meeting. Bascom and Carter were the chief, if not the sole, members of the committee. It was generally known in College that some rule toward that effect had long been in contemplation, and was now in course of preparation, and that Professor Carter was the main mover and agent in the whole matter. Dr. Hopkins was present and presided at the faculty meeting when the subject was discussed and the committee to draft the rule appointed; but he was out of town and at a long distance from home at the time of the regular faculty meeting when the report of the committee was naturally but unfortunately presented, and it was adopted unanimously. This was in the first week of November, 1868. The rule thus adopted and promulgated was worded as follows: —

> Each absence from any recitation, whether at the beginning of or during the term, whether excused or unexcused, will count as zero in the record of standing. In cases, however, in which attendance shall be shown by the student to have been impossible, each officer shall have the option of allowing the recitation to be made up at such time as he shall appoint; and no mark shall be given to such recitation unless it shall amount to a substantial performance of the work omitted.

It is not without significance that this rule was almost verbally the one then and long in vogue in Yale College. While it indicated on the part of all the members of the faculty a decided dissatisfaction with the prevailing laxity of government, it was couched in terms and breathed a spirit foreign to the past as well as to the then present of the College. It put an emphasis on the marking system as a means to moral ends such as that system never deserved. The rule itself exalted mechanical means of discipline in a way contrary to the sober sentiment of most of the men who voted for it. But they were in a sort of despairing mood in that particular, and they took what was offered to them by the men chosen by themselves. In the absence of Dr. Hopkins, Professor Bascom as the senior in point of time of graduation and as the officer of the Senior class, took the brunt of responsibility for its passage and promulgation. He had a slight hand in its formation. But it could never have been adopted but for his influence on the committee, and but for his influence in the faculty. Its promulgation at the time and under the circumstances created intense opposition and indignation among the students; and Bascom's refusal, as the nominal head of the College, to call a special faculty meeting to consider their eminently fair proposition to delay the enforcement of the rule until the president's return, increased the excitement and indignation. For this refusal Bascom had the general consent of the professors, while the responsibility for it was more his than theirs; and a very considerable injustice was done to Professor Carter by the general judgment of the students, that he was chiefly responsible for the passage and promulgation and non-postponement of the rule. The instinct of students in such matters is usually unerring. It is true that his insistence and urgency originated the movement for some such rule. It is true also that he furnished out of his New Haven experience the substance of the rule. But it is not true that he had anything more to do with the passing of the rule at a most unfortunate time, or with the refusal to put off for a few days its execution at the respectful request of the students, than any other of the leading members of the faculty. If any one were to be singled out as a special target at the time for the ill-feeling of the students, John Bascom and not Franklin Carter should have been that man. The faculty stood together in the right and in the wrong of the whole matter, and shared the responsibility alike. It should be said, nevertheless, that Bascom's phlegmatic temperament allowed him to stand throughout the entire crisis without the manifestation of any feeling whatever; while the mercurial temperament of Carter

kept him on the go and on the buzz during the whole interval, — thus betraying to the students and to all his deep personal interest and anxiety as to the outcome; and it is remembered by one of the faculty that the former took pains to avoid as far as possible for the time the society and conversation of the latter.

In this way was brought on the first and only rebellion of the body of students against constituted authority in the history of the College. The students, too, were unanimous in their action. They thought themselves to be in the right by quite as deep and serious conviction as did the faculty. Their resolutions, which follow, in two successive college meetings, were temperate in their tone, even if mistaken in their scope.

Whereas the faculty of Williams College have imposed on us, students of said college, a rule to the effect that each absence from recitation, excused or inexcused, shall receive a zero mark in the record of standing; and it is left with each officer of the college to act his option as to whether he will hear necessary absentees in their lost lessons; and said officer shall act his option as to giving any credit for such recitation; and

Whereas we, students of Williams College, regard the imposition of this rule as a blow aimed at our personal honor and manhood, therefore

Resolved, That we students of said college protest against said rule, and call upon the faculty of Williams College to annul it.

Whereas, our petition presented to the Faculty of said Williams College, November 6, 1868, for the repeal of the above-mentioned rule, has been disregarded, therefore

Resolved, that we students of said Williams College declare our connection with said college to cease from this date, until the authorities of said college shall repeal the above-mentioned rule.

Resolved, That we, as a body of young men, agree to remain in this neighborhood and abstain from all objectionable conduct, until the final settlement of our difficulties.

On Saturday, November 14, President Hopkins returned from Ohio, whither he had gone to preach an anniversary sermon at Marietta. He found the town quiet, and the College disbanded. He preached as usual the next morning in the college chapel, to the faculty and their families and to those students who chose to come in. It is still remembered as a dreary service by one who sympathized strongly with the president in what must have been a heavy duty under all the circumstances of the case. At the close of the service he invited those present, and through these the entire College, to meet him the next morning in the same place. All came. In a calm and dispassionate way, but as one conscious that he was master of the situation and of all legitimate situations in which he might

be placed, he spoke from the platform for nearly half an hour, not separating himself in the least degree from the faculty, whose head he was, and whose action in his absence had caused all this trouble. His first point was, to demonstrate the untenableness of the position assumed by the students in their resolutions, namely, that any student can dissolve his connection with college by his own act, and particularly in combination with other students in the way of a threat as against college authorities. Each student on entrance is matriculated. Matriculation is a formal contract. It cannot be broken by the party of the second part, without conjoint action of the party of the first part. If any student at any time be dissatisfied with the rules of the College, and wish to break his connection with it, he may ask for an honorable dismission, which will always be granted. So now, you are all in college as much as you ever were or ever can be. And if any of you, after a return to duty and so an acknowledgment of the authority of college, wish to leave it, asking for letters of dismission in a proper way, you shall receive them.

His second point was, that the faculty governed the institution, and must govern it; and that any rule formulated by them must be the law for the time being, until the rule be reconsidered and changed or annulled. While in force, any combination against a rule of the College is resistance to the government of the College, and cannot be tolerated for a moment. If this rule for regulating absences from recitations, against which you have taken such unprecedented action, be not the best rule possible, it can be changed for such a rule. At any rate, the faculty desire the best possible rule for the purposes intended. The same authority that made the rule, and no other authority, may amend or rescind it.

This consummate address, here but rudely outlined from recollection, was listened to in breathless attention, not because it was eloquent, but because it was logical and penetrating and comprehensive, and did not leave the students any the least justification of the mode of expressing their disapprobation of the rule adopted. The address was fair throughout. The need of some such rule was strongly affirmed. Absences from recitations were too many, and must be curbed. But this particular rule may not be in the best form. If not, it may be changed. The right of the students to judge in such matters was not denied, nor sought in any way to be curtailed. Nor was their right to make respectful representations to the faculty in any way questioned. But their right to take any such action into their own hands as was then pending was lucidly shown to be impossible. One simple preliminary to discussion even

was shown to be indispensable, namely, the return of the students to duty, — their acknowledgment in that way of the authority of the College. The meeting was then dismissed. No specific action of any kind was asked for.

In the afternoon, the president went out upon the street, and was warmly accosted by all the students whom he casually met, and frankly said to them that he himself was not in favor of the wording of the rule as it stood, and that if the students came back to their recitations (the sooner the better), the rule would certainly be reconsidered by the faculty, and would probably be altered in certain respects. At the four o'clock recitations that afternoon, the students as a body were back in their places in their respective class-rooms, and the Rebellion of 1868 was over. Up to this point the management by Mark Hopkins, after his return, of an exceedingly difficult and delicate crisis, was able and skilful and perfect. The supreme difficulty was yet to come.

Every member of the faculty was present at the faculty meeting Wednesday evening. It was a quiet and memorable scene. All were agreed that the rule should be changed. How? Either by the president alone, or by him after consultation with some others, it was proposed to alter but a single phrase of the wording of the rule, and to substitute for words as definite as language can be made another short phrase capable of a double construction. Professor Perry was then the oldest professor in time of full and active service. He had just entered upon the sixteenth year of his professorship. He probably understood better than any other man in the room the strong points and the weak points of the president, and also the actual state of feeling as between the trustees and the president, and as between the students and the College. He had had nothing whatever to do with the obnoxious rule, except to vote for it on its passage. In the students' minds, he was not connected with the rule in one way or the other. In the interim of the suspension of college duties, those students whom he met spoke freely to him and he to them on all indifferent topics. He was, therefore, nearer in the attitude of impartiality on the point at issue than any other active member of the faculty. Moreover, while honoring the president above all other living men, he had always noticed the constitutional and consuetudinal tendency in him to escape from any transient difficulty through the door of some verbal ambiguity. In the address on Monday there had not appeared the least trace of this tendency; but now on Wednesday evening it came out again to Perry's mind clearly enough. He saw, or thought he saw, that the

students would construe the new phrase in one way and regard themselves as having gained a real victory in their contest, while those who had set their hearts on the rule as it stood would construe it another way. The words were ambiguous; and ambiguity in speech was ever an abomination to this man. He took no part in the brief discussion, for it was not his business to do so; but when the point was put to vote, and every man in the room besides voted aye, and the contrary was called for, he voted no. He did not explain the ground of his vote, nor was an explanation called for, — the majority was too overwhelming.

In the course of the next week the first case under the changed rule came up for adjudication. The student claimed of course the construction of the rule more favorable to himself and his fellows (leave students alone for that!), and the president allowed that construction, and so the precedent was inflexibly set. In the faculty meeting next following, the application of the rule to this case was unfolded to the surprise of some, and to the disgust at least of one. "*If I had supposed,*" exclaimed Professor Carter with warmth to the president, "*that the changed rule was capable of, and would have been given, this twist, I should have voted last week with Professor Perry.*"

Here also is a small key that unlocks a considerable cabinet of historical curiosities. The various issues of the rebellion were not very nearly to the mind of anybody. *Parturiunt montes nascetur ridiculus mus.* The man who deserved and derived the most credit from it, and who had the most reason on the whole to be satisfied with the outcome of it, was Mark Hopkins. He had shown himself throughout portentous difficulties to be a great man. He had demonstrated again, and for the last time, that he was the master-spirit of the institution. And he had done this, not in any sense by setting himself up as over against the gentlemen of the faculty, but by linking them to himself and himself to them more publicly and unreservedly than ever before. And yet he could not help asking himself, nor could others help asking in regard to him, why did the rebellion take place at all? Did it spring up out of the ground in the night like a toadstool? He probably could not help feeling, and it is almost certain that he did feel, that, somehow or other, both away back and at the present, he was more responsible for the state of things, out of which the rebellion had but very gradually emerged, than any other man. He was getting old. The grand climacteric in human life is usually placed at sixty-three, but he had already reached sixty-six in the February last past. And then

again, some members of the faculty had always thought him too patient of absentees, remiss in watchfulness, too lax in general restraint, and had told him so frankly and kindly. His brother Albert had just then given up his long-kept active professorship for what was really a nominal one, and his advice to his brother was clear that he had better do something similar pretty soon. Accordingly the four years from 1868 to 1872, when the president became seventy years old and resigned the presidency, was not a period of much vigor in administration, was rather a time of taking in sail preparing to enter a quiet harbor.

It scarcely needs be told that those who had been most strenuous for a strong rule relating to college absences, and, in particular, Professor Carter, took little satisfaction in the rule as amended, and began to turn their thoughts in other directions. The four years just indicated were the period of the Greek professorship of William Reynolds Dimmock, of the class of 1855. He had been fitted for college at the Boston Latin School, and had been teaching the classics for several years in that renowned institution, when he was summoned here, in 1868, to take the place of the beloved Professor Phillips. Now fell the best opportunity that ever came to make the two classical languages the leading study in the College. Carter was now relieved of the French branch of his professorship, and was to give his sole attention to the Latin. Dimmock was professor of Greek only. Natural science had been the leading study in the College throughout the first third of the century, mental and moral science had occupied that place quite as decidedly during the second third of the century; and now had dawned a golden opportunity for the classics to become first. The two young professors had been thoroughly trained in these studies, they excelled in them, and were justly proud of their attainments in them. No hindrance from any quarter opposed either of them in the developing of their departments in their own time and way. If the conditions of admission to college in the classics were too low, as doubtless they were, it was within their functions to raise them gradually and patiently to any point not inconsistent with the general position and patronage and historical past of the College. If the College needed raising in general scholarship and culture, as doubtless it did, theirs was the chance and the privilege to unite with their younger colleagues, at least equally so disposed with themselves, quietly and persistently to push things upward along the lines already open. All this would take time, but would insure ultimate success. The one thing that the College could not and would not

allow, was to have its existing walls, reared by the painstaking and self-denial of the older builders, levelled to the ground in order to make room for novel constructions by inexperienced artificers after models alien to the place.

This providential opportunity for the classical languages to take for once and in their turn their rightful place in the forefront of the curriculum was not improved by the two men who held the whole disposal in their own hands. Both were graduates of the College, but did either ever become a true son of the College? Sonship implies a line of descent. It implies limitations and directions imposed by predecessors. It implies some conditions that cannot be disregarded. It implies a *name* and something also which that name *connotes*. Steeped in notions derived from fitting schools in Andover and Boston and from colleges in New Haven and Cambridge, these young men became mutual colleagues here in 1868 in cognate departments, and neither of them was willing to recognize the rights of their Alma Mater in her honorable past and reputable present to practically control them in their new relations to her. They had thrown themselves out of adjustment with the old College, and were unwilling to readjust themselves heartily to the inevitable conditions involved in the very life and growth of an original and independent institution. They were half ashamed to be professors in a college so much out of date and so provincial. If they had wisely chosen to accept the material at hand and the limitations as they existed, which indeed was all involved in the acceptance of their places, and had adapted their teaching to the needs of the hour, carrying their classes along with them, quietly pointing the way to something better in the future, and so helping others to bring in that something better in a progress self-respecting and general and in accordance with the nature of things and the scope of the times, they would have served their generation better than they did, and left an easier task to any truthful historian of the College.

When he was in college, Professor Dimmock had belonged to the Sigma Phi Society, one of four or five so-called secret fraternities then existing, and the only one then possessing a building and home of its own for society purposes. This building was erected on Spring Street in 1857, under the impulse, and largely at the expense, of Charles Stoddard, of the class of 1854. Several of the previous professors had belonged to one or another of these societies as students, particularly the Kappa Alpha Society, which was the oldest and most prominent of them all; but it had not been usual for these professors, as such, openly to fraternize with their younger

brethren, the student members. Dimmock was perhaps the first professor to do this without restraint, and so to introduce a new social custom of doubtful utility on the whole. According to his own statements, he felt it to be his duty to try to elevate the scholarship and moral tone of the young men standing in these relations to himself in social ways, and so on stated evenings he would sit and smoke with them till midnight. When it came to class-room instruction of boys, four-fifths of whom had been but half prepared for college in Greek, instead of teaching them as best he could forms and constructions and attainable translations, which were the only points they could possibly take with profit and in progress, he would, for example, in a Greek play, do all the translating himself in a splendid fashion, and require them to learn and recite the variorums in the Greek text. He seemed to think that his own voluntary transference from a school to a college was but a personal opportunity to do high teaching in a university way. It was not a success; and he threw the blame upon the College. He contrasted it with the Boston Latin School, as did also his classical colleague, in a similar way, Phillips Academy, Andover. The true and only practicable remedy for this state of things in the College was wholly in their hands. It involved time and labor. It involved, too, some present secondary work on their part, which should have been, and could have been, soon thrown off upon the fitting schools tributary to Williams. It involved, also, a union in spirit and effort with other colleagues of more penetration and experience and practical power than they themselves possessed.

The precise form of the remedy for a disagreeable college condition, which these two professors concocted with more or less completeness as between themselves, is no longer of any historical interest. The proof is abounding, and some of it will shortly be given, that some such scheme existed, and was sought to be put into force, and that its ultimate thwarting and collapse caused both these gentlemen extreme chagrin.

As the four years ending in 1872 ebbed way, everybody came to know that Dr. Hopkins was about to resign the presidency, and so that a prominent vacancy in the College was about to be filled by somebody. There were only two persons in the faculty who were thought of, or at least talked of, as candidates for the position; and these were Professor Chadbourne and Professor Bascom. The latter had been a professor in the department of rhetoric for nearly twenty years. This department did not fully call out his powers, nor satisfy his ambitions. His large abilities and forceful character were

well displayed nevertheless in his own lecture-room and from the College pulpit and by a number of able books written from time to time. His preaching, however, excited more or less in the mind of Dr. Hopkins the *odium theologicum*. His orthodoxy, according to the supposed standards of the time and place, was properly enough distrusted. Dr. Hopkins was not by any means a heresy hunter in the common acceptation of that term, though he was naturally sensitive as to the theological sentiments to be held by his own successor, and there were those in the Board of Trustees at that time who were offensively narrow and bigoted theologically. This alone cut off all chance of Bascom's preferment, and there were other minor grounds of opposition to him.

Paul A. Chadbourne, of the class of 1848, had become a Professor of Botany and Chemistry in 1853, and in 1859 of Natural History, though he was at no time resident, except for a portion of the college year. He was employed in various other colleges a good deal as a lecturer, particularly at Bowdoin and at the Agricultural College at Amherst, of which last he was twice president for brief periods. He was an open and outspoken and agreeable man, a good observer and facile lecturer in botany and other branches of natural history, stirring and restless, fickle-minded, ambitious of place and power, fond of money, overestimating his own abilities and the commercial worth of his services, and thinking himself to be a good business man and a good executive officer when he was neither. He was born in Berwick, Maine, in 1823, of Methodist parentage, but his early training in Arminian views of theology he discarded for extreme Calvinistic views superficially taken up and very narrowly held. He attended for a few months the theological seminary at East Windsor Hill, now Hartford, teaching in an academy there at the same time; and he was accustomed to say in after life in reference to some of the deepest problems of human life and destiny, "*I settled all those questions when I was in the seminary.*" As an instance of the profundity of his reasoning in matters of biblical interpretation may be given his word in relation to the first chapter of Genesis, "*Those verses must have been divinely and verbally inspired, because otherwise no man could have known what was the order of the creation.*"

Professor Chadbourne successfully led natural history expeditions in 1855 to Newfoundland, in 1857 to Florida, and in 1861 to Greenland. In 1859 he visited Europe, giving his time mainly to the Scandinavian countries, and becoming a member of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquities at Copenhagen. For twelve years

he gave a course of chemical lectures in Mount Holyoke Seminary; for three years he lectured in the Berkshire Medical College; and he gave a single course of lectures in Western Reserve College. In 1860 he published four lectures on natural history, previously delivered at the Smithsonian Institute; and he delivered a course of lectures before the Lowell Institute on natural theology, which were subsequently published. He dabbled also in politics a little, but not deeply; and was a member of the Massachusetts Senate for two years. The first winter he determined that nothing should escape him; he was always in his seat in the hall and in committee-rooms; he seconded motions that by usage required no seconding; and he made a number of respectable speeches from his seat, without previous preparation, on current topics of legislation, and one admirable eulogy upon a member deceased. The second winter he tired of the whole business; on about one-half of the session days he was not in his place at all, and when he was in attendance it was with his books of science in his hand, which he often read the whole session through. It is superfluous to add to this account that Chadbourne was remarkably versatile throughout his busy life, that he did many things pretty well and nothing very well, and that he scarcely realized in his own mind the difference between well done and fairly done. He became president of the State University of Wisconsin in 1869, and performed what was regarded on the ground as good work in that capacity for about three years.

Chadbourne early acquired, and naturally improved by intercourse with all sorts of men in many climes, a good judgment of his fellowmen, of their salient tendencies and radical character. This was one of the strongest features of the man. He seemed to know others better than he seemed to know himself. Less than is common he judged others by himself. His verdicts in general were charitable and correct. He made sharp and courageous distinctions between what he deemed right and wrong, clean and foul; but he did not distrust others until he saw firm reasons for distrusting them. As is far safer and more rational in a world like this, he was rather an optimist than a pessimist. Like Professor Lincoln, whom, in some respects, he much resembled, he was born and bred a Democrat in politics, and continued strong in the faith of equal rights for all and special privileges under the law for none, until the Civil War broke out and confused for a long time the political schools of Jefferson and Hamilton. He was broad in his sympathies as toward the rights of individuals, both in college and in town; and he was usually open and earnest in his methods of contriving and conducting

means to ends. Examples of this general rule will pretty soon be given, as well as two or three notable exceptions to it.

Not very long after Chadbourne became a professor here, in 1853, he had a considerable misunderstanding with President Hopkins, and at that time spoke freely to some of his colleagues (certainly to one), of what he deemed and what was one of the chief defects in the latter's character. His words were, "*The only way to influence Dr. Hopkins is to flatter him.*" The statement was true in the sense in which he made it, and did credit to his general penetration into character. Hopkins was aware of this transient alienation, and referred to it in conversation with other parties many years later, at a time when, it is to be feared, Chadbourne acted upon his previous estimate in his own behoof. President Hopkins was sincerely desirous that the College should be continued and perpetuated along the intellectual and theological lines to which he had been instrumental in bringing it; and this was not only natural in the circumstances, but praiseworthy also; and furthermore he claimed, as a sort of right that he had earned, the privilege of naming his own successor; and there was no one then inclined to contest this claim, and, besides, it would have been useless to contest it. This was a purely personal claim of his own, and it did not rest on any induction of particulars either here or elsewhere. Indeed, the principle that an outgoing president should have any special say about his own successor has been practically controverted on this ground, and proven to be evil. Hopkins's own predecessor as president stoutly opposed his succession, yet it prospered beyond all previous limits. That predecessor came in in 1821 without any influence as toward that end of *his* predecessor; and Dr. Moore was scarcely known, much less favored, by the original president, Ebenezer Fitch. Even the insistence by Mark Hopkins on the privilege of naming his successor did not issue in his own comfort or peace of mind, but quite the reverse; and so far as that successor exerted any control over the election of the one to follow him, it proved a disappointment to him and his coadjutors. If we may take a single instance from another college, to strengthen the generalization that seems to be justified by an induction from the particulars at Williams, let it be from Dartmouth at the beginning of the century. The crucial troubles at Hanover, which almost extinguished the college, though at the same time incidentally making it celebrated, came very largely from the determination of Eleazer Wheelock, founder and first president, to make at all hazards his son and assistant, his successor in the presidency. College presidents had best have

very little to say one way or the other about their successors in office.

Undoubtedly the main reason that weighed on the mind of Mark Hopkins, inducing him to throw all his weight in favor of Chadbourne rather than of Bascom, was his conviction that the former pronounced and would pronounce his religious shibboleths both in class-room and from the pulpit more in accordance with what had been usual. So justly confident was he that the majority of the trustees were possessed of the same conviction, and would follow his lead in the election coming on in the summer, that, in the spring, when Chadbourne came to Williamstown to preach the funeral sermon of his brother, Professor Albert Hopkins, he virtually promised the succession to Chadbourne. It was said, and it is wholly credible, that Chadbourne confidentially communicated this promise at the time to Postmaster Taft, with whom he was always very intimate both politically and otherwise. As the time of the election drew on, it was impressed on the minds of most of the older professors as a foregone conclusion, that Chadbourne would be the man; and that prospective issue was on the whole agreeable to them. Nevertheless, Bascom was led by circumstances to believe, that, if he had the support of the majority of the faculty, he might after all be chosen. With this feeling, he requested his special friend, Professor Perry, to invite to his study for an informal conference the members of the faculty indiscriminately. Perry said to him frankly that such a step would do no good practically, that Chadbourne would surely be elected; but as, on the other hand, it could do no harm, and since he wished it, the invitations should be given. Nearly every member of the faculty then in town convened at the appointed time and place, when they encountered such a sudden surprise as has rarely or never fallen to the lot of that body.

Perry's study was then on the second floor of his house, and as he heard some one a trifle belated coming up the stairs, he stepped forward to the door to open it and to greet him; when Professor Carter stepped inside and said in a low voice, but one loud enough to be heard by all present, "*I can take no part in this meeting, for I am a candidate myself*,"—and immediately withdrew. The announcement was instantaneously bewildering. Carter had scarcely more than reached the outside door below, when every person in the study rose, and, without uttering a single word, descended the stairs. Bascom, who was the last to go out, expressed his surprise to his friend in a single phrase in passing, and the latter was now left alone, when the comical element in the whole scene struck him, and

he remembers sitting down and indulging in a hearty laugh. If we may judge of this single sentence quickly pronounced by its instant effect in dissolving a conference that had not yet begun to confer, it may perhaps be said that it was the most powerful sentence that Carter ever uttered in his life!

Nothing could have been more honorable on his part than the time and place of publicly announcing his candidacy, and nothing could have been more unsuitable than the candidacy itself. It was a nomination not fit to be made, — still less to be self-made. Its unsuitableness is best indicated by the fact that he himself was not aware of its unsuitableness at all. This was his first demonstration in the sight of all men of a radical deficiency in his moral make-up, destined later to be exhibited on this ground scores of times, namely, a lack of any proper sense of proportion as between what was due to himself and the other men, and as between some things and other things on a scale of mental measurement as to their relative importance. A part of this lack was due to his ignorance of, and consequent underestimation of, the historical past. He saw no incongruity in his becoming the immediate successor of Mark Hopkins, under whose instruction (1830–72), 1620 graduates had passed out of the College, nearly three-fourths of whom were then living, and whom nearly every living man of these respected and revered, and stood ready to help forward still in his official work as president. Carter had been but ten years out of college, and knew very few indeed of the alumni graduated before 1862. His college course had been fragmentary at best, and had been still further interfered with by sickness. He knew most of those graduated in the ten years' interval, and these were acquainted with him also, and did not entertain for him the respect and admiration that almost all graduates cherished for Mark Hopkins. Not indeed so striking in these particulars was the contrast between Franklin Carter and John Bascom. But Bascom had been twenty-three years out of college after a full course of four years, and was known and honored by most of all the alumni since 1849, was known to be highly gifted by nature and broadly educated theologically at Andover and Auburn, and was already recognized as the best-read and most roundly developed philosophical student and writer that had ever been graduated at the College. Besides this, he had been already teaching consecutively in the College for seventeen years, was known to be desirous of succeeding to the presidency, and was conscious (partly by trial of some of them) of the several abilities needful to success in that office.

Carter was no theologian and no preacher, had never had any

training or facility in those directions; and yet he had no scruple to set himself up as a more eligible candidate for the presidency of Williams College than John Bascom. It is true, he was free from any suspicion of aberrations from the then current standard of orthodoxy, and no doubt he regarded this as one coign of advantage that he possessed over the other; but this did not avail him one particle as over against the other more open candidate, Professor Chadbourne. Chadbourne was effusively if not offensively orthodox. He had also a wide public reputation as a teacher and lecturer, he had already been president of two well-known colleges and had quitted both for reasons growing out of his precarious health, and the public East and West was in no way surprised by his election as president at Williams, where he had been the valedictorian of his class twenty-four years before. He had taken his many previous honors easily, had separated himself from them readily one by one, and now seemed ready without much break or friction to assume the final step of ascent. Carter, of course, since he was an avowed candidate, made efforts that may well be characterized as desperate, to persuade some of the trustees at least, that he himself was the proper man for the place. The trustees did not know him very well; the alumni as a body scarcely knew him at all; he had no public reputation of any kind, and had never said or done anything to acquire that boon; and it was well known that Dr. Hopkins favored the election of Chadbourne.

There was something of the irony of fate in the inimitable tones, partly of sarcasm and partly of satisfaction, in which Dr. Hopkins announced over and over again to different friends, after his return to Williamstown, the result of the balloting of the trustees. His words were these: "*One vote was blank, one vote for Professor Carter, and all the rest for Professor Chadbourne.*" He also let it be known that the blank vote would have been cast for Carter, if there had been any the least chance for his election. He, himself, regarded that candidacy as both unsuitable and ridiculous. After all the president's mind was not altogether at ease in the result of the election. He remembered the even then long-ago misunderstanding with Chadbourne, and he suspected that one or two of the older members of the faculty remembered it too. When it became time for the faculty to make the arrangements for the inauguration at the Commencement approaching, he expressed his desire in the faculty meeting that Professor Perry be chosen to make the public address "in behalf of the faculty," and he was accordingly chosen unanimously. But Perry remembered only too well what Chadbourne

had told him repeatedly about the president's liability to influence by flattery; and a subtle instinct led him to foresee that the two men would not get on well together very long in their positions now about to be reversed, and he did not like to be a public party to a relation which he somehow believed would end in their mutual repulsion. Accordingly, he firmly declined the appointment of the faculty, giving, of course, no reasons; and Professor Bascom was then chosen to perform the duty, and accepted it.

A couple of days afterward the president came to Perry's house, and urged him to reconsider his refusal to represent the faculty in the inauguration exercises, and to consent to make the address, saying that Bascom did not care particularly about the service. It was not very clear why he was so persistent about such a small matter; and his interlocutor, feeling still the full force of his original reason, and the additional weight of Bascom's formal choice by the faculty, declined to make any change. The two fell then into some desultory discussion about the course the election had taken; and the professor, while raising no specific objection to Chadbourne, for he felt none, referred the president to the latter's many and facile changes of position in contrast to the steadiness and general weight of Bascom's course. Nine years afterward, when Perry's memory had pretty much let drop the items of this conversation, Hopkins, referring to it, said to him, "*You said, that John Bascom could put twenty Chadbournes in his breeches pockets and walk off and not know it.*" "Very well," said the other, "I say so now." Either at this interview or another at the same place a day or two after, Dr. Hopkins showed himself to be nervous over insinuations made elsewhere, that he had overpassed his prerogative in throwing all his influence in favor of Chadbourne; and still more nervous over his fear lest Chadbourne should not in the future remember and requite this great service. Finding his interlocutor quite reticent on this second point, he at last asked him outright, whether he remembered anything about their former disagreements, or had heard Chadbourne say any words about them? To this question, the other responded frankly, as in duty bound, but kindly; and the reply evidently pained the questioner, and foreshadowed what actually happened afterward. So soon as the result of the election was promulgated in Williamstown, both Carter and Dimmock resigned at once their respective professorships, the one to take a professorship of German at Yale, and the other to become master of the Adams Academy at Quincy. The separate informal leave-taking of these gentlemen with Dr. Hopkins, at both of which the writer chanced to be present, was discourteous to him on

the part of both the professors, and emphatically and gratuitously so on the part of Professor Dimmock.

The inauguration of President Chadbourne, July 27, 1872, was a memorable occasion. Its most distinctive feature was the address of the late president, after holding the office for thirty-six years, and his formal act of passing over the keys of the College to his successor. The present pages should hold of right the introduction to this address, and also its central paragraphs, as follows: —

Why do I resign my present position?

One reason is, that it may not be asked why I do not resign.

Another is, that it is safe to go by averages. The average man of my age is not equal to the burden of the office as I have borne it; and to lay down the burden and keep the office would not benefit the institution.

A third reason is, that whatever power I have had to draw students here is diminished and diminishing. I am now three score and ten years old. From my having been here so long it is generally supposed that I am much older. A young man entering College knows that he would not come under my instruction for three years, and I know that the impression in regard to my age has worked, and would continue to work increasingly, against the College. A change must come soon. I see nothing that could be gained by delay, while, in the present state of the institution and of educational movements, much might be lost to my successor. A guiding and vigorous hand that is to hold the helm for some time to come is now needed.

Other reasons might be given. I will only add, that while I have regretted to go counter to the wishes of the trustees expressed a year ago, when I gave notice of my purpose to resign, and also to the opinion of friends whom I honor, yet that I have not taken this step without the advice of those nearest me; and it will be of weight with many when I say that my brother strongly advised it.

But buildings, grounds, apparatus, funds, are but instruments. What have we done in teaching and in forming men? We have first increased the teaching force. Thirty-six years ago there were but three full professorships. Now there are nine. Then we have changed the character of the teaching. For a long time part of the instruction was given by tutors. Now there are no tutors. To have professors only was a great step, involving the essential thing in a College. A College is like a lighthouse. The structure may be vast, but if the light at its top be dim it is good for nothing. So the value of a College depends on its teaching and formative power, and these will depend more on right methods of instruction, including the arrangement of studies, and on having the right men, than on any thing that money can buy. Money can even buy teaching power, which many, with knowledge enough, have not; but good, common sense, and weight of character, and the power of inspiration, and unselfish devotion to the higher interests of the young men, money cannot buy; and without these the best results of a College will be far from being reached. At present the College is rightly constituted, and approximates, more nearly than I had expected to see it what I had steadily labored for, that is, the power to do for young men *in giving them a liberal education;* and, *in forming them to a right character*, all that can be done in four years. For this its surroundings are most favorable,

and, even as now endowed, I do not believe it is excelled in this respect by any institution in the country.

There is a false impression in regard to the benefit to undergraduates of the accumulation of materials and books, and of a large number of teachers. It is not by the amount of food in the larder that might be eaten, or by tasting a little of a great variety of dishes that a strong constitution is built up. It is from these that dyspepsia comes. What is needed, and all that is needed, is enough of the very best food so provided as to meet the changing wants of the system and then appetite, and digestion, and assimilative power; and that is the best institution, physically or mentally, where there is the most of these. I should say, also, that for the best ends of an undergraduate course, the average number of this College for the last twenty years is quite sufficient and better than more.

The inaugural address of Dr. Chadbourne was able and noteworthy throughout. Its introduction and three of its more significant paragraphs will soon be reproduced as they were spoken and printed. As Dr. Hopkins took pains to express at length the grounds of his confidence in his successor, also to make an implied apology for what seemed to most the latter's changeableness, and also to give him in passing a few words of caution, — a handsome reference to his distinguished predecessor which it is not needful to quote here, it is fit that these points also should be added to those already quoted above.

From the time he had entered this College, coming, as I remember, particularly commended to me, I have known the President elect, or known of him, as a student, as a tutor, as a professor in this and other Colleges, as a preacher and public lecturer, as a business man, as a member of our State Senate, as President of the University of Wisconsin, as an author, and have known that what he has done in each of these positions and relations has been a decided success. Doing many things, he has done them all well, and in some has gained high distinction; and if, in doing many things, he has changed often, it has always been for the better, and so is no evidence that he is changeful. This success he owes to a remarkable combination of executive power with the power of investigation and of teaching; his power of investigation having been shown in his published works, that do honor to the College and to the country, and his power of teaching in the enthusiasm awakened in his classes. I know him as thoroughly in sympathy with the College in the spirit of what has already been done — its objects and its methods; and also with that system of religious truth which has been held here.

With this knowledge then, and also with a high personal regard and esteem, I rejoice to commit to you, sir, the office which I now formally resign, and of which these keys are the emblem, and, by the authority of its trustees, to constitute you, as I now do, President of Williams College.

In doing this, your attachment to the College as one of its Alumni and your wide experience in this and other Institutions, preclude a call for any words of exhortation or advice from me. I will only say that, in executing the trust thus committed to you, you will need not only authority but influence; not only

wisdom, but the "meekness of wisdom"; not only strength, but the forbearance which conscious strength gives. For these you know where to look.

The form of Dr. Chadbourne's introduction is made to seem more appropriate, when one remembers that the special studies of his lifetime had been in the general field of natural history.

It is the order of nature, in both the vegetable and animal kingdoms, that all growth shall be marked by periods. The time of growth is preceded by apparent quiet, — in the outward activity at least, — a preparation season, when material is collected and energy garnered, until the fixed period of development, or some accidental condition, calls them into activity. The grain of corn sends up its folded blade of green, and the century-plant its massive trunk and wealth of flowers, from their slowly garnered materials — extreme types of that periodic growth, which marks the change of field and forest, and to a greater or less degree, the varied forms of animal life. In many kinds of the animal kingdom, the change is almost magical. The old form is broken, deserted or moulded into a higher type, as the being passes on to a higher life. Then in this transition state, is the time of hope and fear for the progressive being. Then new possibilities and new manifestations of power give hope, and the daring use of untried powers invites the destroyer, and not unfrequently leads their possessor to destruction. Then is the time, when Natural Selection manifests its agency, as large numbers disappear and the favored few survive to perform and enjoy all that their highest power and capabilities permit.

I should be doing violence to my own convictions, to my high sense of respect and regard for the Trustees, who have administered the affairs of this College, and for the men who have composed its Faculty, if I hesitated to declare that in my judgment, the instruction in Williams College has, upon the whole, afforded as true a type of high education as that in any College of our land. If she has not made as accurate scholars in all departments, she has made as able men, as any other institution. The position of the Williams Alumni in the professional schools, and every department of human activity, is better proof of her work than any words of mine. She has lacked means, and she has been far from perfect, as her best friends are ready to allow. But if her Alumni have had occasion to regret her deficiencies, it is because she gave them so much of solid education, that they understood their own wants as well as the wants of the College. They went out with an eagerness to labor, and with habits of independent thought, that soon carried them to a position where the best College education seems ridiculously meagre, if not sadly defective. The work they have done for themselves and the world, shows that they went forth with eager, healthful, well-trained minds, a far better preparation for life than special knowledge, without system or living power of growth.

We propose, then, for Williams College no revolution, no reform even, in its aim, for that we believe to be right. We have nothing in its system to root up. We are to cultivate a vineyard that has been well planted, pruning wherever a dead or superfluous branch may be found, plucking up every brier and thorn as it appears, digging deep, enriching and preparing the soil, that the fruit may be more abundant, delighting every friend of the College, and blessing the world. The College is to-day like the householder, and her voice is heard, and will be

heard every hour of the day, calling first of all to her Alumni, her own children, "Go, work to-day in my vineyard."

A College is simply an agency for distributing. It is a Trust Institution where the State and the rich put funds for the benefit of all who desire them in the form the College is appointed to give. When the College has funds it is the community, the poor especially, who have so much on deposit, to be drawn in the form of *the best education.* The Colleges discount every year, to the extent of their funds, to every poor boy who applies for admission. It is the community that suffers, as the College has lack of funds. Probably there is no College in the country, which is not compelled to withhold advantages from its students, from a lack of money. Certainly they nearly all withhold from their Professors, what their services would rightfully entitle them to receive, and they are all compelled to do it to such an extent that a Professor's work in many of our Colleges, becomes missionary work. In consequence of the demands made upon Professors and the moderate pay they receive, it becomes more difficult to secure the men that are needed. Those who have special love for the work, or are already in the harness, will submit to labor for less than they could obtain elsewhere, but the filling of new chairs with competent men is exceedingly difficult now, and will become more so, if the present disparity between College salaries and the pay from other employments continue. We can point to men, whose names are known to all the people, who have spent twenty, and even forty years, in College work, and have not received enough from the College treasury to pay the needful expenses of their families. Such men are often spoken of as working *for the College.* They ARE THE COLLEGE, so far as it is an active agency. They are working for the community, and are entitled to a fair support.

The address "in behalf of the Alumni" was given by James A. Garfield, then sixteen years from his graduation at the College, an interval of time filled up by him with distinguished services both military and civil. He often returned to the College in those days at the commencement time, and was always warmly greeted, and sometimes instrumental in showing up some weak place in the college ongoings. His address is herewith given in full.

MR. PRESIDENT: You have accepted the symbols of authority, from your predecessor in office; you have received the official congratulations of the Board of Trustees by whom you were elected; you have been welcomed by the Faculty with whom you are to labor, and by the undergraduates for whose benefit the College exists. There is still another constituency to whom the solemn and impressive ceremonies of this hour are of the deepest interest. They are the graduates of the year and of former years — the Alumni of the College. Here, more than half a century ago — for the first time in the history of American Colleges — the peculiar relations of graduates to their Alma Mater, was recognized by the founding of a Society of Alumni. Its first object was to renew and perpetuate the memories and associations of College life; to drink again at the fresh fountain of youth whose inspiration, at the best, dies all too soon. But recently the Alumni have been received into nearer and still more important

relations to the College. They now select one-third of the whole number of Trustees and appoint committees to examine the financial condition of the College, to attend the examination of its classes, and to report to the Society its condition and prospects. This Society, which drew its life and inspiration from the College, is now returning to the College its tribute of affection and support.

The Alumni have directed me to present their greetings, and to tender you their cordial support.

We cannot, if we would, and if we could we will not, transfer to any other the profound reverence, the deep affection with which we cherish the name and fame of the retiring President. His title to these is inalienable and imperishable. He is and will continue to be *our* President of Williams College. He is also yours; but, in loving him, we shall none the less love the College with the true loyalty of grateful children. Its success and glory in the future will be to us no less precious than in the past. To its sacred memories will be added, we trust, the rich harvest of our hopes.

To you, sir, as one of our number, sharing, as we doubt not you do, our hopes and aspirations for its future — to you and your associates we look for the energy and intelligence, guided by wisdom, which will lead the College onward and still upward in its high career of usefulness.

We recognize the difficulty of the work you undertake as the head of the College — a work always great, always difficult, but now made doubly so by the example of him who has so long and so nobly trodden the path which you now enter. We will not ask you to bend the bow of our Ulysses. Let it here remain unbent forever as the sacred symbol and trophy of victories achieved. But we do expect you to confront the future with its new and difficult problems — in the spirit of fearlessness and truth — in a spirit conservative to save all the garnered wisdom which experience has purchased — and courageous to adopt and lead all true reforms, and to work manfully by the light of each new rising sun.

Working in this spirit, and with these aims, success will be secure; and, what is still greater and better, it will be deserved.

In that work you will have the cordial support of the Alumni. They are an army seventeen hundred strong, deployed along all the outposts and taking part in all the battles of life. While you and your associates are here, unfolding the principles of science, we are out in the many fields of active life, testing the work which has been done for us here, and bringing back from year to year our suggestions and contributions. But going out or returning, sharing whatever fortune life may bring, we shall bear in our hearts the deepest love for the College and our most earnest wishes for its continued prosperity.

Next in its independence and pertinency and comprehensive wisdom to the address of Mark Hopkins, and in certain respects superior even to that, was the address on this occasion of John Bascom "in behalf of the Faculty." It is just a quarter of a century since those words, which will now be printed in their entirety, were delivered; and there is not a line of them that is not as appropriate and as forcible and as worthy of practical heed, as on that day. The subsequent spurning of the spirit of these wise words by one clothed

with nominal authority on this ground, has imparted an emphasis to them, and given them a sort of prophetic power, which they could not otherwise have possessed, and renders it probable that this address will survive in a living way so long as any words survive ever spoken here on any inaugural occasion. The address of Dr. Hopkins, a portion of the address of Dr. Chadbourne, and these words of Dr. Bascom, combined, present a complete outline of the theory and practice of a successful New England college. Time has not altered the conditions of such a success, and it never will essentially alter them. Time may indeed outgrow the college altogether, and bestow upon the world something new and even better in its place; but so long as a genuine college continues, it will be a body of colleagues; the president will be "a leader among equals" [Bascom]; "the Faculty are the College, so far as it is an active agency" [Chadbourne]; and all College officials will "need not only authority but influence, not only wisdom but the meekness of wisdom, not only strength but the forbearance which conscious strength gives" [Hopkins]. The current of prejudice against Bascom at the time of this inauguration, mainly on theological grounds, but subordinately also on account of his outspoken independence of character and judgment, did not permit those more especially interested to perceive the radical harmony of his words with all the rest that was significantly said on that occasion. Even Chadbourne was so far deluded as to say that Bascom stood there before him "*with a chip on his shoulder*"; and good old Parson John Todd of Pittsfield, one of the trustees, who offered the inaugurating prayer, said, that "*all of those speeches might have been made in heaven, — except Professor Bascom's !*"

Paul A. Chadbourne, *President of Williams College* — By the wish of the Faculty of this College, and in their behalf, I meet you here at the threshold of your new duties to bid you welcome, and to assure you of their cordial support in every effort for the well-being of our common Alma Mater.

The interest which, as a Faculty, we feel in Williams College, and in your administration of it, is not unknown to you. There are no men, nor body of men, that are by interest, service and love so deeply pledged to a College as its Faculty; no men, nor body of men, have had the same opportunities to understand its wants, or the same occasion to desire that they shall all be fully met; none who actually are rendering, or can be expected to render it, the same degree of self-denying service. An educational institution is what its Faculty make it to be, neither less nor more. The guardians and friends of a College who fail to see this are in error.

There are two conditions on which able and independent men — such as are the Faculty of Williams College, and such as should be the Faculty of every College — on which able, independent and right-minded men will cordially

labor; first, that they shall have the ordering of the forms and conditions of their own work; second, that they shall have influence in that general control which includes their own work with that of others. Under the first of these particulars we gladly mention the generosity, and, as we believe, the wisdom of the administration which has just closed, one which has covered so many halcyon days of the College.

Nor can we turn from you, sir, who have so long been the honored President of this Institution, to a new incumbent without bidding you an adieu that gathers tenderness from memories scattered entirely through our College life, without recalling obligations that began early in our history as students, and have since been often renewed.

As Professors we have been wont to do each in his own department what was right in his own eyes, and he who has the power to teach must find this liberty his first condition of success. He who requires dictation is unfit for instruction. We do not see how the public, or any portion of it, shall say to a College professor what or how he shall teach, what opinions he shall hold, and when and where he shall express them, unless they wish to degrade a branch of knowledge, or make its impartation contemptible. When one is called to a professorship these subsidiary questions are settled, and he is then accepted in the freedom and integrity and totality of his manhood.

The second point is scarcely less important. It matters little how skilful may be subordinate service, if the vessel itself is to be run on a rock. The value of the life-work of every professor is dependent, in the first instance, on his own skill, in the second instance on the able, successful administration of the College to which he belongs. It is not strange, then, that he should covet the right to be heard in its concerns, since these concerns are his concerns, in a most immediate and weighty sense. He cannot prosper, he cannot gain the rewards of well-doing, unless the College prosper, unless his services and self-denials are made effective by the enterprise and wisdom of that system in which they are inclosed. Petty tyrannies, absolute powers, secret counsels belong to an army or to a man-of-war, in which the barbarous creed of force still prevails, not to a College.

There is no room here for jealousies, for assertion of slight authority. The College is intrusted to the concord and wisdom of grave and unimpassioned men. The President is a leader among equals, the weight of whose words is more that of wisdom than of authority. We know, sir, your independence and ability, and accept these qualities as your tacit pledge, that you are ready to respect the same endowments in others, and understand well the conditions they call for.

Again, therefore, we welcome you, and pledge you, and through you the College, the loyalty which is consistent with the higher loyalty we owe to ourselves and the truth.

Good men and great men have gone before you in your office, greatness and goodness will be confidently expected of you, and we shall not stint the labor, nor withhold the sympathy that shall aid you in meeting this demand, a demand fitted to search your own resources, and the resources of those who shall work with you.

We remember your services here in times past, the attachment you have always shown to the place and the College, the vigorous spirit you have been

wont to bring to your undertakings, and, with the hope and buoyancy born of resolve, we welcome you to the crowning labor of a patient, considerate and efficient presidency, waiting on the conditions of a divine favor that underlie all successful human action.

Special difficulties confronted President Chadbourne when he assumed the charge of the College, besides those which always surround a new president, whether he be thoroughly familiar with the institution or not, and these must be borne in mind before a just judgment can be pronounced upon his success or the want of it. (1) The sudden vacancies in two important professorships, caused by the resignation of Carter and Dimmock, which must of course be filled before college work could begin in the fall, made a quick demand upon his resources. Taken all in all, the College was fortunate in the men then secured for these places: Edward H. Griffin, of the class of 1862, for the Latin department, and O. M. Fernald, a graduate of Harvard, for the Greek department. Griffin, oldest son of the former professor of that name, had been a tutor for one year shortly after his graduation, and then had been settled in the Congregational ministry in Burlington. He had no special interest in the Latin language and literature, though he was competent in them, and found his teaching duties burdensome, while his classes found them monotonous. It is vividly remembered by some, that, in a faculty meeting, when Chadbourne chanced to be absent, Griffin, with great frankness (which was not common with him), contrasted the ministry with a professorship to the extreme disadvantage of the latter in point of pleasure and opportunity. It is also remembered that Ira Remsen, Professor of Physics and Chemistry, who came into the faculty at the same time with Griffin and Fernald, took up the cudgels on the contrary in behalf of a professorship. Griffin continued with the Latin for nine years, until the accession of President Carter, but along a relatively low plane of impulse and influence for a man of his talents and culture, when he was transferred to the department of Rhetoric, which he liked much better, and in which he did work more stimulating to the students. In 1886 he took from the enfeebled hands of Mark Hopkins the chair of Moral and Intellectual Philosophy, which he occupied with fair success for about three years, when he resigned it to take a somewhat similar professorship in Johns Hopkins University. It cannot be truthfully said that, during these seventeen years of changing work at Williams, Griffin made any very deep impression upon the college life, and during the last part of this period he voluntarily came under circumstances almost fatal to a genuine college influence. It will be a duty

somewhat further on in these pages briefly to unfold these circumstances. It is enough here to add, that a common and just judgment of his classes and colleagues was that Professor Griffin was not always in plain sight. There was a pretty general distrust of his sincerity in talk and action.

Professor Fernald came to the College on call from the high school at Springfield. T. M. Brown of that city, of the class here of 1859, was the main instrumentality in securing this removal. He entered at once with alacrity and industry upon the duties of his place. Things seemed strange and loose to him, particularly in contrast with the strict rules of a Massachusetts high school. His predecessor had demoralized the department more or less, as has been shown above, and the whole college was more or less demoralized in the transition from Hopkins to Chadbourne. Fernald was intelligent and conscientious and faithful; but he did not readily and strongly orient himself in relations with his colleagues or his classes; no complete stranger, as he was, could have compassed these points in any very brief time of service; and the structure of his mind and the habits of his life thus far were unfavorable to any speedy personal adaptation to his new conditions. Consequently he drifted. He did not find any firm anchorage for a good while thereafter. Remsen, on the other hand, who came in at the same time an equal stranger, owing to quicker apprehensions, a greater independence, and feeling less the need of a routine and of external authority, gained a strong hold of his department and a firm footing in the College, though he stayed but four years, and then went to Johns Hopkins, where he greatly distinguished himself along the same lines. Holding a professorship unusually extended in point of time though never rising into the front rank of Williams professorships in point of influence and power, and showing the qualities of a first-rate schoolmaster rather than those of an inspiring teacher, Professor Fernald always displayed accurate Greek scholarship, remarkable assiduity in all his work, patience and self-restraint under recurring difficulties, a willingness to be useful wherever his help was solicited, and ever a strange sense of duty in serving the silly and selfish vagaries of some of those in authority, which last must at times have cost him some loss of self-respect, and which certainly cost him some loss of the thorough respect of those about him.

(2) The religious condition of the College at the time of Chadbourne's accession was the source of peculiar anxiety to him. Professor Albert Hopkins had been the local religious leader for forty years previous to the resignation of his professorship in 1868. The

four years following this, till his death and the coming in of Chadbourne, had been somewhat confused religiously. There had always been, perhaps from the beginning of the College, a weekly religious gathering for the attendance of the faculty and students combined. It had changed its form somewhat from time to time, and President Hopkins had made it for many years a short lecture on Saturday evenings. After 1868, he justly felt that he ought to be relieved

IRA REMSEN.
Professor of Physics and Chemistry, 1872–76.

from that special service, and it would naturally have fallen into the hands of Professor Bascom, if it were to be continued as a stated lecture; but the president had a notion that it better take the form of a conference meeting to be led by three or four of the professors in rotation; and, owing to some little friction of some sort between Bascom and the president, the meeting failed after a time even in this easier form; and when Chadbourne took hold, he found the College without any general religious meeting in the week of any

kind. This distressed him. He promptly asked Professor Perry to take a college meeting for Monday evening, to conduct it in any way he thought proper, and to be personally responsible for it. The meeting thus begun on those terms continued for eleven years without any break whatever, and without any lessening of attendance or interest, until President Carter broke it up, hoping that another form of his own choosing might prove more efficient. It did not. The College has now been for many years without any weekly religious meeting of that kind in any form (1897). There have been, however, various substitutes adopted from time to time.

In another way President Chadbourne felt moved from the outset of his office to try to promote the religious knowledge and activity of the students. In connection with Sunday evening prayers in the chapel, he made a short address to them on points of personal religion. These addresses were simple and direct and pertinent to the time and place and audience, and manifested (as those professors thought who heard them), the best of motives and an excellent spirit and judgment on his part in the choice of topics and mode of treatment. Whether it were, that the students thought that an unfair advantage was taken of them in connection with prayers, attendance on which was compulsory, or that they had some subtle prejudices against the president as a religious teacher and leader, they did not give good attention on these occasions, and this special service was soon intermitted. The president was a warm-hearted Christian man, and earnestly desirous to exert a wholesome and steady religious influence over the College so long as he was at the head of it. How to do this was a question that confronted him at the outset, and continued with him until his exit. But he was at no time able, practically, to solve the problem. The students did not, as a body, really like to hear him preach, and still less to hear him in those occasional addresses that belong to the ongoings of a religious college. On one of the annual days of prayer for colleges, that fell about the middle of his term, the president made the first brief address to the assembled students, and Professor Perry the other. When the former closed, there was a distinct stamping of feet all over the chapel floor, as in the way of ordinary applause; while the latter spoke and when he closed, a more attentive and reverent and apparently impressed college audience could not have been desired. The difference in the two cases defies the writer's powers of analysis. It may be, that the students had in some way an inkling of what may be called the president's bigotry. A pathetic instance of the exercise of this narrow spirit was exhibited toward

Professor Gilson, a saintly man if there ever was one in connection with the College, who, in one of the Monday evening meetings, had expressed himself in devout language differing somewhat in tone from the customary orthodox phrases, and who was told by Chadbourne, at the close of the meeting, that his participation in the religious meetings of the College was not desired. Gilson was a confirmed invalid, and was even then nearing his departure. He came to the meeting with difficulty, and his heavenly spirit through unusual words bestowed a benediction upon it. It is believed that Gilson never mentioned this to any one. Chadbourne himself told the writer of it after Gilson's death.

(3) The third incidental difficulty experienced by Dr. Chadbourne, and one more inescapable than either of the others, was his extraordinary relations to Dr. Hopkins, who, though ceasing to be president, continued to be teacher, and continued of course to be the chief figure-head of the College. General Garfield, speaking in behalf of the alumni, had told Chadbourne publicly at the inauguration that he could never be the president of those whom he represented on that occasion. Of course he could not. Dr. Hopkins thoroughly occupied that field, because it was his own field by emption and preëmption. There was no help for that. No caution or conduct on the part of either or both could possibly have prevented unpleasant experiences and comparisons, particularly on the Commencement stage and at the alumni dinner. To succeed Dr. Hopkins as president and still have him on the ground as a vigorous and dominant teacher, the semi-idol of the whole body of living alumni, could have been a present boon to no man, no matter how calm his temperament or how high his standing.

But Chadbourne's temperament was not calm, nor was his standing high enough easily to escape comparisons the more readily started by the obvious contrast between his short stature and no way very striking presence and the magnificent proportions and overshadowing presence of his predecessor. Nor was this by any means all in their relative relations that held the menace of future trouble. Dr. Hopkins claimed it as a right of his long and surpassing service to the College to dictate the person of his successor. He did so; and not in his usual way of consultation and conciliation with his colleagues. Not a single word was said beforehand to one of those faithful men on whose judgment he commonly placed so much reliance, unless it were to Sanborn Tenney, who perhaps deserved this distinguishing mark of confidence, in case it were given, which is doubtful. In explanation of this reticence, however,

it should be said that he was well aware some little time before the election was actually had that Carter was an avowed and Bascom a *quasi* candidate for the succession. His full and free and repeated conferences with Perry after the election had taken place showed clearly enough that he had lost no confidence in him as one in whose mind the interests of the College were foremost. He wanted it distinctly understood that he had chosen Chadbourne as his successor, and that he had practically brought about his formal election without any serious question from any quarter. This was the exact truth in the premises. But it was a truth not altogether satisfactory to either of the main parties to it. Chadbourne, now that he was in, had much rather have come in by the free choice fairly canvassed of his colleagues and of the body of the alumni. There is not much doubt, if any, that he could have come in by this open door. That would certainly have been the better way. A conviction of this led him to belittle his obligations to his former chief; and, besides, he remembered uneasily what he had said many years before: "The only way to influence Dr. Hopkins is to flatter him." Had he himself not tried on his own receipt, and had it not succeeded?

On the other side, the late president did not quite relish all of the retrospect and its issue. Was it a sound principle for an outgoing college president to exert such a controlling influence as this on the choice of his successor? Was it treating just right the real and whole constituency of a college? Was it likely in this case to promote kindly and stable relations as between promoter and promoted? He did not forget what Perry had frankly told him on his earnest request to know, namely, that Chadbourne had judged him very accessible to personal praise, and that it was quite possible that he had yielded more than was meet to such influence. It would have been a miracle if two men standing in such reciprocal relations as all these had gotten on without friction and mutual repulsion.

As a matter of fact, the first term had not passed before Chadbourne announced to his faculty, although not in faculty meeting, that such friction existed, and some of the grounds of it. It was, however, at the end of the year and on the Commencement stage that the first open evidence appeared that their relations were strained and would be pretty certain to become more so. The valedictorian of the class of 1873, in taking the usual leave of the president in the name of the class, was rather brief and cool as toward President Chadbourne, and emphatically warm and extended as toward ex-President Hopkins, who sat beside him. This was perfectly natural on the part of the speaker, for Hopkins had been

the president during three-fourths of the college course of the class, and besides had been their principal teacher throughout the Senior year just ended. Hopkins was in no sense whatever to be blamed, for he knew nothing of it beforehand, though of course it was very grateful to him. Neither the valedictorian himself nor the Professor of Rhetoric, who had passed upon his piece, saw anything out of plumb in its closing passages. But Chadbourne manifested his displeasure on the spot. If the reader will but put himself in the president's place, he will see that there were grounds for displeasure. Still, the displeasure, especially as extended after the event, was disproportioned to its occasion. He was incensed against the valedictorian, against the rhetorical professor, and even against the entire class. He saw to it effectually that nothing of the sort ever took place again.

It is in no sense worth the while to follow in detail the causes and occasions of the further and deeper alienation as between these two men. The hardest place for them to get over was the annual alumni dinner at Commencement time, at which both were expected to speak in succession; at which it was impossible for the younger man to gain the attention and applause freely accorded to the older one, for the simple reason that he excited the more interest as having done and even doing the greater work. After two or three years of this, Chadbourne took the bull by the horns, and said at the opening of his speech: "It is often said to me, '*You have a big pair of shoes to fill!*' I have never proposed to fill anybody's shoes but my own. *I am trying my best to fill my own shoes!*" The burst of applause that followed this sally, the most he was ever able to elicit on such an occasion, showed that the alumni appreciated the immense difficulty he was laboring under, and approved his independence of spirit and expression. Thereafter, Dr. Hopkins avowedly confined himself, in his always welcomed speech, to personal matters and points of reminiscence, and left the College to be reported on by the president proper. But no precautions and no forbearance on either side, or both sides, could make the stream run smooth which starts out amid rocks with sharp points, and continued to run through and past the same. Neither of the men was happy in contact and association with the other; and it came at last to merely casual speaking relations, when these could not be easily avoided. Attention has already been called to the more obvious lesson to be drawn from this unfortunate state of things, namely, *that an outgoing college president should have little or nothing to say in the choice of his successor.* This

lesson comes again with redoubled emphasis from the experience next following his of 1872, that is to say, that of 1881.

The query may here be raised, while no answer will now be attempted, whether it would not have been better, for the peace of mind of Dr. Hopkins in his last years, for his permanent posthumous reputation, and for the general good of the College even, if he had resigned his teaching functions when he resigned his presidency in 1872; if, when he gave up most, he had also given up all, so far as Williams was concerned? He had then had forty-two consecutive years of teaching at home; lecturing away from home would have been still even more open to him. There are two strong sides to this question. More and later light must fall upon it before a rational judgment can be entered.

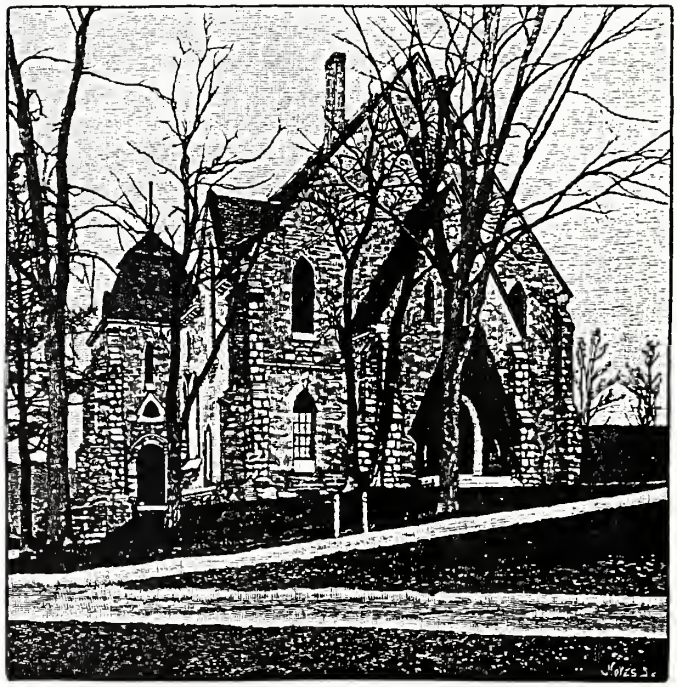
The expectation of the trustees, and of the alumni, and of the public naturally was, that Chadbourne would enter at once upon efforts to recruit the funds of the College; for he had some reputation as a business man, and his associations had lately been with some of the leading capitalists of the county and of the State. Most of the colleges of New England had already reaped a large harvest out of the fortunes so easily made during and after the Civil War by manufacturers and contractors and large operators generally, assisted, as those were, by the inflated prices caused by greenback money declining in value. Mark Hopkins could not have been expected at his age, and with his past, to join in the college scramble for a share in these largely factitious gains. The college funds fell relatively much behind in this interval of time. Chadbourne's accession to the presidency was facilitated and welcomed on the ground that he would probably make up lost time by addressing himself at once to this task. As Hopkins continued to teach much as of old, and as the vacated professorships were well filled, Chadbourne could have been absent from college on this errand a good deal, probably without weakening its stated ongoings at all. If it had been understood that he were away for that purpose, he would probably have held and gained popularity among the students much more than it was possible for him to do by settling down to a certain routine of executive work not at all to be appreciated by them. Bascom and Perry were then in their prime, both of them having been active and successful in their places for about twenty years, and both of them having much influence with the students. But Chadbourne reasoned in another direction. As he explained to one of these professors, he wanted to get all things into good shipshape before he went out to beg.

And he wanted to increase the number of students first. This was not very logical reasoning, and it did not work well in practice. When everything is in good working order, and the attendance increasing, there would seem to be less point in an appeal for help. At any rate, such an appeal was not made. Nor were the numbers in attendance increased, on the whole. The average number of graduates during the first five years under Chadbourne was thirty; the average during the last five years under Hopkins had been thirty-seven. The time never came during his nine years' service, when it seemed best to him to make a steady and persistent effort to increase the endowment funds. In justice to him, however, it should be said, that his first year of service was by much the most favorable of any that fell during his term, for such a purpose as that. In 1873 there commenced a commercial depression, that continued without much intermission till the resumption of specie payments in 1879.

Nor was Dr. Chadbourne fortunate in either of the college buildings that rose during his presidency and under his instance. Goodrich Hall, built in 1864, contained a large gymnasium which became in the course of years on many accounts unsatisfactory; and the agitation for a smaller and more manageable one continued till the last year of Chadbourne's office, when he proceeded to plan for and build another. It was of wood, and was placed a little to the southwest of West College, a location inconvenient and unpopular to the students rooming on the East College campus. It was unsightly also, and had a transient look that soon justified itself by its entire disappearance. The alumni dinner was held in it in 1882. That Commencement was signalized by the appearance of the new president, Franklin Carter, at all its public exercises in the scholastic cap and gown. This innovation, proper enough in itself, was not pleasing to most of the alumni, and they made endless fun of it in private. Near the close of the speaking, which always followed the dinner, a harmless gibe indulged in by one of the professors at the new robe and head-gear brought out vociferous applause. The next year, 1883, the dishes had already been laid for the dinner in the same place as before, and the day before, when a terrific wind swept through the valley and brought the roof and a large part of the frame of the gymnasium to the ground. The dishes of course shared the same fate as the building, and helped to make the whole accident ludicrous. One was about as fragile as the other. The dinner was seasonably provided for in the gymnasium in Goodrich Hall. The class of 1833 was holding its jubilee gathering at the

time, and Martin I. Townsend, their leader and spokesman, furnished most that was hilarious in the after-dinner speaking of 1883. His discourse, in part at least, was on the pertinent topic of "Wind." This old gymnasium room continued till the erection of the elegant Laselle Gymnasium in 1886 as the current place of exercise for the students.

The only other new college building for which Dr. Chadbourne stood in any sense as sponsor was the so-called Clark Hall. This



GOODRICH HALL.
Built in 1864.

building is interesting as occupying the alternate site chosen by the original trustees of the Williams Free School to that on which they actually reared their first building in 1790, now the West College. They chose provisionally two sites, subject to an ultimate choice as between them. The eastern option was a point "opposite to the old lime-kiln." The "old lime-kiln" — old in 1788 — was near the site of the Soldiers' Monument. Clark Hall stands opposite that point across the Main Street. Edward Clark, of the class

of 1831, and a trustee from 1878 till his death in 1882, a successful lawyer in New York, offered to Chadbourne to put up at his own expense and under his own supervision, any needed college building, whose purposes and proportions the president might designate. It is well understood that there were no limitations at all to this offer. Here was an opportunity of one's lifetime for cautious deliberation, wide consultation with others, and an ultimate decision that should have greatly honored both donor and chooser. Here was an offer indicating large financial ability and a willingness to spend freely in the interest of the Alma Mater. Chadbourne reasoned it over somewhat in this way: We need two or three college buildings very much, — here is a generous but indefinite offer to build, — probably this man would just as soon give us three buildings at $25,000 each, as one big building for $75,000, — would it not be best to lead him along by one small building first and thoroughly interest him in the College that he will then build for us one or two more? Mr. Clark was then living in London, and could not be personally consulted, though he might have been and should have been consulted by letter. Chadbourne talked it over cursorily with members of the faculty and with members of the Board of Trustees, and concluded to have a relatively small building of the local limestone put up for the purpose mainly of housing the college collections in natural history. Such a building was accordingly put up on the best site left accessible to the College on its old grounds by the direct agents of Mr. Clark under his own supervision and in accordance with a general plan furnished by the College and elaborately wrought out by a competent architect. The actual construction was shabbily done, and repairs have been repeatedly made at large expense. This was dubbed Clark Hall. It was neither this nor that. A part only of the college collections in natural history was deposited in it. It served no purpose adequate to its cost, which was $25,000, nor adequate to the munificent offer originally made, nor to its honorable name. It was only in harmony with some of the fundamentals of human nature, that Edward Clark promptly and positively declined the suggestion made to him that he invest more of his money in a building or buildings on the college campus. Perhaps this issue might have been anticipated.

It was from the University of Wisconsin that Dr. Chadbourne came, after an interval of a year or two, to be president of Williams. One of his old students there, Burr W. Jones, wrote of him as follows, twenty-five years after the experience depicted: —

None but those who knew the University of Wisconsin in her dark days can fully appreciate the changes which took place during the administration of President Paul A. Chadbourne, from 1867 to 1870. The legislature had just made an attempt to atone for the neglect and wrong doing of many former legislatures; they had recognized the institution by an act showing a proper conception of the needs of a State University, and had even given promise that her inheritance should be no longer withheld or diverted. For years the students had felt it their duty to watch and wait in the galleries of the legislature, and see whether the University could exist another year. When President Chadbourne came they soon found that he knew all about legislatures, and they found they had little time to play the *rôle* of lobbyists. Although in physical stature President Chadbourne was of slender frame and shorter than most of his students, we never feared that the dignity of his place would not be maintained nor that his leadership in the University was in danger. His classic head and face would have attracted attention among any body of men; he had not been among us a week before we had learned that the flash of his dark eye and the quick flush of his cheek indicated a temper that would brook little nonsense.

A little gift of oratory in a college president always warms the cockles of the student heart. President Chadbourne had this gift, and the enthusiastic Western boys were always glad to give him audience. We supposed that he had great executive ability and we knew that he was a good teacher. However strange it may seem in these days of specialization, he seemed to. us equally at home in his lectures on Natural Theology, Botany, Crystallography, and Moral Philosophy. It is doubtless true, that the president had touched the world at too many points, and studied too many things to be a specialist of the highest rank; but he was a man eminently fitted for the stirring, practical duties of those days of reconstruction when the lax methods of the old college were to be given up forever. He was a strict disciplinarian, and knew how to inspire enthusiasm among his faculty and students, and how to create confidence among the people of the State. He was able to see the great possibilities of the little struggling institution to which he had come, and at once bent his energies to the planning of different colleges and courses.

Another pupil at Madison, contemporaneous with Mr. Jones, and this time a woman, gives us a few fine touches of Dr. Chadbourne, and of herself also, and of those she was fortunate enough to represent in a critical phase of the University. Like the other, it is quotable.

The University officials took a very radical step when, in the fall of 1871. they introduced coeducation into this institution. The clock of the century had not then struck woman's hour. The crown of the new woman's head had scarcely emerged above the horizon. That was a quarter of a century ago. In deference to the feeling that the taxpayers had some claim upon the State institution for the education of their daughters as well as their sons, young women had been tentatively admitted to a "Normal Course." The next step was to dub

this troublesome "annex" "Female College." How utterly inadequate and unworthy were the advantages offered, may be inferred from my own experience when I entered the "College" in 1869. I had known only the advantages of district and select school.

With much difficulty I was at last classified with the Seniors in Geology and Political Economy, and, without any preliminary preparation, with a class in Latin reading Cæsar's Commentaries! Thanks to the kindliness of the respective professors, Daniels and Carpenter and Allen, I still live to tell the tale!

Without question, President Chadbourne was a scholarly man and a magnetic teacher, but old-fashioned and unprogressive to a degree as far as woman's half of the world was concerned. But he could not stem the tide that was rising. The climax came when the Castalians in solemn conclave decided that the coming anniversary exercises must be held "down town." Since fools rush in, etc., this writer was spokesman of the committee appointed to beard the lion in his den, inform him of our wishes, and, if possible, secure his consent to our project. With such show of courage as we could muster, we made known our plans, — to be received with scant and wrathful courtesy. "We might do as we pleased; but as for him, he wished us to know that he was unalterably opposed to the whole thing." With that deliverance, he turned his back upon us, and we considered ourselves dismissed. Nevertheless we crossed "the Rubicon," and the crowded condition of the old Congregational Church on anniversary night and the encomiums of the daily papers the next day were the testimony to the success of our bold exploit. But presto! It is the fall of 1871. President Chadbourne is out and President Twombly in.

It is not the exact truth to say, that this unwelcome pressure of coeducation upon him as the head of the University caused the resignation of Chadbourne from Madison; but this was one of two or three occasions in all, seized upon by his native and now overgrown restlessness, to quit the present and seek the future post of duty. Restlessness was a part of his nature, and it had been intensified, perhaps, by a chronic disease in his lungs. He had had severe hemorrhages before he came to college from New Hampshire; they recurred after longer and longer intervals; and the menace of them impended over him so long as he lived. It had been his custom to begin any new enterprise with great energy and with far-reaching plans, as if this certainly were to be his life-work. He pretty soon grew tired of certain parts of it, and sought change as to those parts; and, by and by, he would weary of the whole of it, and often find in the state of his health the real, or at least the ostensible, reason for shifting the scene. More than once he began to build houses for a permanent home, but it is believed that he never finished one of them. When he had gotten ready to fling up at Madison, he felt a strong desire to explore the Rocky Mountains, partly for the sake of his health, and partly because he believed himself able to tell, even

by the looks of certain rocks, whether they were metalliferous or not. He did not stay in the Rockies long enough to enrich himself, or anybody else, in this novel method; but a sojourn of a few months was beneficial to his health, and added fresh material to his knowledge of geology and earth-building. In April, 1872, he was transiently back in Williamstown, in order to preach the funeral sermon of Professor Albert Hopkins; and while here at that time, he received the virtual assurance from Mark Hopkins that he should become his successor at the trustee's meeting in July. This happened in due time, as has been already narrated.

It seemed for a considerable time that Chadbourne had now reached the goal of his ambition. He had been now graduated from the College twenty-four years, 1848–72. He had been back for brief periods during most of the interval as tutor, and lecturer, and professor, and so kept up his acquaintance with the *personnel* of the College, particularly with the Hopkins brothers who were then the main men in the management and instruction. He seemed to settle down as if to a life-work. He was then fifty-one years old. He had already built his family tomb in the then new college cemetery, and the body of his eldest daughter, Abby, had been the first to be deposited within the hallowed ground. He had not been altogether pleased, as has been said, with Bascom's address in behalf of the faculty at the time of the inauguration, but he had no real reason to be displeased with it, and he would not have been displeased with it had he known Bascom as well as some others of his colleagues knew him. In the course of his second year, he had a good opportunity to show Bascom a kindness and an honor, and at the same time to manifest a more than willingness that he should leave the faculty at Williams. Things had not settled down at Madison; and one of the regents of the University came East to procure a president, and came to Williamstown to consult Dr. Chadbourne. The latter recommended Dr. Bascom; and the regent, after a thorough talk with Bascom, offered him the place. He determined to accept it, in case he should ascertain that it was not Chadbourne's desire that he should remain here. A single talk with Chadbourne over this point was sufficient to elucidate it, and Bascom went to Madison, where he had a successful presidency of fourteen years.

This shift was doubtless equally fortunate for both of these able gentlemen; for Bascom found at Madison not only varied executive duties that were agreeable and easy to him, but also studies to teach in the Senior class that were exactly to his taste and training.

These were Philosophy, now so-called; at that time they were named usually Metaphysics and Ethics. These had been his favorite studies in college, and in the Theological Seminary at Auburn, and they had been his main reading for many years afterward; but till now he had had no opportunity to teach in them. His department at Williams had been Rhetoric and Elocution, and he had expressed in a talk with Chadbourne at the latter's accession to the presidency, a strong desire for a change, if possible, in the nature of his studies taught. Of course Dr. Hopkins could not be disturbed in his life-long teachings at Williams, and all these circumstances facilitated the transfer of Bascom to Madison, where his teaching as well as his general administration bore the happiest fruits. On the other hand, it was better for Chadbourne to have Bascom away from here during the former's brief administration of affairs, mainly for this reason, the president's suspicion of Bascom's theological opinions. Chadbourne was narrow and Bascom was broad, each in his own settled religious views and constructions; while both of them were admirable practical Christians. Perhaps each of them would have proved rather belligerent than irenical in their religious attitude toward each other, if both had remained prominent in association on this ground. There might have been friction at other points also. Chadbourne was irascible. Bascom was self-controlled. Each was personally ambitious in the etymological and customary sense of that ambiguous word even beyond the point of wholesome development and rational content.

In order to judge fully and fairly of Paul Chadbourne as a president of the College, particularly in contrast with Mark Hopkins sustaining the same relations, it is well to compare the two men in one respect in which they were singularly unlike. Like many other men, Mark Hopkins had large sides to him, many of them, and also, on occasion, small sides, a plenty of them. When he presented himself to the students as a body, or to the public, he always exhibited one or more of his broad sides, — the habits of his life had been formed in that way, — and he gave consequently the impression of doing all things *in a large way*. Chadbourne too had his broad sides and narrow sides; but it did not seem natural and habitual to him to exhibit himself to the students, and to other bodies of men, to his own best advantage. On the contrary, he seemed pretty uniformly to present himself officially in one or more of those smaller characters which he seemed to have at command, and to make the impression of *doing things in a small way*. For example, the first thing he busied himself upon, when he was fairly inducted into office, was

the college campus, in its walks, and green spots, and shrubbery, and trees. These, indeed, needed his attention. They had been neglected. Dr. Hopkins cared relatively for none of these things. Instead of calling a college meeting and asking the coöperation of the students as a body in an effort to improve the landscape gardening, or at least interesting the classes as such in maintaining in order each certain parts of the campus as a whole, he had warning notices posted on all the green spots in small capitals, — KEEP OFF THE GRASS! The traditional college delvers were hired to trim the college walks, which were in due time gravelled in the ordinary way; while, as a harbinger of improved shrubbery and shade, a line of small hemlocks was set directly in front of the president's house. These were small, and they *looked* small. They made an unpleasant impression upon the students, as if the president were beginning at the wrong end of things to renovate and upbuild. They were all torn up in a night, and carried off nobody knew whither. The president said nothing about this, and after a few days other small hemlocks of the same sort were set in their places. These, too, disappeared in the same way in the night-time. Nothing was said, and in a few days similar hemlocks were quietly reset in the same places by the same hands in the daylight hours. These last were never disturbed by the students. The president seemed to gain the victory in this particular.

But he had no stroke of policy to present in any particular that appealed to the imagination of the students. He had said in his inaugural that he had no reforms to propose, and no radical changes to make. There was not enough that was new to satisfy the curiosity of a new set of students. Dr. Chadbourne was a naturalist or nothing. In this class of studies he had distinguished himself as a student, as a professor here and elsewhere, and as a leader in scientific expeditions, particularly to the northward. The natural sciences had been decidedly the leading study in the College during the first third of the century. Mark Hopkins had fairly brought the philosophical studies into the first place during the second third of that century, and now there was an inviting opportunity, if Chadbourne had chosen to embrace it and to heed it, to bring back these branches into their former predominance, with the aid of Professors Tenney and Remsen and others, since metaphysics and ethics were relatively declining in the now aging hands of Hopkins. But the opportunity was not embraced, and was lost in favor of another set of studies entirely, as we shall see more fully by and by. Chadbourne now professed to have lost interest in the pursuits of his

youth in which he was thoroughly proficient, and in which coadjutors stood by able to give him an unquestioned lead and triumph. He professed to have been weaned from these studies in behalf of those in which he had feebly tried his hand at Madison; namely, the metaphysics and theologics. Mark Hopkins was still too strong to yield anything of much account in those realms of his own winning, and the new president contented himself for the present in teaching natural theology, in which he also published a book of very considerable merit.

Instead, therefore, of exhibiting to the students and to the public his own broadest side, and the broad aspect of all his previous life, when he became president in succession to a man much more distinguished than himself, he rather presented himself as in a state of transition from what was distinctively his own into something of which he was not yet in full possession. True, he had now a coveted place, but he had not yet an assured position in it. He made no novel appeal to the scholarly instincts of anybody. He did not even propose to himself to enlarge the horizon of the College in any striking way in accordance with the scientific tendencies then strongly felt in most of the institutions round about. On the contrary, he indulged with his intimates, and more or less in his classes, in a line of college talk much more connected with the past than with the bursting present and the hopeful future. He was fond of saying (and he said it in an interesting way), that he himself could teach all the branches usually taught in a New England college; that he had taught in nearly all of them already, and that he was confident that he could succeed in teaching economics and politics, then newly coming forward as prominent studies in some of the colleges, although he had not tried his hand in these. Just as all the college studies were in an opening process of specialization, this was not helpful nor stimulating talk to teachers or students. It was an anachronism to talk thus. It was self-flattery in relation to the speaker, and bad policy in relation to the hearers. The promises of the new college administration were "*in their budding sere.*" There was looking backward in plenty, but no blazing torch thrust forward by the president. There was not enough of new proposed in any direction to keep up his own interest as an experimenter in college education. True enough, he did not interfere in the least degree with the experiments and comparisons entered upon by the enthusiastic young teachers in the faculty around him. At this point his conduct throughout was admirable. He deemed himself the head of a body of colleagues,

whose rights to and in their places were as substantive as his own. He was ready with his counsel for each and all his associates, whenever it was solicited by them; but it was never protruded unasked, as if from a stool or throne. Every man had his liberty of choice and action in his own department. Every man's self-respect as an integral part of the college was respected by him. This is great praise. This is a college president's chiefest merit. Several departments of college instruction, accordingly, were amplified and solidified during the term of Chadbourne's presidency, even while he himself was growing restless and discontented, and his own hold on the College was loosening.

President Hopkins at the inauguration of his successor had pointedly called the latter's attention to the distinction between college authority and college influence, affirming that he would stand in constant need of both of these. As term after term and year after year wore away, Dr. Chadbourne perceived clearly enough that he was not gaining in power of influence either official or personal over the body of students. He did not attempt to deceive himself on this point, as many another man would have done under these circumstances; he was too clear-minded and honest-hearted for that. He knew as well as any man the immense practical difference between the truth and what is only apparently and superficially the truth, and he talked these points over frankly and repeatedly with Professor Perry, the oldest in service and the freest in expression of his faculty. He seemed to have complete confidence in him as a personal friend, and as a colleague on whom reliance could be had in all exigencies. One such conversation he brought to a close in these words of much emphasis, "*You are contented and I am not*, AND THAT'S THE DIFFERENCE!" This was, indeed, one great difference between the two men. One consequence of this difference was that the professor's college influence and enjoyment, without any special authority whatever, was steadily increasing year by year, while the president's authority, technically ample at all points, was not accompanied by a corresponding influence. Many a president would have thrown the blame of a contrast like this upon the professor himself. But Chadbourne did not. Here was a second great merit. He showed no suspicion nor jealousy toward a colleague who was getting on in his college work much better than he himself was getting on. And he magnanimously referred this greater success to one of its chief causes, namely, to an entire content in the one case with the conditions of work just as it was.

As Dr. Chadbourne's absences from College increased in number

and duration in his last two or three years of incumbency, he always left the College in the hands of Professor Perry, sometimes telling him that he was to be away and passing over the supervision with a friendly grasp of the hand, and quite as often, perhaps, saying nothing about it, presuming that Perry's presiding in the faculty meetings as the oldest professor in service would carry along with it the needful care at all points. When Chadbourne's successor in the presidency met the faculty for the first time, Professor Fernald, an unexceptionable witness, volunteered this bit of information to the new official: "*We have always thought that the College was more quiet while Dr. Chadbourne was away from town than when he was present.*" About two years before the actual resignation of his place, there occurred a *quasi* rebellion in the Sophomore class, from certain trivial causes not now worthy of recall, the expression of which was a refusal to attend college exercises on the part of the entire class. In the course of handling the business, the president came to Perry, and desired him to visit the Sophomores, who roomed in the West College, and to say to them as individuals, that unless they attended a specified exercise impending, they would be excluded from their rooms, by force if necessary. As Perry had had no connection of any kind with their foolish movement, and had the keenest sense of its folly, he not only executed his commission to these men in good set terms, but also he reasoned it out with them, like a father. Very shortly after a committee of the class waited on the president, and told him they were ready to make their submission to Professor Perry. Without knowing what had been said or done, the latter saw the entire class approaching his house. He had barely time to snatch his memorandum-book, containing a list of their names, when they drew up in front of his piazza to meet him. There was no time for parley nor solemnities. He assumed that they had come to reknit their boyishly snapped connections. There was no propriety in his meeting them with a club in his hand. Accordingly, he said to them pleasantly: "*I am glad to see you. I did not expect you so soon, nor in such large numbers.*" Then, taking out his class-list, saying that he should take for granted that each one responding "present" thereby resumed his place and duty in the College, the roll was called, the response unanimously made, and the class withdrew, not without some signs of hilarity. The only criticism openly made by the president on the conduct of the professor, during nine years of intimate association, fell in the next faculty meeting, when he remarked with some acerbity that the matter was too jocosely handled. It was noticeable, though, that neither he nor

any other member of the faculty practically suggested any way in which it could have been differently handled or with better results.

Consequences, unpleasant to President Chadbourne, followed this little ripple of a rebellion, largely as a result of references which he himself made to it at an alumni dinner at Cleveland, — references that proved displeasing to the trustees and alumni present, and on their publication to other trustees and alumni. Previously to this, Chadbourne had gone into manufacturing in a small way at a fall in the Green River on Water Street. Indeed, he had been dabbling in local stocks and factories for ten years before he became president. As an agent for the Arnold Brothers in North Adams, he had purchased the fine water privilege on the Hoosac River at the railroad station, and took stock in the cotton-mill built there. About the time he became president he purchased additional stock, and became the treasurer there. These functions were so actually and obviously incompatible with his duties as president of the College, that he soon resigned the treasurership; while the purchase-money for this stock, which he borrowed, remained an item in his insolvency at the time of his death. About the time of this resignation of the treasurership of the large cotton-mill on the Hoosac, Dr. Hopkins was desirous to find a place in local business for his youngest son, Mark Hopkins, Jr. Chadbourne had then a reputation for business capacity of all sorts, and a self-estimation of his own ability along these lines, altogether exaggerated beyond the real facts in the case. Largely at Dr. Hopkins's instance a joint-stock company was formed to build and run a mill on Green River for some subordinate branches in the cotton manufacture. It was styled "Loup, Hopkins & Co." The stockholders were Mark Hopkins, Paul Chadbourne, Keyes Danforth, and a young man from the large mill on the Hoosac, who was to be the manager. The new mill promised to be profitable. Chadbourne was proud of the combined designation of college president and cotton manufacturer. At the Cleveland meeting just referred to, the president, probably in pleasantry, contrasted the running of a cotton-mill with the running of a college to the disadvantage of the latter function, adding with considerable emphasis, — "A cotton-mill never rebels!"

This extremely injudicious reference, under all the circumstances, and the wide publicity given to it, and the hostile criticism excited by it, brought matters to a head so far as the action of the trustees toward Chadbourne was concerned. There had been a quiet movement in 1879 to oust Chadbourne, which became known to some of the trustees, who assumed to say to those having it in charge, that the trustees themselves would take such decisive action as would

bring about the resignation in 1880, certainly in 1881. Chadbourne already knew he had lost whatever confidence he had had of students and of faculty and of trustees; and it was supposed by those best entitled to know, that Judge Dewey of Worcester was the agent of the trustees in inducing the president to agree to resign in 1880, to take effect at Commencement in 1881. Garfield's political campaign for the presidency fell in the fall of 1880. Those not in the secret were surprised, that the president of the College should be away from his post during much if not most of that fall term; that he should be making stump speeches at the West, and particularly in Ohio; and their surprise was not abated when the bullet of Garfield's assassin brought the private statement from Chadbourne that Garfield had specifically promised to him the United States mission to Copenhagen. He had visited that capital many years before and had been highly honored there, as a naturalist and traveller; the appointment would have been highly appropriate in any case, as Garfield was a graduate of the College, and Chadbourne its present president; and the form of the honor was the result of an understanding between the two men in connection with campaign services rendered in the autumn. Garfield was already on his way to attend the Commencement here of 1881, when his predestined fate confronted him; and while its announcement in Williamstown fell as a personal bereavement more heavily on Dr. Hopkins than on Dr. Chadbourne, it was to the latter a crushing blow on his immediate and future prospects. His college career was over. He had no home. He had no apparent means of livelihood. He did not know which way to turn.

That Commencement was a memorable one in the history of the College. The first impulse of the officials when the appalling news from Washington reached them was to forego all the public ceremonies of the week. But the graduating class, to whom such ceremonies come but once in a lifetime, were by no means inclined to surrender them, and there was no solid reason why they should. The annual alumni meeting on Tuesday sent through their secretary a feeling telegram to the White House, which was pathetically responded to through Colonel Rockwell, a classmate and companion of the suffering President. Though the atmosphere was of course depressing, the exercises of Wednesday, graduating day, the last at which Dr. Chadbourne presided, passed off much as usual. He was low in spirits throughout the week; and, calling on the writer for the final good-by, he said: "My presidency here seems now way back in the past, as much so as my work in Madison does, almost as much as anything in my past life, — cut off sharp like the weaver's

thread." The faculty were a body of able and independent men, who, as soon as it was generally known in the summer of 1880 that he was to leave the College at the end of the following year, were desirous to transmit to him and have put on record their sense of his courtesy to them and fair-mindedness in general. Professor Perry was requested by his colleagues to draft such a paper, which he consented to do on condition that it might be substantive and not merely formal in its expressions. In fact, his estimates of the president were more favorable than those of most of his colleagues, mainly because he knew him more thoroughly and had learned to look beyond his obvious shortcomings. Llewellyn Pratt of the class of 1852 was at that time the professor of the best literary taste in College, and he had a good insight into character. Perry was his college classmate, and the two were always fast friends. Pratt objected to two or three phrases in the first draft of the Chadbourne paper as too complimentary to be truthful; and it was then written over anew so as to meet his objections and receive his signature. When this was presented to Professor Dodd, the veteran of the circle, a man notably conscientious in all his criticisms, he still objected to a single expression as too flattering to his old classmate of 1848. No paper was to be handed in unless it carried the names of all the members of the faculty; and no paper was to be handed in unless certain qualities of the president were honestly and emphatically commended. In this dilemma, Perry wrote his paper for the third time, and thus secured Dodd's name as a trophy and a proof of his magnanimity also, and all the rest in due order of succession. After preamble the professors say: —

> We heartily unite in expressing to you our deep personal regret that you propose to take this step; second, our sense of the loss which the college will sustain thereby in the most important of its varied relations; third, their confidence in you as a Christian man, as a conscientious citizen and a college administrator; fourth, their sense of the value to them and to the college of the almost perfect harmony that has uniformly subsisted between you and them; fifth, their gratitude for the independence allowed them in their respective departments and the unquestioned support rendered to them whenever it has been needed; and sixth, their cordial good will and sincere hopes for your continued success in those paths of activity along which you propose to walk in the future.

The president's reply to these words of the professors was equally cordial in its recognition of the pleasant relations sustained and the honest work done by all for the common cause. Both pieces of writing are on permanent record in the book of the faculty. The

president's reply is dated Aug. 23, 1880. Its main paragraph is here quoted verbatim: —

> It would be improper for me to give all the reasons for my resigning. The time may never come when it will be wise to give them all. Enough reasons lie upon the surface to justify the step. Nine years of presidency during which the college has made constant advances enables me to leave with honor to myself, and with a good degree of assurance that the college can continue to prosper under wise and efficient management. The loss of a large amount of money during my administration, by entrusting my business to others, makes it necessary for me to care for the interests of my family. A permanent place involving much less labor and responsibility than a college presidency is ready for me at a yearly salary of $10,000; so that, while in many respects my present position is the most desirable of any that I could fill, I feel that the indications are plain that I should leave the college. But in doing so, I beg to assure the present Faculty that they have my warmest thanks for the past and my best wishes for the future.

Whoever reads the above lines with care, and also between the lines, will be able to see what kind of a man Paul A. Chadbourne was pretty nearly. He was transparent, over-sanguine, fickle-minded, gifted, versatile, superficial, commonly judging more truthfully those about him than himself, trustful and worthy of trust. He was mistaken when he imagined that those about him did not know substantially all the reasons that led him to resign. They knew them in fact better than he knew them himself. His reference to the unknown and perhaps never-to-be-revealed element was to the intolerable relations between himself and Dr. Mark Hopkins. He was mistaken too when he assumed and asserted that the College had made "constant advances" during the nine years of his presidency. It had not. Neither in numbers, nor in moral power, nor in public reputation had it made such "advances," speaking generally. He was also mistaken in affirming that his pecuniary losses came by "entrusting my business to others." It was rather the truth that his partners, Hopkins and Danforth, lost more money than he did by entrusting their business to him. The president of a college has no business to have any such business as the practical running of a cotton-mill. Chadbourne's short-lived reputation as possessing extraordinary business capacity was illusory as much to himself as to others, and cost himself and others first and last a good deal of money. The financial panic of 1873, which really continued till the resumption of specie payments in 1879, was probably the main reason of the failure of the cotton-mill, and that failure was certainly the cause of much and lasting bitterness in several of the leading families in Williamstown.

If it were true, as it doubtless was, that "a permanent place involving much less labor and responsibility than a college presidency" was ready for Dr. Chadbourne when this letter was written in August, 1880, "at a yearly salary of $10,000," it would seem to be a pity that he did not accept it at once and leave Williams a year before he did; for the place was not "ready" for him in 1881, although he did some work in the course of that year for the New York Life Insurance Company, which had made him the "permanent" offer. An official of that company chanced to tell the present writer some time afterward, that Chadbourne's transient work in writing for them had done the company no good, though he had been liberally paid for it. Besides, as we have already seen, he had in the meantime been deflected into politics, and suffered therefrom a harrowing disappointment. Though he was paid his full salary to the last cent, his last year in college was a pitiable dwindling out at every point; and his last baccalaureate sermon, that of 1881, was but a shabby rehash of an old discourse on the Parable of the Sower, which he had preached before in Williamstown a half-dozen times. This was but in accordance with a habit he had of taking pains to make a striking introduction to his sermons, and then fall down to medium or below it in the body of them. His best discourse was the funeral sermon on Albert Hopkins, and that is, of all his writings, the piece most likely to survive his generation. He usually wrote in great speed, and prided himself on the quickness with which he could produce even an important paper. A curious example of this occurred in connection with one of his baccalaureates, a copy of which he sent to the *Springfield Republican* to be printed on Monday after its delivery. Through some mistake in the printing-office, the sermon appeared on Saturday instead of Monday. One of his professors, seeing the printed paper as soon as it arrived in Williamstown, and meeting him shortly after on the street, congratulated him on the extra promptness of its coming out. He was confused for an instant, and angry, then cried out, "I'll fix it! *I'll write a new sermon!*" He did so. The same professor watched its delivery the next day line by line. It was fair and passable; but it was not equal to one of the usual baccalaureates of Mark Hopkins!

In the failure of any proper and profitable work to fall into his hands in 1881, he took up again for a short time the presidency of the State Agricultural College at Amherst; and later in the season he came back to Williamstown to see whether his political *confrères* would send him for the winter to the lower house of the State Legislature at Boston. At this point he met with a humiliating

rebuff. The late James Waterman, long the practical leader of the Republican party in town, brusquely told him that they had nothing for him, that he had had already more than his share of the political honors in being sent two years in succession to the Senate of Massachusetts. The local curtain falls on a disappointed man. John F. Arnold of North Adams, a prominent manufacturer there, for some time a leading partner of Chadbourne in the cotton business, said of him, some years before this, "He wants all the profit and all the honor all the time." He had cherished all these years an astonishing overestimate of his political prominence and prospects. While he was still carrying the presidency and the mill properties and several other enterprises, he even made some movements toward being nominated a member of Congress from the Berkshire district; and, what no intelligent person except on ear-witness would credit, he actually said of Henry L. Dawes, "Dawes got me into my present place [the presidency], *in order to keep me out of his way!*"

The average judgments of Dr. Chadbourne passed by his colleagues in the faculty were more favorable than those of the students and those of the citizens. An observant graduate of the year 1881 wrote of him a dozen years later as follows: —

> I think Dr. Chadbourne hardly got his due; but if, as I hope, he is now serenely botanizing in the Elysian Fields and making up for his misdirected life on earth, the old gentleman will never know the difference!

A very special interest attaches to the following sweet and simple verses which fell from the pen of Dr. Chadbourne a little before the close of his life, which came at length Feb. 23, 1883. Dr. L. D. Woodbridge of the class of 1872 was in constant medical attendance upon him for two weeks before he died, and spoke warmly of his masterful human victory over the King of Terrors.

THE WAITING SAVIOUR.

(Sol. Song v. 2; Rev. iii. 20.)

In the silent hours of darkness,
When the world is hushed and still,
Comes the Saviour, gently knocking,
Till His locks the dew-drops fill.

Listen, oh, my soul, with wonder,
That this Saviour comes to thee,
Ever knocking, ever waiting,
Waiting what thy will shall be.

Oh, for grace to listen to Him!
Oh, for room within my heart!
Oh, for love to bid Him enter!
Enter never to depart.

Come and enter, precious Saviour,
Come, dear Father, with the Son,
Come, Thou ever loving Spirit,
Come, Thou Holy Three in One!

Come according to Thy promise,
Come to calm this troubled breast,
Come to cheer this earthly journey,
Come and take me home to rest.

More than once in the course of the foregoing pages occasion has been taken to notice that, during the first third of the college century, under impulses communicated by Professor Silliman of Yale and by Amos Eaton of the Williams class of 1799, the natural sciences held here the predominant place in the college curriculum, owing chiefly to the remarkable influence exerted on the spot by Professor Chester Dewey. These sciences, such as chemistry and botany, have their basis in observation. It has been noticed also, that, during the second third of the century, say from 1833 to 1866, the same leading place was held even more firmly by the philosophical sciences, such as metaphysics and ethics, under the consummate skill of Mark Hopkins. These sciences rest back for their basis upon introspection. It remains now to notice, since it is impossible to characterize correctly the last third of the century without calling specific attention to it, that a corresponding prominence was then acquired and maintained by the political sciences, such as economics and politics, both of which bear peculiar relations to history.

Professor Colby of Dartmouth College has rendered a signal service to all the colleges of the country by publishing in 1896 the results of an original and painstaking investigation into the time and circumstances under which the older colleges introduced and continued the legal and political and economical studies as a part of their public instruction. Dartmouth was relatively early, if not the earliest, to combine economics with politics in the same department, and was also extremely fortunate in the very able and distinguished men who in succession taught in it, — namely, Roswell Shurtleff (1828–38), Charles B. Haddock (1838–54), Clement Long (1854–61), Samuel G. Brown (1861–67), Daniel J. Noyes (1867–83). Political

economy, distinctively such and almost uniformly also, as helping to denominate the department of instruction, was instituted at William and Mary in 1807; Harvard in 1820; Yale in 1824; Columbia in 1827; Dartmouth in 1828; Princeton in 1830; and Williams in 1835. This nearly synchronous introduction of political economy as a branch of study in the northern colleges was doubtless much facilitated by the publication in Boston of an English translation of Leon Say's "Political Economy" in 1821; which presents the subject in general in a clear and attractive form, as indeed with many diversities the French economists have usually presented it.

So far as Williams is concerned, Joseph Alden, a graduate of Union in 1828, was chosen in August, 1835, Professor of Rhetoric, Political Economy, and History. He held this chair with honor for seventeen years; and continued a college teacher and president in different institutions throughout a long life, ending it in Albany as president of the New York Normal College. Dr. Alden was an able and successful man, but for some reasons was never popular with his classes at Williams, probably because in part he stood in many respects in strong contrast with Mark Hopkins. Usually, however, there were one or two or more students in each class who found in him a stimulating teacher, and whom in turn he treated as favorite pupils. For one example, there was mutual admiration between him and David A. Wells of the class of 1847. It has never transpired if the teacher influenced the pupil much in economy, in which the latter distinguished himself greatly in his later years, but it is a matter of record, or rather of personal transmission, that the one did influence the other largely in rhetoric. "Wells, whenever you write anything that you think is specially fine, — *strike it out!*" For a second example (and they might easily be multiplied), Dr. Alden imparted a strong and lasting impulse as a teacher to Arthur L. Perry of the class of 1852, who was destined to become his immediate successor at Williams. This time the influence was felt along the line of politics. Alden gave some thoroughly good lectures on the origin of the Constitution of the United States, and specially on the individuals most concerned in the construction and early administration of that instrument, as Hamilton and Jefferson and Madison. The first of these great characters then interested the boy for the first time; the opportunity of an extended conversation with Mrs. Hamilton, who survived her husband just fifty years, during the following year at Washington, naturally deepened his enthusiasm; and this has never been suffered to slumber long at a time in the long interval since.

Dr. Alden was a consistent Jeffersonian Democrat all his life. His instructions in politics to the young men here, though too little regarded by them, were sound and wholesome. Their fundamental principle was and remains, Equality of Rights to all citizens under the Law: no special Privileges to the few at the expense of the Many. This principle cuts up what is called "protectionism" by the roots, leaving no vestige. Of course, Dr. Alden was what is called a free trader. He then used as a text-book Wayland's "Elements of Political Economy." Wayland was a free trader too, because he was a clear thinker and a righteous man. Protectionism, in every degree of it and in every manifestation of it, is contrary to common sense and common decency and common morality. It contravenes the letter and spirit of the Ten Commandments, as well as the spirit and letter of the Two Commandments of the New Testament. Dr. Alden did not make much of political economy in his classes, nor of history either, but he made a beginning. He prepared the way for another, who was much more interested in all these things than he was, was willing to give to them a more radical and comprehensive study, and was able after a little to gain the ear of the College for them, and even that of the public also. Dr. Alden had married into the Livingston family of New York, proprietors of the Livingston Manor on the banks of the Hudson, and so had come into intimate relations with several statesmen and divines connected with that distinguished family. He was a personal friend of Governor William L. Marcy of New York, twice the leading member of a President's Cabinet at Washington. In consequence of all this, Dr. Alden had an advantage in point of general intelligence and culture not possessed by any of his colleagues at Williams. Scarcely, however, if at all, did this superficial advantage aid him in gaining and holding a firm footing in the College. He lacked some of those qualities more essential to the highest success of a college teacher than the polish that comes from travel and intercourse with what is known as the best society. He resigned his professorship in 1852, and it remained practically vacant for a year.

In the meantime, the boy whom he had stimulated by his lectures on the founders of the republic, who had been stimulated more roundly and deeply by the studies of Mark Hopkins, who had inherited from Scotch-Irish ancestors an analytical mind never satisfied till it had reached the very bottom of questions, and who had given to himself in private a full year's study of Mill's "Logic" while in college, — thus familiarizing himself with the inductive reasoning, — was asked to take the chair vacated by Dr. Alden. Although he

knew nothing about it at the time, there was, beyond question, a tie of connection between this painstaking study of Mill and his call to the professorship; for President Hopkins repeatedly said to him years afterward, — "*I picked you out for a professor in your Junior year, at that first public debate between the two literary societies.*" Mill's book was nearly finished when that debate took place in November, 1850; and it is more than likely that that Junior's presentation of his side of the subject was clarified and stiffened by the logical theory and practice. The professorship thus reached in 1853 was denominated History and Political Economy. The rhetoric of Dr. Alden's former department devolved on John Bascom two years later.

Every young professor has his trade to learn, makes his inevitable mistakes, and exposes himself to the initial ridicule. In this case there was a will and a way. To render something of one's own of considerable consequence in point of substance, and in point of form interesting to the mind of students, is the *sine qua non* of success. Students invariably distinguish sharply between substance and form. Leave them alone all the year round to tell the difference between realities and shams. They know a man when they see him. They come to trust a teacher implicitly who trusts them by admitting his present ignorance through obvious and earnest efforts to gain the knowledge that he may impart it to them. Perry had no difficulties of any account with his early classes. He was young and crude. So were they. He never pretended to understand anything that he did not understand, nor professed to be satisfied with any analysis or induction of the text-book that did not meet the criteria of his own mind and training. He talked over the processes with his classes even more than the conclusions. So far as it was possible, he made it seem to them that he and they were in one boat together, voyaging and exploring. He studied every lesson faithfully in reference to that particular recitation and discussion. He was reading history diligently with reference to ulterior ends, economical and political; but so far as it was taught in those years from a text-book, it was taught almost solely to enlarge the horizon of the pupils geographically and intellectually. The main emphasis was put on English and American history.

In the meantime, with class after class, further on in the course, the questions were raised and tentatively answered in mutual discussion year after year. What is political economy? Within what precise field do its inquiries lie? What is a science? How are economics differentiated from politics? What is the motive to

every trade? What is the motive for obedience to government? These and similar vital questions, and the subordinate questions implied in them, with any helps presented by the current text-books, were familiarly discussed day after day, and illustrated by historical examples at home or abroad. Objections were always in order from any member of the class, and were duly weighed. No doctrine, historical or other, was ever thrust down the throat of any pupil. Frequently an objection raised was thrown over to volunteers in the class to confute or confirm. The only condition imposed on desk or seats was the universal one, — "play fair." Recitation hours conducted in this way on the pregnant topics ever arising within such a department held up the interest alike of desk and seats. The department as such slowly but steadily rose in the estimation of the students.

After ten or eleven years of such work as has now been described, it appeared to the teacher that he might properly essay a text-book of his own on the economical branch of his department. The endeavor became known to his classes while it was still going on, and their interest in it was almost equal to his own. The "Elements of Political Economy" was published by the Scribners in 1865. The book had several new features. (1) Probably the most transforming one was the dropping from the start throughout of the technical term "Wealth," which all writers had found undefinable and consequently grossly confusing, and the substitution therefor of the term "Valuables," which is easily defined in a sense of its own, and yields perfectly to the analysis of three kinds, namely, Material Commodities, Personal Services, Commercial Credits. (2) The correspondence of the three kinds of Valuables to the three grand divisions of Time, namely, Commodities to the Past, Services to the Present, Credits to the Future. (3) The sole subject of Political Economy is Buying and Selling. (4) The impossibility of Buying without at the same instant Selling, or Selling without Buying at the same instant. (5) The sole motive and universal reward of Buying and Selling is the mutual Gain accruing to each party; without this no trade would ever take place. (6) Trade is profitable in its inmost nature; and to forbid it or restrict it except in the clear interest of public Health, or public Morals, or public Revenue, is alike injustice and impoverishment. (7) The laying down in terms and demonstration in logic of the universal principle, — A market for Products is products in Market. (8) Tariffs are Taxes. (9) Historical chapters accompanying and illustrating the chapters establishing and collating Economical Principles. (10) The Proof that Political Economy is a Science in the strictest sense of that word.

The reception accorded to this book by the colleges and by the public generally and by the successive classes here who used it as a text-book for twenty-five years has a significant bearing on the main proposition now being illustrated. President Woolsey, who was then teaching political economy in Yale, was kind enough to listen to considerable portions of the manuscript before it was printed, and then said, "Wayland is good, but much of it is milk for babes; I shall introduce your book here as soon as it is published." After using it a year or two, Dr. Woolsey wrote, "Your book interests students more than any I have ever instructed from." Professor Noyes shortly introduced the book in Dartmouth, President Miner in Tufts, and their respective professors in Bowdoin, Trinity, Wesleyan, Union, and Princeton colleges, and Wooster and Brown, and New York Universities, and in the course of a few years in many of the State Universities both West and South such as Virginia and North Carolina and Nebraska; making in all perhaps thirty of the highest grade institutions of learning in the country. It was a new thing for the colleges to come to Williams in such numbers for guidance and leadership in this way; and it was a new thing for Williams to issue a book which required new editions on the average each year for eighteen years. Four editions of this first book were subsequently required. In 1877, at the instance of the publishers, a much smaller book, entitled "Introduction to Political Economy," was presented to the public, and passed through five ordinary editions, besides a special edition printed in raised letters for the use of the blind. In 1890 a new book of nearly the size of the first one, entitled "Principles of Political Economy," was issued. In this more space and care were given to a radical and comprehensive discussion of the science of economics and much less to a history of its doctrines and their applications in legislation. Of this book, President Cravath of Fisk University wrote: "The clear and masterful manner refreshes and stimulates. It is worthy to be the crowning triumph of a lifelong devotion to this noble science, whose practical fruits are becoming richer and more abundant continually." And the *Southern Educator* wrote also, "Perry's 'Principles' stands, by all means, at the head, for its readableness and scientific accuracy combined."

As bearing upon the quality of the instruction given and the stimulus imparted in the economical and political lecture-room at Williams, it is worth while to notice the testimony given to the first and third of these books by two or three men, themselves employed at the time in the very highest places of public administration.

Hugh McCulloch, Secretary of the United States Treasury, the man whom Lincoln (as he said), "brought from over the mountains [Fort Wayne, Indiana] to handle the war finances of the Union," wrote as follows: —

You have made an exceedingly valuable contribution to the science of political economy. I am not a little surprised that a college professor should have written a book so intelligible to the common mind, and so eminently practical and instructive. Accept my thanks for your kindness in sending me the book, and my grateful acknowledgments as your fellow-citizen for the service you have rendered the country. It is, in my judgment, the ablest and most valuable work yet published upon the science of which it treats. I do not see where it could be improved in matter, or style, or arrangement.

What was thought of the third book in the committee-room of the Ways and Means of the 51st Congress may be seen in the subjoined letter of the Hon. C. R. Breckinridge, written on the official paper of that Committee, dated March 31, 1891, and now printed from the original for the first time.

PROF. A. L. PERRY, LL.D.
Williamstown, Mass.

Dear Sir: I am greatly obliged to you for the copy of "Principles of Political Economy." It should have been acknowledged much sooner; but the drudgery of congressional work kept me until recently from giving it the careful reading that I desired to give it, and which I find it so richly deserves. Sound principles of economics lie at the root of the comfort, liberty, and morals of a people; and we, rioting in the abundance of our natural endowments, have wandered far and long from them. The activity and earnestness shown by our best writers and leaders of thought to get to good ground is none too soon; and your book is certainly entitled to the highest rank among those directed to this end. I am greatly pleased with your divisions and terms, while your illustrations drawn from current events, combined with great clearness of statement, give the book uncommon strength and interest.

It will be observed, that this letter of the distinguished congressman commends especially the scientific "divisions and terms" of the Williams book, — that is to say, its fundamental nomenclature, and not any discussions of subordinate principles or local and transient policies; and the same is true (though not perhaps in the same degree) of scores of other letters from similar sources. All three of these Williams books are books on political economy as a science, and not on any phase of transient politics whatsoever; and that is the reason why they have brought to the College and to their author so much of reputation and distinction for so long a time, and why the attacks upon them and the defences of them form an essential

part of the history of the College during the last third of the century. These books brought out a radical view of credit, and consequently of banking, that was relatively new and transforming. They brought out also a view of the nature of buying and selling, which makes protectionism (so-called) a contradiction in terms, as well as a necessary impoverishment and an inescapable injustice. It was not strange, accordingly, that certain officials of the United States, feeling a thorough and intelligent sense of their own responsibility to God and men, should have resorted to Williams College for guidance and help in their management of financial affairs. In the first administration of President Cleveland, when his first secretary and bosom friend, Daniel Manning, grew sick unto death. he indirectly invited Professor Perry to become Secretary of the National Treasury. The professor's cordial relations with the President commenced while the latter was Governor of the State of New York. John B. Thacher of the college class of 1869, and long Mayor of the city of Albany. was the original medium of communication between them. These pleasant relations have continued till the present time. During the second administration of President Cleveland, while it was in the thick of its portentous struggle to maintain the gold standard of values as against the impending menace of a drop to silver payments, and while John G. Carlisle, of Kentucky, the ablest and most efficient financier in the nation, was at the helm, an official request from the Cabinet voiced to him by Secretary Morton, was forwarded to Professor Perry by mail, for a short and sharp and logical and popular demolition of the whole silver pretensions.

In 1883, at Commencement time, fell the first public protest against the college teaching of Professor Perry on political economy, from any persons entitled to a respectful hearing. George H. Ely, of the class of 1848, an ironmonger of Cleveland, who had been very instrumental, with a few others of the same general craft, in getting so-called protective-tariff taxes upon forms of iron imported, for the sole sake of enhancing the prices of his own wares at the uncompensated cost of his countrymen, circulated among others, like-minded, the subjoined petition to the trustees of the College. There lies before the writer a contemporary record of the Committee of Ways and Means at Washington, before whom Ely *et alii* had presented their demands that the whole people of the United States should be taxed in order to hire them to make and sell iron at a cost thereby artificially enhanced to every buyer, and to whom they at once confessed and betrayed under the sharp questions of certain members of the Committee, that their sole motive in

urging these taxes on, was this selfish and abominable one. There was not, therefore, any difference of opinion between these petitioners and the College as to the designed and actual effects of so-called protective-tariff taxes. In fact, there never was any difference of opinion at this point between any protectionists and free traders. The difference of opinion, so far as there ever was any at all, lay at the point, whether it were fair and right to rob the millions by law for the sake of stealthily enriching a few hundreds. But let us now hear these petitioners in full.

WILLIAMSTOWN, July 3, 1883.

To the Honorable President and Trustees of Williams College:

The undersigned alumni and friends of the college respectfully beg leave to ask your attention to a subject affecting, in no small degree, its permanent interests.

It is well known that the advocacy of free trade, in the instruction here in political economy, has operated to the virtual commitment of the college to these doctrines. Such commitment is regarded by a very large number of its friends and alumni as most inexpedient, unwise, and unjust. It is true that our institution of learning is bound to sustain, establish, and teach truth throughout the domain of morals and science. But absolute scientific truth cannot be predicated of any question of social science or political economy. In this case there is an entire absence of capacity or susceptibility of numerical application — an element essential in this case. It is a question of national policy only, and, hence, has become naturally and necessarily a political question, and, for this reason alone, it should have no advocate here.

We deprecate, therefore, without further suggestion, everything in the administration of the college which tends to place it in the position of advocate or defender of any controverted politico-economic question.

For these reasons, and believing that thereby the usefulness of the college will be increased and a just and necessary cause of the alienation of friends be happily removed, we respectfully, but most earnestly, request that the college do refuse to accept from any foreign government, or any foreign political or commercial organization, any prize for proficiency in this department.

We sincerely deprecate such influence of a foreign organization in an American college as is suggested and implied by its acceptance of a prize from such a source, and for such a purpose. We remain, gentlemen, most respectfully,

GEORGE H. ELY	EDWARD H. FITCH	G. W. HUBBELL
H. R. HATCH	OLIVER G. BARTON	JAS. S. KNOWLSON
CHAS. A. DEWEY	PARKER HANDY	T. P. HANDY
S. S. MELLEN	J. B. PARSONS	J. LASELL
J. H. DOUGLASS	HENRY M. HOYT	

Of the fourteen names appended to this petition, purporting to be "alumni and friends of the College," six were never to be found on the triennial catalogue. If the language chosen had been "alumni or friends of the College," simple truth would not have been violated in the preamble, and the petition itself would not have been preju-

diced, as it was; but whether that mode of simple speech would have been more in accordance with the usual methods of protectionists, need not now be considered. Eight of the signers were graduates of the College; and some of them certainly were excellent, albeit mistaken and relatively obscure men. Nearly all if not quite all of them had been members of a single secret society in College. As soon as this petition had been sent to the press, action was taken upon it in the city of Cleveland, the home of Mr. Ely, and a counter-petition (as follows in full) was circulated there; and it was said at the time that every alumnus of the College then resident there (excepting of course Mr. Ely) appended to it his signature with the date of his graduation. At any rate the list was headed by Harvey Rice of the class of 1824, a classmate and lifelong intimate of Mark Hopkins. Of him a full account has been given on some of the preceding pages.

To the Honorable President and Trustees of Williams College:

We, the undersigned, graduates of Williams College, residing in Cleveland, O., without regard to party, predilections or political bias, desire to respectfully submit to you this statement of our regard for Professor A. L. Perry as a teacher, a scholar and a man eminently fitted for the position he fills in the Faculty of Williams College.

As a teacher of political economy he has no superior in this country. Upon all questions pertaining to this important science he invites the freest discussion in his class-room, and insists upon a broad research and reading by his students of all the eminent writers upon this subject, so that these discussions in the class-room may be instructive and interesting.

We do not "*deprecate the fact*" that he takes a stand and has decided views upon one of the great questions of this science. Without expressing our views upon this subject of free trade or protection, we do not "*deem it inexpedient, unjust, or unwise*" that the majority of the young men of each class should go out from his instruction also with decided views upon these questions. If they are advocates or defenders of the weaker side they ought soon to discover their error when they come to meet the question as educated men, if the stronger side be strong enough to show them their error. If not, what harm that the right should be taught them?

If the Cobden Club, which has among its members in this country such men as Charles Francis Adams, Cyrus W. Field, Stanley Matthews, Samuel J. Tilden, Horace White and James A. Garfield, desires to offer a medal to the best student in Political Economy at Williams or Yale, we do not think that the "*usefulness of these colleges*" "would be impaired," nor do we see any reason why it should lead to "the alienation" of their friends if the successful student should be a Free Trader or a Protectionist, as he happened to be at Williams in the class of 1882.

For the purpose, then, of partially replying to a protest recently handed to the honorable president and trustees of Williams College, and signed by some who are not graduates, and being desirous of expressing our belief in the ability of

Professor Perry as a teacher, and of his success in his department we respectfully submit the above.

Harvey Rice, Class of 1824	H. J. Herrick, Class of 1858
Jarvis M. Adams, Class of 1851	M. M. Mower, Class of 1880
Virgil P. Kline, Class of 1867	Joseph Perkins, Jr., Class of 1882
Bushnell White, Class of 1836	Jacob B. Perkins, Class of 1877
Samuel D. Dodge, Class of 1877	A. E. Buell, Class of 1882
Rollo Ogden, Class of 1877	Charles E. Barr, Class of 1881

E. P. Ingersoll, Class of 1882

Stunning as was the blow at George H. Ely, when every one of his fellow-alumni in Cleveland immediately confronted his petition with their own, there followed in his town a public manifestation in opposition to his position as a protectionist, which seemed to his fellow-citizens, if not to him, more deadly still. Tom L. Johnson, personally engaged in the iron business in the same localities and under the same conditions as was Ely, announced that protective-tariff taxes, so-called, in behoof of the manufacture of iron were wholly unnecessary, as well as monstrously unjust to the masses of the people. Johnson continued this public contention as long as Ely lived, and afterward was repeatedly elected a member of Congress from the Cleveland district on the strength of it, and by means of the consistent maintenance of it became a national statesman of large proportions. It throws a sort of lurid light on a life otherwise eminently respectable that the College necrology of 1894 has these words on George H. Ely. "Early in the tariff discussion [of 1893] he went to Washington to present the interests of iron industry. While conducting this business he died of heart failure, Jan. 24, 1894." Of much more local interest was the way in which these college petitions struck the newspapers of Berkshire County and vicinity. The *Springfield Republican*, for one example, had the following editorial even before the Cleveland petition had been received.

The protest of several of the alumni and friends of Williams College against the teaching of free trade at that institution derives most of its strength from the honorable names which are attached to it. As a statement of truth it is singularly weak, and if it became the basis of the policy of the institution it would reduce the teaching of political economy to mere speculative abstractions. They say truly that "absolute scientific truth cannot be predicated of any question of social science or political economy." But when they add that "in this case there is an entire absence of capacity or susceptibility of universal application, an element essential in this case," we are puzzled to know what they mean. If it is the principle of free trade which lacks "capacity or susceptibility of universal application," and if this is "an element essential in this case," then

clearly many of the principles of exchange, currency, banking, and government in its large sense fall under the same condemnation and would be thrown out of the college class-room and text-book. But it would be above all things extraordinary if in the United States, where absolute free trade prevails among 38 states and amid a continental nation, without precedent or parallel in magnitude, an American college should be muzzled on this subject, on the ground that the principle has not yet acquired "universal application."

The claim that, because "free trade is naturally and necessarily a political question," "for this reason alone it should have no advocate here" is another most extraordinary doctrine to propound to a college concerned in the instruction of future citizens, and which has already furnished one President to the United States. The proposition amputates one of the great purposes of the college. There is no higher public concern than politics, and the idea that there is a field of political economy and morals higher than politics or of which politics is a perversion and degradation is what manly scholars have been combating for a generation. "Political questions" are not questions on which the colleges should keep silent. Rather they should illuminate them with the fullest presentation of truth, and to this end there is increasing demand for instruction in the subjects of government and political economy. The protest of these gentlemen against the Cobden club prize is in a very narrow spirit and in unfortunate ignorance of the purpose and mission of the Cobden club. While that club has issued pamphlets on free trade in America, in fact its most important publications have been upon the internal policy of Great Britain in regard to land tenure and local taxation, and its researches upon these questions have placed political economists throughout the world under obligation.

If the signers of this protest were to object that the teaching at Williams has been too exclusively in favor of free trade, or that the instruction in political economy is inadequate, they would place their criticism on debatable ground, and could only be answered that the college would be pleased to endow more agencies of instruction if it had the means. It will probably be the upshot of the matter that means will be furnished for another lectnrer perhaps in political economy, hut we trust the institution will never forsake the hroad charter of free instruction upon the themes of political economy and government which it has always held for such a narrow policy of abstention and silence as is advised by the signers of this protest. The missionary college owes its fame to its catholicity of culture and of spirit, the world is its consecrated field, and it is too late now to narrow its mission in any respect.

Franklin H. Giddings, now (1897) Professor of Sociology in the Columbia University of New York, was then (1883) editor of the *Gazette*, a South Berkshire newspaper of high character. His editorial, which follows, while too favorable personally to the economist at Williams, was written under some misapprehension of his method of teaching, and under more misapprehension perhaps of the real question at issue as between free traders and protectionists. It was always borne in mind in the lecture-room at Williams, and always borne in upon the minds of the students, that free trade is

the natural state of things, and wholly negative in its character. Free trade does not compel anybody to trade, does not even recommend anybody to trade, says nothing about trade one way or another, until some one else steps in with a look of authority between two parties about to trade to their own mutual advantage, and says to them, "You shall not trade except on conditions agreeable to me, even if I allow you to trade at all!" Who is this third party, who presumes to interfere violently with the natural ongoing of things as God appointed them, and to destroy by a stroke the legitimate gain of two persons? Who is this man who sets himself up to be wiser than God, and to have certain rights supreme over the trial rights of his fellow-citizens? How did he obtain the authority to lord it thus over his fellow-men to their outward impoverishment, and to their inward sense of intolerable wrong? This was always the bottom question in that lecture-room, and it was always the radical question everywhere as between free traders and protectionists. There was no opportunity for dogmatic teaching, and no temptation to enter upon it. Free trade was not even a postulate, still less was it a theory in any sense of that much-abused word. It was a negative. The proving lay with the party of the other part. Free trade seems to lie embedded in human nature, and in the fundamental laws of the physical world, and therefore in the wisdom and purpose of God; and it is only when men attempt to give ostensible and positive reasons for infringing it by means of public law, when their real reasons for doing so are obvious out of their own mouths and actions, that logic comes in play to show the fallacy of the alleged reasons, and the obviousness of the real ones. Never was there a fairer opportunity for the inductive process of reasoning than in the number and simplicity and certainty of the instances given in Benton's "Debates," and in the official records of the Ways and Means Committee, to demonstrate the selfish motives (utterly careless of the rights of others) of those who have practically gotten the protective-tariff taxes laid on. Out of their own mouths and confessions were they judged in every instance. But let us now hear Professor Giddings.

It is only a few weeks since the protectionist guerillas, in and out of the newspapers, were exercising themselves by a scattering fire upon Yale College and its professor of political economy, W. G. Sumner. No blood was shed nor any free trade gun silenced. Unsuccessful in that quarter, the skirmishers have gone north and made a brave little raid on Williamstown. At the commencement the other day a memorial signed by 14 inconsequential alumni, most of whom were never heard of before, was presented to the trustees, objecting to

the "virtual commitment" of the college to free trade, and protesting against the acceptance of a certain prize offered by the Cobden club of London for an essay on the free trade question.

All this is aimed, of course, at Professor A. L. Perry, the most original student of political economy this country has yet produced; the one member of the Williams faculty who besides its presidents, Hopkins, Chadbourne and Carter, has been much known outside of Berkshire county; the one man, not excepting the presidents above named, who has made the institution known and honored in Europe; the scholar whom Macleod of the University of Cambridge puts above all other American economists; the one whom to confute, Bonamy Price of the University of Oxford has put forth his best powers — and failed.

There is little danger that these memorialists will accomplish much beyond their own confusion. But the opportunity seems a good one to call attention to what is perhaps a real mistake in American college teaching of political and economic science. Is it not possible that the teaching is too dogmatic, too authoritative? The dogmatic method does not harmonize well with the modern scientific spirit.

The simple truth was shown to be such by every criterion of truth applicable in such matters, that these men were trying to feather their own nests out of the stolen plumage of other birds, and at the same moment were accusing the disinterested men who stood up against the wrong, and in behalf of the wronged, of being deluded by a *theory* and of introducing the *millennium* into this wicked world. Nothing is more respectable than a theory in its own place and when well proven. But unluckily for these illogical protectionists, free trade is not a theory at all, while protectionism is nothing but a theory, and a very bad theory at that because it is insusceptible of any proof, and issues in palpable injustice obvious to a child. Conjoined with the charge of being theorists, the free traders were assailed with being "scholars in politics," as if care and diligence in looking into the nature of trade and taxation, and clearness and vigor in expressing the results of such research, ought at once to disfranchise the inquisitive citizen of the republic, and subject him to other pains and penalties at the instance, and under the pressure of, the "business man in politics," that is to say, of the protectionists. To such absurd lengths was this doctrine urged, that one of their own number, Senator Hoar of Massachusetts, felt obliged to take up the cudgels in behalf of decency and science as follows: —

I wish to put on record my emphatic opinion, that a college president or professor has as much right to express his opinion on a question affecting the community as any man in the country. Not only has he the privilege, but the community has the right to know what he thinks. The public should know what the scholars think of what is going on. The republic cannot be run if this is not so.

Just a little of this painstaking inquiry into the nature of things, which Senator Hoar so admirably commends as essential to the ongoing of the republic, would have shown every one of the signers of the Ely petition their own utter ignorance of the salient points of the history of their country. The American Revolution grew directly out of the attempt of Great Britain to apply protectionism to their liberty-loving colonists. The Constitution of the United States and the legislation of the first Congress under it practically established free trade both within and without the republic. When England herself came at length to perceive the inherent losses and wrongfulness of the delusion she had hugged so long, and made in 1846 the gigantic throw of her civil history and cast off the Corn Laws forever, the United States (after a brief wandering in the wilderness) was already farther advanced in the doctrine and practice of free trade than was England. Robert J. Walker, then Secretary of the United States Treasury, made a report to Congress advocating absolute free trade, which was republished in England by order of the House of Commons, at the instance of Sir Robert Peel, in order to facilitate the abolition of the Corn Laws. England was then more than willing to be taught by the advanced thought of the United States. It was England that kept step to the music of the free trade exemplified in the United States from 1846 to 1861. Without any public discussion whatever, by those underhanded methods so dear to the protectionist heart, while the black clouds of civil war were breaking over the nation, representatives of Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, by log-rolling with others like-minded, foisted into the tax laws of the time restrictions and prohibitions certain to diminish the revenue (the one thing needful) and certain to enrich the few at the cost of the many. These stolen marches on the people enabled the confederated protectionists to entrench themselves in a plutocracy, from which they were, with great difficulty, long afterward dislodged, but which they could not possibly hold against the intelligence and fairness of the people. Ignorance and craft succumb to light and righteousness in a free country, or else, as Senator Hoar says, the freedom itself disappears.

Grotesque to the last degree seemed the drivel of the Ely petitioners about the Cobden Club of England in the light of the fact that the American Free Trade League was then at work with all its might to disseminate throughout this country the thought and practice which England and America had conjointly striven to effectuate for so many years. Particularly was such a petition grotesque as addressed to Williams College, in view of the prominent *personnel*

of the American Free Trade League. Who constituted that League in the day of its vigor and moral influence? Its first president was William Cullen Bryant, a graduate of Williams College, the most distinguished name on the triennial catalogue. Its second president was David Dudley Field, a graduate of Williams College, the next most distinguished name on the triennial catalogue. Its third and last president was David Ames Wells, a graduate of Williams College, a less distinguished name indeed than that of his two predecessors, and yet the name of a man who, in his prime, was almost as well known throughout the United States and western Europe as were they. The memories of these three men are worthy to stand, and will stand, in history, alongside the memories of Peel and Cobden and Bright, as disinterested benefactors of mankind.

But what shall be said about the disinterestedness of motive on the part of the Ely signers, and of all the other men who made their voices audible above the ground or underneath it, in bitter opposition to the open and straightforward and everyday teachings of the College? The motives of men cannot, indeed, be observed directly, but in most cases, and after an interval of time, they either exhibit or betray themselves in outward conduct. It is obvious at the outset, and the contrary was never claimed, that free traders can have no personal or selfish motive in expending vitality and running hazards to advocate the universal rights of mankind, in whose benefits they themselves can only share when and as all other men share them. It is equally obvious in the ongoing that protectionists can have no other than personal and selfish motives in striving to curtail these universal rights, because the mode of their action invariably betrays its character, even when the men do not openly confess it. Men have never gone to Washington to do protectionist work there, or hired lobbyists to do such work for them, and at the same time been such fools as to pretend they were acting for the public good; even if they had pretended it, the public were not such fools as to believe it; and, as a matter of fact, the pretences have rarely been made. Protectionists as such know what they are about, and why they spend their money in influencing the tax laws of the nation, and everybody else knows what they are about and why they spend their money. They have always been open to the charge of being public plunderers of the masses, but they have not often been open to the charge of being hypocrites by professing to enrich while they really impoverish them. The ordinary tests of motives apply plainly enough to their ordinary words and conduct, while the last and best and never-failing test is their attitude of hostility to all those who

clearly discuss and unflinchingly expose the methods of protectionism. The fundamental motto of free traders may be expressed in the lines: —

The world is wide,
And God is good.

The thought in this motto practically unfolded never failed to excite the anger of the practical protectionists, whose fundamental principle may be expressed in the distich: —

The world is small,
And one is all.

All this was well illustrated in all the men who raised the outcry of opposition, from first to last, to the quiet and explicit teachings of Professor Sumner at Yale and Professor Perry at Williams. Every signer of the Ely memorial, whose business relations were known at the time or ascertained afterward, was directly and pecuniarily interested in the unjust legislation designed to raise the price artificially of his own wares, particularly iron wares. The same may be said with even more of emphasis, of those individuals in the Board of Trustees of the College, who, in long succession and with more of bitterness and persistence at the last, endeavored in various ways to undermine and overthrow the position of the Professor of Political Economy. Fortunately these men, seeking their own and not the public good, were overmatched, one after the other, by abler and disinterested men, who knew the truth and despised the self-seeking. Usually, if not always, the professor was privately informed by broader members of the board, like-minded with himself, of these machinations. Except in one flagrant instance, he preserved absolute silence, and went on his way rejoicing. In that instance, a member of the board from Worcester, in which city was then being carried out the most iniquitous and far-reaching monopoly under tariff taxes the country had seen, and whose citizens were aware that this trustee was, up to his eyes, in counsel and concord with these grasping monopolists, and had brought to bear upon him, in consequence, such moral pressure as had compelled him to resign a State judgeship, broached to the board a scheme to weaken and dishonor the Professor of Economics; a fellow-trustee, who was familiar with all the facts in the case, reported the whole device to the professor; who, in turn, requested his informant to say from him to the Worcester man in most explicit terms, that if another word were spoken by him, or another move made as toward that scheme, the next morning afterward

the *Springfield Republican* would print in full an exposure of the whole Worcester deviltry, his own included. Meek and silent was that particular trustee thereafter in relation to that professor, and dead as Cæsar became his subterranean contrivance.

One more instance, out of a number of others, of a college trustee seeking private revenge for public teaching solely offensive to him because it was the simple truth, will suffice in this connection. This time it was a manufacturer of buttons in Easthampton. In the so-called wool and woollens tariff of 1867, heavy tariff taxes were levied on foreign woollens in order "to protect" the domestic manufacturers, that is, to rob the people in their special behoof; foreign woollens of the best quality were needed by the Easthampton button-makers to cover their moulds with; strange to say, these button-making protectionists were averse to paying protective-tariff taxes themselves, though they helped to heap them on the masses with glee; so it was craftily inserted in the law, that *damaged* cloth, suitable for covering buttons and for other purposes, should come in *free;* on the direct testimony of a chief clerk of the establishment at Easthampton it was stated to credible witnesses, that their cloth was sometimes purposely damaged on the other side, so as to legally escape the tariff taxes on this side, but not so as to injure it for covering buttons. This striking instance was repeatedly cited in the Williams lecture-room, — not to prove that the Easthampton Galileans were sinners above all the Galileans, but to prove that protectionists, when it came to action, had precisely the same opinion of the effect of tariff taxes that free traders had. The trustee in question was naturally restive under this cited instance, and its obvious logical bearing on the class of men to which he belonged. Other trustees strongly sympathized with him. But what could be done in such a case? These trustees were in the wrong.

On the other hand, it is a pleasure at this late day to recall the names of some of those clear-headed and broad-minded and justice-loving men, who invariably proved the heavyweight in the recurring scrimmage. "You let Professor Perry alone," exclaimed Judge Colt, as from the bench, at the close of one of these confabs, as he himself reported it to the party chiefly concerned. Judge Bishop, another Berkshire citizen, always took the same side. So, preëminently, did Dr. Prime, clergyman and journalist, of New York, whose field of observation was the world. Joseph White and James White, both long-time residents of Williamstown, believed in discussion rather than repression, in light rather than

in darkness; all these were graduates of the College; and with many other younger men who had been pupils of the professor, and so best judged in the matter in hand, stood up strongly for him. William Hyde of Ware, trustee from 1859 till 1877, an alumnus of 1826, educated as a lawyer and spending his entire active life as a banker, better fitted than any other member of the board to understand and appreciate the public importance of the economic teaching of the College, and disgusted with the picayune policy of some of his colleagues, determined to found in the name of one of his family the department of History and Political Economy. This he did in 1875, his father-in-law, Orrin Sage, a Massachusetts manufacturer, furnishing, at his instance, $50,000 for this purpose. In a private letter to Professor Perry he unfolded his reasons for taking this step, which were, in substance, to put on permanent record his approbation of the intelligence and fidelity and success with which the department had been rounded out by him who was to be the first beneficiary of this foundation. In his letter to the trustees conveying the principal to them in trust, he insisted as a condition of its bestowment, that Professor Perry's annual salary under it should be $2500, or five per cent, that being as high a rate of interest as could be expected in perpetuity. The salary of the full professors in 1875 was but $2000. For several years the Orrin Sage professor received under this distinct provision $500 more than his colleagues. After all this, there could be, one would think, no rational question about the legal and moral right of this professor to teach the economical and political doctrines that he had always taught, that his predecessor in the department had always taught before him, and that in 1875 had been already for ten years published to the world in a widely circulated treatise and text-book.

In 1891, with broken health and after thirty-eight unbroken years of assiduous teaching in it, the first incumbent resigned the Orrin Sage professorship. For several years the place remained unfilled. Its "acting" incumbent in this interval, Professor John Bascom, taught with applause a part of the subjects embraced within the professorship. Though not a trained economist, and not in the best sense a competent economist, for he had given his fine powers for a lifetime to the higher themes of philosophy, on ethical rather than economical grounds, Bascom was a pronounced free trader; and so there was never one official word spoken in a lecture-room opened in 1835 and continued throughout the century, in behalf of a paltry scheme soaked in wrongthinking and set to dry in wrongdoing.

ORRIN SAGE.

Founder of Professorship.

Paul A. Chadbourne was succeeded in the presidency of the College by Franklin Carter of the class of 1862. This change took place in the summer of 1881. All the circumstances leading to it were interesting and instructive, and are here to be fully narrated for the first time.

The claim of Mark Hopkins, which all of the alumni were inclined to respect, namely, that he ought to be allowed to select and induct his own successor, had this, among other attendant evils, that it prevented any public canvass of the merits of any particular candidate. Such a canvass is eminently proper and needful in every case, especially in such a case as this was, where a large body of alumni was an essential part of an old college, who know best the needs of the college and the qualities of the man most likely to succeed at its head. The public furnishes the funds to endow and upbuild an institution of learning, and furnishes also the scholars to receive its advantages and the conditions under which the life-work of these is to be accomplished. The public, accordingly, have a right to some voice in the choice of the presiding head of a public institution. A board of trustees and their head are never less respectable, or rarely less wise, than when they practically deny this and act in this sense as a *close* corporation. It is indeed probable, that, in 1872, even after a full and fair comparison of views, Chadbourne would have been preferred by a large majority of all the persons interested; for there was a strange illusion about him at that time as a man of business and of affairs generally, that was wholly dissipated before 1881. Still, if Hopkins had had the backing of the public in 1872, such as would likely have followed a free discussion, he would not have experienced the bitter personal regrets and disappointments that fell to him as a result of that election. These feelings are certain to have constrained his action and whole attitude in relation to the election of 1881.

On the other hand, Chadbourne knew perfectly well that he had been wholly indebted to the personal favor of his predecessor for his own elevation, and he did not see any reason why he himself should not exercise the same privilege in relation to his own successor. Not that he intended to go forward secretly and uncounselled in the premises, for in a moment we shall see to the contrary. But the unhappy relations existing between these two good men tended to make each of them suspicious of any choice of the other for a man to stand in the succession. Early in the summer term of 1881, in a frank manner as was his wont, Chadbourne came to Professor Perry, and said, that they two certainly, and later other members of the

faculty, ought to consult together and agree upon some man for the succession. Perry said in reply, "I have given no thought to the subject, have heard no agitation of it whatever, and have no man in my mind." Chadbourne said, "Well, you think about it, and we will talk it over again in a few days. It is really our business to attend to this, or somebody else will attend to it. By the way, what do you think of Daniel Merriman?" Perry rejoined, "I have a good opinion of Merriman, but I have never thought of him in this connection." So they parted for the nonce. The impression on Perry's mind was strong, and remained so, that Chadbourne had not then fastened upon anybody in his own mind. Perhaps a fortnight afterward the two men happening to meet, Chadbourne recurred to the subject, but this time in a more perfunctory and hurried way, as if between times he had struck upon somebody satisfactory at least to himself. But he suggested no name. Neither did the other, who took, in fact, very little interest in the matter. Probably Chadbourne perceived this, for a few days after, the two again casually meeting, he said in effect with a smile and in haste, "That matter we have been talking about, — *let it all go!*" There is now no doubt at all that about that time he had come into communications with Professor Carter of Yale, and that he favored the re-aspirations of that gentleman to become president of Williams. There is also no doubt at all that Chadbourne knew that such a nomination would be very repugnant to Dr. Hopkins, as it was.

There was no one then in the faculty at Williams who had any the least desire to become president. If any one of several professors might have had such a desire under other circumstances, which is doubtful, the place had then become to all of them forbidding. The only one actually talked of more or less, and influentially approached, in the premises, was Professor Llewellyn Pratt of the class of 1852. He had been six years Professor of Rhetoric. He was a kindly and courteous and conservative gentleman. He was such a man as Mark Hopkins took to, and esteemed very highly in love. He was a good teacher, an admirable preacher, and a steadfast friend. As soon as Hopkins knew that Chadbourne had set his face toward Franklin Carter as president, he determined to prevent that consummation, if it were a possible thing. Once and again and again he went to Professor Pratt privately, and urged him to allow his name to go before the trustees as a candidate, and justly assured him that, if he would do so, his election would be certain. Dr. Hopkins estimated rightly at this point his own influence over the body of trustees as contrasted with that of Dr. Chadbourne, who had fallen into more or less odium

in all quarters. But while Pratt was deeply touched by these tokens of confidence and affection on the part of his old president, the offer itself made no favorable impression upon his mind. He did not give at any time the least encouragement to anybody that he would take the place on any conditions. (1) He was conscious of a certain unfitness for the executive functions involved, in which self-judgment his most intimate friends concurred. (2) The College was then demoralized, its funds were low, and its friends not easily concentred. (3) He himself had been a little before chosen a professor in the Hartford theological seminary, had accepted the post, and could not go back on his promise.

Still Dr. Hopkins, not fully apprised of any one of these reasons in its full force, did not give up his quest. He arranged for an interview between three of the trustees, himself and Joseph White and Judge Colt of Pittsfield, and Professor Pratt, the party of the other part. Here it must be premised that Pratt had been for some time in special communication with Carter at New Haven. The latter, owing to his forwardness and self-protrusion, which was a part of the nature of the man and had been exhibited all through his professorship at Williams, and in a glariug light at the close of it, had had a rough experience at Yale, and was still as ambitious as in 1872 to become president at Williams. Pratt knew little of Carter's previous experience at Williams and less of his strifes and bitterness at Yale, and was prepared to believe what Carter himself really believed (with that ready self-deception characteristic of the man), that, in the Yale life, he had outgrown the foibles which had made him so obnoxious at Williams, that he had learned his true place relatively to others, and that consequently he was an eligible and acceptable candidate. But Pratt knew that Hopkins was unalterably opposed to any second experiment at Williams, and also that he had been distinguished through a long life for his *knowledge of men*. Pratt, therefore, as a comparatively young man and far less deeply versed in the human heart, took an unwarranted responsibility, certainly without some further inquiry at Yale, in urging upon the self-appointed committee of the trustees the choice of Carter as a good candidate. Pratt was mistaken in his judgment. In the interview referred to, while absolutely declining to become a candidate himself, he strongly commended to these trustees, as, upon the whole, their best man, Franklin Carter. In the course of the interview, turning to the former president, he said, "*I do not wonder, Dr. Hopkins, that you feel as you do about Professor Carter. He was foolish in Williamstown before. He admits it, and deplores it.*

But he was young. He has learned much in these last nine years. He is anxious to repair faults on the ground where he committed them."

This disinterested and earnest advocacy, while it did not convince Dr. Hopkins, became the main ground of Carter's subsequent election. He owed more to Pratt than to all others combined. Pratt was a modest and highly cultivated man, and was heard to say time and again, "I could have prevented Carter's election as easily as turning my hand over." He unquestionably meant by this, (1) that, if he would have listened to the proposal, he might certainly have been elected himself; and (2) that, if he had not urged Carter upon unwilling ears in season and out of season, the latter could never have been elected. Next to Pratt, but much below him, was Carter indebted to Professor Perry, as will now appear. The latter indeed had never thought of Carter as a candidate, until the movement in his behalf had made considerable progress, and until the candidate became anxious to know what the other thought about it. Instead of frankly writing and asking him, which was the only way their uniformly friendly relations could justify, the candidate preferred a roundabout and subterranean method. He wrote to Professor Griffin, a college classmate but by no means an assured friend, to find out. With another professor, who was not even a graduate of the college, the two sidled up to Perry on a college walk, one on either hand very near, and in a manner that instantly betrayed them as emissaries, Griffin asked what he thought of Professor Carter as president of the College, the other confederate bending forward his ear so as to catch every word. Surprise at the question and disgust at the manner of it prevented the interrogated from asking the interrogator quickly, what *he* thought about it. This question, if it had been truthfully answered on the spot, would have broken up the interview, and spoiled the wretched device. Recovering himself in a moment, Perry replied: "I am surprised at it, but I think well of it. From the way he went away from here, I did not suppose he would ever come back. If he comes, I shall support him cordially."

Not many days after this, with a manner in utter contrast with that just related, Professor Pratt spoke to Perry on the latter's piazza, and said in effect: "I hope you will see your way clear not to oppose in any way the accession of Carter. As things are, the college cannot, I think, do any better." With utter sincerity, as before, the other replied: "Not only will I not oppose his accession at any point, but I will do what I can to promote it, for I am inclined to agree with you, that the college cannot do any better. I

have taken, as you know, no special stand for anybody." Perry did not then know what Pratt had said to the trustee committee, but added his own construction of a difficulty, which everybody felt, in substantially these very words, "Carter has been revolving those years in the great wheel at New Haven, with nobody to pay any special attention to him, and this experience has probably taken out of him his egregious self-conceit." This last inference proved to be unwarranted by the facts, and was the more unjustifiable because the speaker's good acquaintance with several of the leading gentlemen at Yale might easily have furnished him exact information if he had only asked for it.

Things were now moving in considerable force toward New Haven, and the time of the decision meeting of the trustees in New York was approaching, and Dr. Hopkins made a final grasp at what proved to be a straw, and another trustee even after he had reached New York telegraphed to Professor Pratt to see if he could not get a crumb of comfort elsewhere. Dr. Hopkins went down to Professor Perry's house, as he had done nine years before. In his words he was very cautious, which was like him; but his errand came out clearly enough in the interview; which was to see whether Perry would favor a dash to Bascom, who was then president of Wisconsin University. Perry, who remembered his promise to Pratt, and took a cool view of the whole situation, replied, that it was too late — things had gone too far New Havenwards — if Bascom were here in the faculty as in 1872 it would be a different question — he is anchored at Madison, and there is no time now to make a shift. "*You said then that Bascom could put twenty Chadbournes in his breeches pocket, and walk off and not know it.*" "*I say the same now.*" "*Oh! do you?*" "*But that was nine years ago, and the question now is wholly different.*" It is not probable that Hopkins thought that anything tangible could really come out of this last turn, but he made it partly to see where his colleague stood and partly as a refuge for his own mind. His manner was crestfallen and disheartened.

The election of Franklin Carter proceeded without incident and under the usual forms. He thus became a member of the Board of Trustees, and their official head. He also thereby became a member and the head of the faculty, which always had been and always will be not only a constituent part of the complex College, but also the most considerable and most vital part of the complex College. He was elected under the force and sanction of a written body of laws, which had been compiled and amended with extreme care a few

years before by a member of the faculty, and which had been adopted by the Board of Trustees, after a slow and careful reading before them of every clause, without the altering of a single word. At the first faculty meeting after its adoption by the trustees President Hopkins in a similar manner read every word of it before the faculty, and it was unanimously adopted by them without amendment or discussion. The time and precedents of the trustee's meeting in New York, at which Carter was formerly elected president, were prescribed in this body of laws. If these laws, thus sanctioned, under which he was elected president, were not binding upon him as such, at least until they had been changed or abrogated by equal authority, then his own election was invalid. As a matter of fact, he misunderstood and disregarded the essentials of the position to which he had been chosen. From the first he spoke and acted as if he were proprietor of the College, and not merely president under strict and verbal conditions of each of two conjoint boards, of each of which he was indeed a part, but of each of which he was still more an agent. Members of the two boards were his equals in *status*, in grounds of authority, in duration of power, in everything, except he was to gather and voice the authoritative opinions of each in relation to the functions of the other, and of both in all relations to the student-body. Also he was to preside (when present) in the formal meetings of each board; when absent, somebody else presided, with the authority of each body unimpaired. The new president even spoke of "*retaining*" in the service of the College members of the faculty, some of whom were well established professors when he came to College as a student in 1860; just as if he had entire power to dismiss every one of them, and it were only by his grace that any one of them remained in the college service. He also spoke constantly of his "*administration*," as if he conceived of it, as he certainly did, under the conditions of a President of the United States, who usually brings in a new Cabinet entire, but sometimes retains a previous Secretary or more. Those members who were most assiduous in attendance on faculty meetings during the first years under Carter, never heard him refer to this body of laws just spoken of as having any significance whatever. As he spoke, so he acted. He himself reported to the faculty, at the close of his first year, a reprimand he had received from the trustees for acting on his sole authority in changing usages they regarded as beyond his province. Whereupon he determined to thwart the trustees and to ignore the faculty in the matter of his own authority and by nondescript and indecent means, which had never before been heard of in the College,

and which, it is safe to say, will never be heard of a second time. It is enough at this point to add, that, of all those who had any share or function in the election of Franklin Carter as president, Mark Hopkins was the one person most prudent and far-seeing and college-honoring. The vindications of his position came swiftly and strongly, and continued. Pratt proved to have been mistaken.

The new president's inaugural discourse made for the most part a very good impression upon all who heard it. It was a scholarly and original plea for the introduction into the college curriculum of the Hebrew language, and perhaps of other Semitic tongues. It was a vigorous defence of the chief item of Emerson's famous catalogue of the sources of the world's civilization.

> Heir of Egyptian labor, Grecian art,
> Hebrew religion, and of Roman law;
> The Anglo-Saxon will in turn impart
> His hard-earned contribution, and withdraw.

His case was abstractly well made out; and, as a presentation of the preëminence of Semitic thought as conveyed to the world through Hebrew forms, was weighty and admirable. The weakness of the discourse appeared when it came to the practical suggestions, how and where it could be introduced into the course and made harmonious with the other parts of it, what it should displace, by whom it should be taught, and what class of students (if any) would be likely to elect it if offered. The suggestion, taken by itself, was not of any great significance, and when the elective came to be offered to the Seniors a year or two later and continued to be offered for fifteen years, an average of perhaps two or three students a year availed themselves of the opportunity. The prominent discussion, however, in an inaugural of so remote and professional a study as Hebrew as proper and pressing for a college course, gave due notice to everybody that the new president would move, at a proper time and after some consultation with the two boards of which he formed a part, for a considerable substitution of elective studies in lieu of the prescribed studies then constituting almost the sole college course. The Juniors during their summer term had long had an option as between the French and German languages. These were the only "electives" properly so-called offered by the College before 1881. Dr. Hopkins had long prided himself and been much praised by others on a thoughtful arrangement in due order and dependence of the college studies for the four years. The trustees as a body set much store on this established arrangement for a small college. The faculty

were satisfied with it, and nearly every one of them had been trained under it. But Carter had been teaching for nine years in a large college in New Haven, the college of his native state and of his own earliest choice, from which he had been driven to Williams as a student by the stress of ill-health. He had gone away from Williams as a teacher in 1872 with no very large respect for the College as then administered, and with no very kind feelings toward Dr. Hopkins personally. He came back to the College in 1881 self-determined to change its form, and to make it over into a sort of new Yale after a pattern of his own. The elective system had then already made considerable inroads in Yale upon the former system of required studies throughout.

Carter thought it would be best to make a quiet beginning of electives at once, without any open discussion of any change with anybody; and so he persuaded Professors Griffin and Fernald, the heads of the Latin and Greek departments, personally to offer electives in their departments, for that first year, '81–82. This step was not debated in the faculty meeting, nor even mentioned there. It so happened, that, at the close of the year, when the examinations in those two electives had just passed, Professor Perry met the two professors together as they came out of the door of the post-office, when Griffin accosted him with emphasis, saying, "The fellows in my elective have done just nothing at all throughout the term, — *just nothing at all!*" Turning to Fernald, the latter asked him quietly, how it had been in his department. Fernald responded, after a manner of his own, "*It has been no great success, certainly.*" This dismally proclaimed failure, after a year's trial at the hands of his two then most trusted agents, instead of giving Carter pause, as it certainly would have done any wise man, made him furious, and determined him, in spite of the warning of the trustees and of the well-known opinions of the faculty and alumni in general, to compel certain college teachers to offer electives in their long-established departments contrary to the matured judgments of the teachers themselves. The means chosen to bring about this end were such as no one but a low-lived boor would ever have conceived of, and no one but a man of towering self-conceit would ever have asked others to help him carry into execution. So thoroughly disgraceful were these means, that the subordinate agents selected to carry them out were, with one exception, men recently come into the faculty, and who were afraid if they refused the function forced upon them, that they would lose their places. So conscious were these men at the time and afterward, that the work was dirty work, totally unworthy

in its inception and execution of gentlemen, that afterward and again and again they made ample apologies to the chief subject of the wrong, pleading as their sole excuse the novelty of the situation and their personal dependence upon the wrongdoer.

The public has no concern with the strangely changing personal relations as between Franklin Carter and Edward Griffin, except so far as these permanently and deeply affected the public ongoings of the College itself. The College is a very public institution indeed. It is the child of the State through its charter and the

EDWARD HERRICK GRIFFIN.

recurring grants of the public money to extend and upbuild it. Indeed, there is nothing private about the College as such. The presidency, for example, both when it begins and so long as it continues, is something about which every man who helps to constitute the public has a right to have and to express an opinion. College presidents are apt to think themselves intrenched. They are not. They are amenable every day they live, in each and every public act, to that large and composite constituency which made and can unmake them at will. Moral obligations are mutual and reciprocal

and constant through that delicate and complex organization called a college. Trustees administer a public *trust* given over into their hands by that large public, to which they are in their corporate capacity responsible. Faculties render, — at least they ought to render, — to their own members, each to each, and as a body to each member, services of a helpful and lofty character, as well as those peculiarly difficult ones daily due to their own pupils. A faculty, if it be good for anything as such, must be a moral unity, the individuals working together as toward certain common ends, in much the same way as a Christian church, if it be vitally and influentially such, must be a substantial unity working as toward similar moral and public ends. The strictly private and personal ends and relations as between members of the same college faculty are beyond the ken of the faculty as a body, and of course beyond the ken of other individuals as such. But when private cliques are formed within a faculty to control faculty action, or to build up one and to pull down another, and especially when a college president, whose official relations to all his colleagues are of necessity common, and whose moral obligations to each and every colleague are conterminous and equally sacred with the moral obligations of each colleague to him, lends himself to secret cabals within the body, becomes the head and organizer of them for ends of his own, he forfeits thereby every moral claim to the respect and coöperation of his colleagues as such. He is a president only in name. He is a misfit, and out of his place. All the forces of the moral world around him come into just combination to upset and deny him.

Carter and Griffin were college classmates but not intimates during the two years while the former was a member of the class of 1862, years also considerably broken by his ill-health and consequent isolation. So far as is known and believed, Griffin had taken no decided part for or against Carter while the latter was a candidate in the summer of 1881. It was not like him to take a decided part under such circumstances. Nor was it the part of wisdom for any one on the ground to take a decided part under the circumstances. Griffin, however, knew well that Perry was more favorable to Carter, and that Dr. Hopkins was more opposed to him, than any one else on the ground. When the election had been carried and announced, Griffin, usually very reticent, occasionally very frank on critical points, casually meeting the older and always friendly colleague, manifested his deep disgust at the turn things had taken. More contemptuous expressions, both facial and vocal, are rarely witnessed than those then employed by him without disguise. His

words, indeed, were few, but his sentiments were completely revealed. It was a voluuteer conference on his part, wholly private, and nobody's business. The recipient took it and kept it as confidential. It was, however, actual, and, in the sequel, vital to a public state of things in College, — not pleasant to record, but needful to the record. It was unquestionably an honest and proper expression of views then entertained and afterward entertained again. Perry did not lay a single straw of any name or nature in Carter's way, either before or after he assumed to administer the College. He gave his counsel, both in private and in faculty meeting, whenever it was asked for, in utter integrity and in as conciliatory a manner as possible, while Carter became, term after term, intensely and increasingly unpopular, and the weekly faculty meeting became so hollow and distasteful to all that they could with difficulty persuade themselves to attend it. "*Darned old faculty meeting!*" was the repeated exclamation of Professor Rice, while it was equally the sentiment of the rest. Perry, though never a flatterer or fig-shower to anybody, was really the best and steadiest friend that the president had in the faculty, and when the latter asked him about the odium attaching to the meetings replied frankly and kindly: "I have never known in my life any such unpopularity of the faculty meeting." "How do you account for it?" said he. The other answered in substance, not verbally, that he accounted for it, in part, by the unwise innovation by which the meeting, which had fallen uniformly on Wednesday evening since the foundation of the College in 1793, was arbitrarily put on Monday evening, at a great inconvenience to some and at no advantage to any; and also in part by the fact that the time of the gentlemen was frittered away night after night by the attempted construction of petty details and regulations which could be handled better by a small committee.

In the meantime it was clearly perceived by the experienced members of the faculty, that Carter did not intend to govern the College through or by means of the faculty, and also that he did not intend to give the faculty his confidence as to the manner in which he had determined to govern the College himself. It was also perceived at the same time, and with increasing clearness by the same men (such things cannot be concealed in a small college, and the very effort to conceal them reveals them), that the president was making special confidants of two or three colleagues in relation to pending and approaching college questions, and so forming a secret council, to whom he could dictate, and who should help him execute autocratic decrees, of which the faculty as such knew noth-

ing, and to which certain members might be easy victims. One of these experienced observers certainly, and it must be said of each of them that he had been for long and unselfishly devoted to all the interests of the College as these had been expounded by its authorized representatives, was astonished as the evidences unfolded that Griffin was to be and became the chief man of this secret conclave. In what way he had been won over from his pronounced position of 1881 is not known, nor is it of the least consequence. It is enough and too much, that, by some means, he became willing for a considerable length of time to abandon an honorable and recognized position as councillor and coadjutor, for which he had hereditary talents and high personal ability, to accept an incompatible position of servility toward one, whom, as a college official, he despised, and of machination toward others, whom, as colleagues, he had every reason to respect and honor. This second position, however, be it thankfully added, he sloughed off, after a full trial, with every mark of loathing. Self-respecting coadjutors Carter did not want, nor would he tolerate them; he wanted men "Friday," and found them, and harmed them, and they harmed him irreparably.

The first positive proof that came under Perry's observation that Griffin had radically changed his position of 1881, and had become willing to help Carter bring in a college autocracy — *aut Cæsar aut nullus* — in spite of faculty and in spite of trustees, was exhibited in Perry's own house, which stood on his own grounds. Carter and Griffin calling together were courteously received and seated. Their manner was somewhat constrained, and they had obviously come on a common errand. Griffin said nothing, and Carter said little. After a few commonplaces back and forth, which meant nothing, the pair rose to go, and the host accompanied them to the door, when Carter blurted out with vehemence, and in a tone of accusation, — "*You are an optimist!*" The comical aspects of the scene most impressed the host, who was conscious of having been polite in the interview, and was also conscious of having a native and acquired tendency of looking on the bright side of things so far as possible. He had no time, still less disposition, to palliate the charge, for the two passed out at once with the air of men who had performed a solemn duty, and were relieved of a moral burden. This air, however, was not an air of satisfaction, nor scarcely of self-respect. It was, perhaps, fortunate for themselves that the message they had brought was entirely true, and that the receiver was optimistic enough even to ignore the gross discourtesy of such an official call bringing such a formal announcement delivered in such a toplofty

way. It did not disturb his equanimity in the least. It engendered in his mind, of course, more or less of contempt for a couple of relative novices, showing so little manliness and manners in their going forth to war against established usages, and an already hardened historical development of an institution already old.

These two men never came to the same house together again, in the patent interest of the absolutism of one through the unscrupulous facility of the other; but each came again singly after considerable intervals of time, each in the same interest, and with a pronounced accession of ill-bred impertinence. The president, amazing as the statement will seem, conceived it to be a part of his function as such, not only to possess and administer the sole authority in college, choosing his tools and minions as agents, but also even to determine the sentiments and beliefs of his colleagues on certain great public questions, and what they should publish or not publish in relation to these questions, about which in his saner moments he was prompt enough to avow that he knew nothing at all. It was true, indeed, that he knew nothing at all of the ultimate nature and drift of these subjects, but it was also true that he had a narrow and bitter and bigoted prejudice in relation to them, warped by private interest and family associations, which last of itself was enough to prevent such a kind of man as he was from attaining any balanced judgment whatever in that class of subjects. A national society in New York largely officered and supported by some of the most distinguished graduates of Williams College had printed for general distribution a leaflet written by Professor Perry, entitled "A Free Trade Lesson from the New Testament." Whether Carter had read a copy of this may be doubted, at any rate he had heard something about it from some of his protectionist confederates. What may not be doubted is, that he had never learned the precious art of minding his own business: he was a meddler and a mischief-maker, an incessant busybody in other men's matters. He undertook to suppress the circulation of this leaflet, by a self-assumed authority to control whatever had gone out or might thereafter go out from Williams College, in virtue of his becoming personally a transient president thereof. He appeared in the same hallway as before, with a face as black as Erebus, just as the householder was parting with another caller, an intimate and highly esteemed friend, Mr. Frederic Leake. This time he declined to be seated, though courteously asked to do so, and, without waiting for Mr. Leake to withdraw, who was already standing in the door, he hurled at the host an indecent and almost blasphemous expression in reference to

the leaflet without mentioning it, and instantly went out. Vulgar boorishness in manner under a colleague's roof could no further go. Impertinence and self-assumption as to the matter could no further go. His college autocracy was to extend into fields that stood in no relations to the College. The man thus accosted in the presence of an honored guest had been for more than a dozen years the senior member of the faculty, for the same length of time had had the sole charge of the weekly religious meeting uniting the faculty and the students, was in reality the best friend the president had on the ground, was doing more teaching and exerting a more quieting and harmonizing influence than any one else, and at that very time and afterward was doing all that lay in his power to reduce in the minds of the students the increasing detestation in which the president was held.

Professor Griffin did not understand the real lay of the land. He did not foresee the extreme lengths to which Carter would carry the doctrine and practice of his personal sovereignty. Fairly good motives must be accorded to Griffin in his successive changes of attitude and action. His mistakes, nevertheless, at two points were radical, and brought great trouble to himself and to others. As a Christian minister and a college professor, he ought to have seen beforehand, that it is involved in the nature of things, that personal rights and usual courtesies cannot be filched from anybody without producing reactions and results injurious, not only to those who thus violate an external rule of right, but to the whole community as well. In the second place, he should have known that for any one to take up a radically false position with a determination to maintain it blindly, carries along with it the consequence that such a one is necessarily involved in further falsities and in increasing difficulties. The moral world is constructed on the principle that it is excessively hard work to take care of an initial lie in its after developments. The stars in their courses fight against him who attempts this. Carter's claim to college sovereignty, to which Griffin had weakly surrendered, implied, in order to gain any strength of ground at all, that his colleagues must admit (tacitly at least) that the president was the College, and that "loyalty to the College" meant personal subserviency to him. Though all mixed up in the logic, Carter was clear in the conclusion, that he himself was "the College" in a very substantive and emphatic sense. Alike in his conception and in his parlance for years, loyalty to the College was toadyism to himself. His case was parallel, *mutatis mutandis*, with that of the French king before the Revolution, —

"The State? I am the State!" Griffin was clearer-headed than Carter, but not so strong-willed. He had submitted to the sovereignty doctrine, perhaps under the impression that he was to be a sort of co-sovereign, which, we may be sure, was no part of Carter's purpose, and which, as it turned out in practice, proved to be no part of the actual result. He submitted also, as logically compelled, to the "loyalty" doctrine, though it is probable that he expected to escape for himself the reality and the charge of the "toadyism" inextricably involved. He did not and could not escape either of them. They betrayed him to his lasting humiliation.

The interview between two of the college professors herein in a moment to be narrated, though at first sight perhaps trivial, is *historical* in the strict sense, on the ground by which any fact whatever becomes historically important. What is an historical fact? And what is the distinction between such and the innumerable facts that are non-historical? *For any fact to become historical its causes must be known and calculable, and its consequents seen to take their place in the record of the social progress of mankind, along some one of the many lines by which such progress manifests itself.* Twice at least after Griffin had yielded himself to the quasi-menial service of the president, and feeling himself exalted through the new relation, and doubtless in the expectation of constraining Perry to take up a similar condition of subserviency, he had grossly insulted the latter, as if he himself were already a twin-sharer in the throne. Under a mistaken confidence in the issue of a policy of irenics, as alone capable of saving Carter from an impending downfall, these insults had been received in patience and silence, although not without abundant contempt for a man acting such dastardly parts. Griffin wholly misinterpreted the patience and silence. So did Carter misinterpret them. They sprang out of a genuine loyalty to the College in the only true sense of that phrase, which neither of these men possessed nor had the magnanimity to recognize in others. College term after term passed by, while the sovereignty system did not seem to prosper at all. The students saw it through and through, and did not take kindly to it. They called it in their printed periodicals the "spy-system." They kept calling it so for several years. They denominated it justly and sharply. They discriminated pretty sharply also in their feelings and in the manifestation of them, as between those professors who were open and guileless and independent, and those who seemed to be and to act in some sort of a secret ring. It is possible that Griffin began to be somewhat isolated under these circumstances in the faculty itself.

It is true, however, that several other good members of that body, mostly new men, and all in ignorance of the nature of the moral struggle going on, acted in general accord with him. This ignorance several of these men afterward acknowledged and regretted. At any rate, Griffin thought there would be no harm nor hazard in insulting and outraging the senior professor once more in his own house, which was a noticeable feature in the whole proceeding. Carter, no doubt, incited him to come, and instructed him in the line of assault. Certainly he came and acted as one *sent*, though appearing as a free agent, and not at all foreseeing the moral issue of the interview.

Courteously admitted into the study and declining to be seated, he began without preliminary or apology of any kind to berate his host for not being loyal to the College. The words were substantially these, and were deliberately repeated, the eyes of the two men confronting each other, "*I think it is time for you to become loyal to the College!*" Quietly and firmly the other, "*Who do you mean by the College?*" Griffin's eyes fell to the floor instantly, and the wretched evasion uttered in quick low tones came to his lips, "*I—and the faculty.*" He did not await what would have been the immediate and inevitable inquiry, "*On what ground should I crouch to you, and how does the faculty come in here?*" Irrecoverably chopfallen, he went immediately out. The simply pertinent question disembowelled a huge beast that looked formidable a moment before. Pitiable was the answer to it in its weakness and contradiction, and deplorable in its blazing falsities. It was a confession that the claim of any individual to "loyalty" from his colleagues, was not only untenable but also unmentionable. When once questioned at the bar of reason, its champion did not dare even to pronounce his name. The answer was the best exit open to a quick-witted man from a contradiction in terms and a monstrosity in nature. Loyalty is a monarchical term. It goes from a person to a person — from a subject to a king. It has no place among equals. It is a misnomer in a republic. It is an absurdity in a college. Perhaps the perversion of the term took its origin in the mythical mother of the colleges, the *Alma Mater*. In the language of the imagination, loyalty to her is an allowable and beautiful expression, and no graduate of any college is under such a constraining obligation to loyalty to her in this figurative sense as is any transient president. But for him to set himself up in her place and claim for himself what only belongs to her, and what only the finer minds of an alumni body can easily conceive and hold fast to, is at once a crime against language and an outrage on decency.

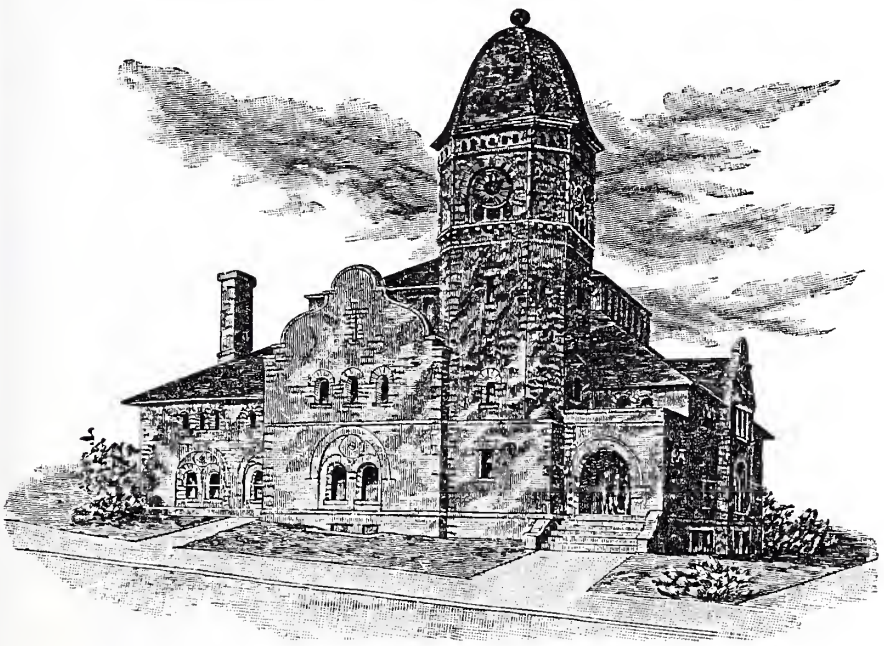
The interview just characterized was *historical* in the strict sense of that word, for its certain influence upon Griffin and Carter, and for its almost certain influence in perpetuity upon the College itself. Griffin was never known thereafter to crack his "loyalty" whip about the ears of any one of his colleagues. His relations with all of them continued to be friendly, though they may hardly be said to have been intimate unless it were with Professor Fernald, who was not a graduate of the College, and who thus escaped some of the weighty obligations to the *Alma Mater* falling upon most of the rest. The tight place into which Griffin was casually thrown in the interview must have set him to thinking whether his factitious relations with the president were proper for him to hold, or indeed any relations not essentially common to him and his colleagues. If his prevailing motive were, as is likely, to help hold Carter up in his chosen policy of government, and particularly that part of it consisting of petty intrigues, incessantly rising and breaking like the foam on the waves of the sea, he could not but perceive that his supposed help was futile and wasted. Carter was gaining no settled moral hold on any portion of the College. The bulk of the students detested his methods, and distrusted him. The trustees were getting doubtful and anxious. The members of the faculty were doing all that men could do under the circumstances in building up their departments, and in strengthening the College in general. They were a competent and faithful and meritorious body of men. Not one of them but was more "loyal to the organism" than was Carter himself; who did not render to others what he was vehemently desirous and demanding that they should render to him, and what, for the most part with astonishing magnanimity, they did render to him. Griffin could not but perceive what was protrudingly true, that he himself was suffering an increasing unpopularity from his well-known and special relations to one whose unpopularity was already boundless. Indeed, a disinterested friend said to him in so many words, "Each of you intensifies the unpopularity of the other." All the processes of Griffin's mind in the premises are not known, nor need to be; what passed from time to time between the two men is not known, nor needs to be; what is known and became historical in this case is the sudden and complete and undisguised split of the professor from the president. It was something fitting and wholesome, that the final cleavage was mediated in an open faculty meeting with palpitating wedges of scorn from Griffin's own lips, with whom, as against the other, all present seemed to sympathize. Carter himself, who learned in the school of experience and adversity but very slowly, talked less loudly

from that day on about his own royal position, and the duty of his colleagues to recognize it in their "loyalty" to him, yet he continued to think about it, whispered of it to some, and now and then indirectly proclaimed it, just as before. The incident did him some good on the whole. It should have transformed his attitude altogether.

An autocracy in any form and a college in its normal form are a contradiction in terms. An attempted autocracy within a college is an attempted destruction of the college itself. Williams received in 1881 as its president a man who, with many excellences of private character, was unfitted in endowment and in temperament and in training for the large public place which he had coveted and striven for during many years. On assuming its difficult and complicated duties, he gave no sign to those around him, every one of whom was ready in good faith to help him if allowed to do so, of ever having reflected for a moment upon the etymological and customary meaning of the word "college." He quickly manifested his determination to decide everything and to do everything by himself. He was and was to be the *fons et origo* of everything pertaining (no matter how remotely) to the College. This was the more strange, inasmuch as, when he was a professor under President Hopkins for nine years he was in a frequent fret and fury against him, because he did not defer enough (or at least scrupulously enough) to the rest of the faculty; and when also he was a professor afterward for nine years at Yale, it was well understood in general that he often made himself and those about him uncomfortable on somewhat similar grounds. At any rate, Franklin Carter was the last man in the world to have quietly submitted in another to the swelled and baseless functions assumed by himself as toward others. From the first his very look was sinister and suspicious, and his every attitude one of opposition and prepared resistance, when there was nothing to be resisted or opposed. "As a man soweth so shall he also reap." There is no possible and there was no actual cutting of that heaven-appointed tie between cause and effect. The students were the first to take the true measure of their man. He distrusted them without cause, and gave them speedy proof of his suspicions; and they not only failed to render him respect, but began to despise him for a trickster and a spy-monger. For ten years, certainly, if not longer, the president failed to possess himself of the fair confidence of a single graduating class; and these consequently went out in succession not feeling so well toward the College as the classes before had pretty uniformly done; which proved an irreparable damage to the College itself, and the report of which did not fail to reach the ears

of the scattered trustees from time to time, and to cause them disquiet, and once at least to bring them together at their own motion upon the ground to see and hear what they could for themselves.

It is true, indeed, that the students, considered as a body, gave the new president a reasonable margin of time and opportunity to manifest himself, before they fully made up their minds what manner of spirit he was of. Those who had observed the slack methods of the last years of President Chadbourne were pleased to see the signs of vigor and the instant proofs of executive ability shown by the new head. Five new professors and three new in-



LASELL GYMNASIUM.
Built in 1886.

structors were in their places almost immediately. Two or three of the older professors were given positions better to their mind. Many other changes were initiated or proposed. The new president was expected to increase the funds of the College, and he addressed himself to that task with skill and persistency. When it was announced that a gift of $100,000 for a new dormitory had been secured from Governor Morgan of New York by his direct solicitation, the students were jubilant, — little surmising the heart-

burnings and bitterness that the new building would engender in the course of a few years. The Lasell Gymnasium, understood to have been secured by similar means, built in 1886, excited similar feelings on the part of the students, without being followed by any permanent reactions as in the other case. President Carter deserved large credit for his laborious and successful efforts to add to the funds of the College, and to its material equipments generally; but that did not and could not of itself make him a good president, because such an official in all his relations to the persons surrounding him and constituting the College, must have personal and moral and social qualifications such as Carter did not possess. No one man indeed ever did have, or ever will have, all the qualities seemingly requisite for a good college president; but he must have the *essential* qualities, namely, the ability to draw and hold the confidence of all the bodies with which he has specifically to do, as an open and competent and faithful official. The experiment that was tried on this ground during the last two decades of the century was presently advantageous to the College and the community.

But its main significance and usefulness lay in the future. It was vitally important for the College that the principle and practice within it of sovereignty and loyalty should be not only scotched but killed. Every branch needed to be excided and every root eradicated. The experiment of establishing it, if it were to be made at all, were well made persistently, under favorable auspices, and by mammals of the pachydermatous order, and then the failure of the trial be exhibited to all the world as total and dismal. Substantially these conditions existed and this result was exhibited. (1) The time and place for the experiment were favorable. The strictly and properly *collegiate* government had been weakened in the last years of Hopkins and all the years of Chadbourne. Influence had then largely taken the place of authority. Influence is better than authority, and if there cannot be but one, is greatly to be preferred. But the legitimate authority kindly and firmly exerted by the constituted body as such, and then a personal influence gained and held by individuals as such and exerted in studied harmony with the other, makes the perfection of a college government over students. An ideal is never practically reached, and a perfect college government has never been witnessed in New England; nevertheless, it remains and always will remain, that these two factors, collegiate authority and personal influence, properly conjoined and adjusted and lubricated by clear intelligence and Christian charity, constitute the normal and rotund college government. Neither factor of these

two can possibly get on well without the other. Each president and each professor must be content to act at once as a correlated *part* and as a subordinated *whole* in the great college sphere. (2) Franklin Carter was just the man to try the experiment of displacing in general influence by authority, and also collegiate by presidential authority. The primary quality needed was self-sufficiency. A secondary one was persistency regardless of the rights and feelings of others, coupled with a practical insensibility to the strokes falling of course on the anachronist and iconoclast. If such a man for such a work needed and desired a confidential coöperator, then was Griffin the best man he could have chosen; for he had within certain limits all the good qualities and all the bad qualities compatible with such a questionable service. If the scheme could have succeeded, then these two men would have put it through. Without positively affirming that such a scheme could not succeed under any circumstances, it may be confidently affirmed that this scheme under all these favorable circumstances did not succeed. It failed. It miserably failed.

What is historical and hopeful in this whole business is the extreme unlikelihood of such an experiment as that was ever being tried on this ground again. Prognostication is not indeed so easy and safe as is retrospection and a record; but the social progress of mankind is facilitated perhaps as much, certainly a great deal, by the conspicuous failure of false principles, as by the exhilarating success of sound principles. Future faculties of Williams College are likely to be warned by the ill success of this desperate trial. This thing was not done in a corner. Nor was it in itself a feeble attempt. The light of the past shines out not dimly for this institution into the still opening roads of the twentieth century.

History is disposed to linger still longer on the college annals of these two decades, not with a view of exalting or depreciating any individuals as such, but with the purpose of elucidating certain pervasive principles which belong radically to the development of colleges and similar schools of learning. These institutions come to have an historic growth of their own, the result partly of original bent and long-continued culture, and partly of special environment. Williams College had such a growth under peculiarly definite causes of both these sorts. It became strong after its own fashion, and in accordance with conditions normal only here. No man was fit to exert or capable of exerting a controlling influence which should be healthful and continuous on a college so grown and so, in a certain sense, self-conscious, who did not historically understand these con-

ditions and thoroughly respect their embodied results. Franklin Carter came hither as president in 1881 without knowing those historical antecedents and ingredients of the College, and without caring anything at all what they had been, and consequently without heartily respecting the College itself. He had not an historical mind to start with; and for this he was not to blame. He had never given himself any historical training, for the good reason that he had given himself an almost exclusively linguistic training, and the two are quite diverse in their action on the mind. Scarcely in its germs did he ever come to possess what is happily called the "Historic Sense." But he himself was unaware of any personal deficiency at that point. He spoke and acted throughout as if any local knowledge of the past were a matter of no consequence to him or to any one else. He came to Williams and began his lordly operations apparently just as he would have done had he gone to Dartmouth or Bowdoin, so far as any past of Williams was concerned in his mind and plans. He knew nothing of the imposing strength of an honorable and historical past. It was all to him as a *tabula rasa*. He thought himself *able* to transform and re-create the College after types existing in his own mind.

During his first terms as president he busied and wearied himself, and kept his faculty busied and wearied, in trying to make new rules and regulations for everything. Nothing in the past of the College was good enough for him. He did not respect the processes and he did not respect the result. It angered him to have any one of the older professors even suggest that this or that had been formerly managed so and so. That was enough to condemn it outright. He was eager to learn and quick to quote how a certain difficulty was handled in remote institutions, and was anxious to apply at once the foreign remedy to the domestic ill; and when some one suggested that there might be hazard in applying the same rule in diverse conditions, and that much bodily borrowing seemed unseemly, then was hurled from chair to colleague the instant insult (a new thing in Williams College), as if some differences of opinion and divers points of view were not implied in all consultations and councils, and were not the sole ground of their utility. The president had very little ingenuity of his own in framing verbal rules and restraints; and while several of his colleagues had much more, and did their utmost to serve the ends he had in view, the almost uniform result was that the students had little trouble in driving a coach and four through the finest network of words that could be framed. The ingenuity along this line of any body of students passes beyond description when

they set themselves to it under provocation. They are fearfully and wonderfully made in this regard. And this is one reason why a college can never be governed by any collocation of mere words, however elaborate. The infirmities and ambiguities of language are too many for any such purpose. A solid personal influence on the part of the teachers is indispensable in order to reënforce the words, or better still, in order to dispense with them mainly or altogether. But the president gained very little personal influence over the students. He did not know how to do it. He scarcely even tried to do it. He did not meet them with open face and a clean heart, man to man, and no subterfuges anywhere. The structure of his mind, his past experiences, and their repeated evasions and overthrows of his superfine regulations, deepened his suspicions of them; and they in their turn, as classes and bodies, never gave him their confidence, mainly for this reason, that he never made a clean breast of it with them. He chose to govern by authority, and pushed that forward on all occasions, authority both legitimate and illegitimate, over young men who are always open to appeals to reason, and to honest manifestations of confidence by those who in any sense are over them. The results of this isolated and personal policy, of this failure of the president to identify himself with the College and to appeal to and abide by some at least of its traditions and historical strength, and of his manifested determination to cut himself off from the old and to build with a free hand on new foundations, were steadily deplorable, first on the members of the faculty, second on the successive classes of students, and third and more slowly upon the body of the alumni.

Previous presidents had taken pains to make the weekly faculty meetings pleasant to all those who participated in them so that, as a rule, they were looked forward to in the way of anticipation by all parties as an interruption of the monotony of college work and duty. It became a time and place for mutual acquaintance and good cheer, — a sort of club. The college business, whatever it might be, was usually presented first — the president bringing up any general matters that had been called to his attention, and then asking in turn each professor if he had anything to present from his own department or classes. This over, and it rarely took up the whole evening, the gathering became informal and social. Men manifested themselves just as they were without restraint. Opinions jostled, and animosities melted. Men got acquainted with each other, and came to have a mutual respect and a brotherly feeling. Their weaknesses got mildly ridiculed from time to time, and

their points of strength eventually came out more or less. Stories were told on each other back and forth, doubtless much like those which were circulated among the students about this professor or that, and these were more or less put on their guard, and gradually helped into sounder paths. Best of all, under these circumstances a faculty came to feel that they were an organism; that their individual interests were in common; that they were a body of individuals constituting a whole for important public purposes, and consequently that they must not ravel out at the edges. It would be wrong and foolish to expect that every president could manage such loose gatherings of colleagues as these, to generally cheerful and wholesome ends, as Mark Hopkins did for so many years.

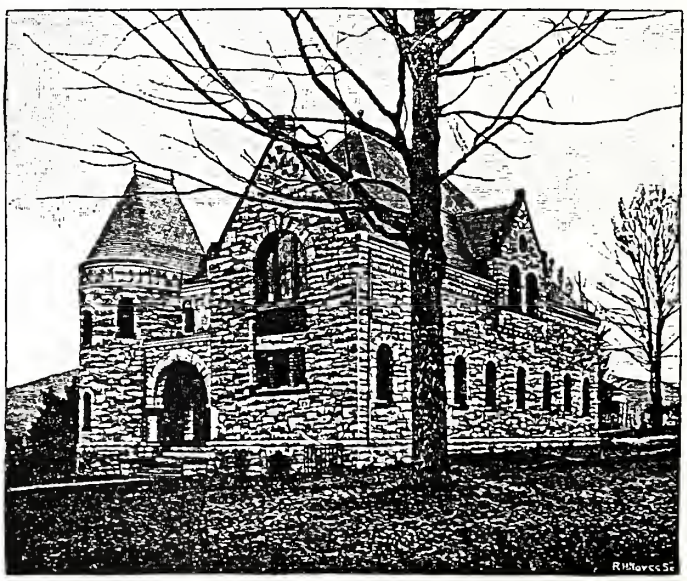
But Carter had nothing of all this freedom and consequent good feeling and unity. His faculty meetings were to the last degree official and solemn. Every man felt under a conscious restraint, and he more than anybody else. He allowed himself no opportunity to get acquainted with his colleagues when they were all together. In fact, there was no other opportunity. And he did not get acquainted with them. He never put himself on a level with them socially, or in any other way. He never put himself at ease with them as a body, and they never came to feel at ease with him. Instead of ministering to a feeling of unity, and of an organization for common ends, which a college is if it be anything, the faculty meetings served to intensify the individuality of each person who attended them, the president's especially. They solved no difficulties, they removed no alienations, they quickened no organic purposes, they ministered to no man's content or comfort. Accordingly, the story of the faculty meetings, during the whole period of Carter's presidency, form the dreariest portion of a record otherwise, for the most part, dreary enough. They became so odious and useless that they were intermitted altogether for considerably long seasons. At other times they gathered only at the special summons of the president for special purposes. During his occasional absences from town, when otherwise they were assembling regularly, the professors were warned by special messenger not to gather. This was something entirely new in the history of the College; for before this the faculty uniformly came together whether the president were present or not. The deeper truth in this whole matter was, that under Carter's theory and practice of personal sovereignty, regular faculty meetings were an incongruity rather than a necessity. By studiously making himself independent so far as possible of the sound historical precedents of the College, that

is to say, cutting himself off from its goodly fame, consolidated in an honorable growth of nearly a century, Carter weakened himself as an administrator, and weakened his colleagues as individuals, as well as a body, in all their relations to the students as a body and as individuals.

How little the president knew, and how less he cared about the history of the town and college, was manifested in his bearings toward the Professor of History, who, when a student, had become deeply interested in the origins of both; that is to say, in the old French and Indian wars, as these were carried on along the valley and over the mountains of the upper Hoosac River, necessitating a line of forts from the latter to the Connecticut River, and bringing at length into the region a body of brave soldiers and citizens, who became the founders of both town and college. Becoming Professor of History in 1853, this man continued mostly in college vacations, and wholly at his own expense, glad and successful researches into this then *terra incognita*. He had quietly pursued this course for almost thirty years when Carter became president. He had made the beginnings of an historical museum. The trustees had voted into his care the sword and a few other authentic relics of Colonel Ephraim Williams, the founder of the College. While still a student he had brought to the College, with the consent of the owner of the meadow on which Fort Massachusetts stood, the last headstone remaining in the little graveyard adjoining it, and he added to this afterward several historical relics from the same hallowed site. He visited repeatedly, and carefully explored, the remains of Fort Pelham in the town of Rowe, and Fort Shirley in the town of Heath, both in the line of forts to the eastward from Fort Massachusetts to the Connecticut River. John Henry Haynes, since so world-distinguished for historical explorations on the plains of the Euphrates, received his first impressions and took his first simple lessons along what proved to be his life-work, in kindly assisting his professor in excavating and measuring at the sites of Forts Pelham and Shirley. Interesting memorials from both these places came at length to the little museum, not without much painstaking and considerable expense. President Chadbourne of his own accord offered a commodious home for the slowly growing collection in the then just finished Clark Hall, which had been built under his auspices. Dr. Chadbourne, whose special intellectual interests lay as remote from history as did those of Dr. Carter, yet saw clearly the great value of the historical work that was being done, both present and prospective, kindly promoted it in every way he

could, and voluntarily gave a suitable place of deposit for the collection.

Fort Shirley was a jointed block-house sixty feet square, built of hewn pine timber at the order of Colonel John Stoddard of Northampton by Captain William Williams in the summer of 1744. All the original documents relating to the erection and garrisoning of Fort Shirley are still extant in the archives at Boston, many of them in the handwriting of John Stoddard, the military commandant of western Massachusetts. Six of these old pine timbers used in the building of the fort were fortunately preserved in a family by the



CLARK HALL.

name of Maxwell, which came to own the land on which the old fort stood. In October, 1885, in company with Mr. Maxwell, who represented that generation of this family, the Williams professor carefully examined these timbers, and found how the fort had been constructed throughout. They had been hewn and jointed and dowel-pinned and dovetailed at the corners. Indeed, he pulled out with his own hands two of these pins from their places, in which they had then quietly rested 141 years. Not long after this the town of Heath celebrated the centennial of its organization. As it had little to distinguish it above the surrounding towns except the

interesting story of old Fort Shirley, the professor was invited to deliver the address on that occasion. When he had concluded, Mr. Maxwell publicly presented to him a section about five feet long of one of these timbers in the name of the town, and as a memorial of the Maxwell family. As a precious relic of "ye olden time," the section was brought to the College and given a modest place in Clark Hall. President Carter continued to manifest in various ways a haughty contempt for the local historieal labors of the professor of History, and particularly toward the small collection of relics in Clark Hall. Perhaps this is not so strange in itself, for he was totally ignorant of the background of these relics, and of course the relics themselves meant nothing to him; his assumption was, that what meant nothing to him meant nothing to anybody else; and even then it remained inexplicable why he should feel such a pique and grudge toward these unobtrusive tenants in Clark Hall, and, in particular, toward the section of one of the timbers of old Fort Shirley, so-named after the energetic and popular colonial Governor of Massachusetts. The president usually kept in tow a small coterie of underlings and fig-showers, sometimes students and sometimes newcomers into the faculty, who held their places through his good will, and these stood ready to do anything at his persuasion, however discreditable to him and them. One day the historical professor was astonished to find that his bit of wood from Fort Shirley had been disfigured and was scrawled over in writing to the effect that it was a piece of rubbish of no significance at all! The relatively innocent agent in this act of low-lived prejudice afterward acknowledged of his own accord to the person chiefly concerned, that he had done this thing at the president's instigation and under the general fear of otherwise losing his place.

Some years after this, when this same person concerned had resigned his professorship, an unfortunate newcomer and ninny, a total stranger to the place and to the past of this whole region of country, was used by the president to uncork his vials of wrath on the doomed relics in Clark Hall. Many of them, including the Shirley beam, were ignominiously dumped into an unoccupied room of a neighboring building; and the poor irresponsible dupe, who verily thought he was doing God service, was told to inform the professor of what had been done, and to invite him to come and see the wrecks as newly bestowed. The invitation was never accepted. The emissary was quietly asked, what had become of the colonial and revolutionary swords. "*Oh!*" responded he, "*I have saved all the good things!*" "*Good things? How did you know which the good*

things were? There was nothing there that was not a good thing! You know nothing whatever of the significance of a single item of the collection, any more than the man who sent you on the vile errand!" The tool used in this case was a scientist, who knew practically no other subject. Except on his own hugged delusion, that he was the proprietor of the College and of every person and thing in it, this magnanimous official had no more right to break up and scatter the hopeful beginnings of an historical museum, which directly and indirectly had cost some hundreds of dollars and many a long journey, than he had to scatter on the campus the geological specimens

TRUMAN HENRY SAFFORD.
Born Jan. 6, 1836.

(for instance) of Professor Emmons. Can it be accounted strange that his colleagues could bear little respect for a man, who treated them all, first or last, in this high-handed and senseless fashion? And was it any lack of Christian charity, which led some of them privately to predict, years before that welcome event took place, that a well-authenticated announcement of his resignation from the College would undoubtedly raise here the price of tar-barrels?

An illustration or two, tending to show how the alumni in general became somewhat alienated from the College, may here be given of a deficiency in the mental make-up of President Carter, which

wrought much mischief and diffused much misery in college circles. This was a want of any delicate and sufficient perception of moral proportion as between different men and differing proposals. He appeared insensible to incongruities in times and circumstances, for example, in arranging the parts of a college curriculum, or in placing persons (himself included) in relations to each other as toward any recognized end or public service. A concrete instance will make this clear. When Carter became president in 1881, Mark Hopkins had been teaching metaphysics and ethics, or as it is now called, philosophy, for forty-five years. He had taught these subjects in his own way indeed, constantly profiting by his own experience in teaching them, without much help from current treatises or from the use of text-books in his classes. The key-note of his teaching throughout may be found in the question very frequently put to a pupil, "*What do you think about it?*" This route led to some introspection and discussion. It always kindled some interest in these subjects even in the minds of the common run of students; for it may be said on good authority, that in each of the fifty classes, 1849–99, there were not more than two out of forty students on the average of the classes, who had any special aptitudes or ever made any great proficiency in philosophy. Nevertheless the almost universal verdict of Dr. Hopkins's classes in their after years was, that his methods gained the utmost attainable in college undergraduates, crude at best, having had an average distinct preparation of about two years for a course of four years in college. He himself knew very little of the history of philosophy, and he could not have availed himself much of it if he had known, in harmony with his general methods of teaching and in justice to the generally low intellectual condition of his pupils. It was impossible for him to extort from his pupils much, if any, previous study or reading in preparation for his daily recitations. A very few would read something in some author alongside the text-book; more than half would fairly prepare the prescribed lesson in the text-book; the rest, for the most part, by carefully watching the openings and progress of the discussions, could get along comfortably when the turn came to them; and then there were always a few who practically got nothing at all out of the course. No one knew all this better than Dr. Hopkins himself. No student ever long deceived him. He knew the tribe, and he knew the individual. He knew his own resources, and his own difficulties and deficiences. He did the best he could with the means and materials at his hands.

Franklin Carter's ideal of a good teacher on the other hand was

quite diverse from that of Mark Hopkins. The former's model was Samuel Taylor of Phillips Academy, Andover, under whom he had been extraordinarily well fitted for college in the classical languages. That there could be any other efficient way of teaching in other departments of learning than by "making the pupil work" (as he usually expressed it) in study hours previous to the recitation hours, seemed to find no place in his head or his system of college education. When, in 1881, by a curious topsy-turvy, the president had become professor and the professor president, Carter gave almost his first prominent attention to the department of philosophy. He understood in a general way the great consideration due to Dr. Hopkins. No doubt his prevailing motive in bringing in another man to teach subordinately in that department was, to "*make the Seniors work*"; but with this motive it was plain that he was not averse to adopt a course that would naturally humiliate Dr. Hopkins. So at any rate the latter and his family, and many others too, interpreted the course adopted; which was, to invite Granville Stanley Hall, of the class of 1867, since distinguished as a student and teacher of psychology, and president of Clark University, to deliver an annual course of lectures to the entire Senior class on the history of philosophy. If it had been left optional with the members of the successive classes to take the course or not, no fault could have been found with the plan at any point; or, better still, if Professor Hall had been requested to lecture in his own way on such portions of the great field of philosophy as he might choose, still holding the entire class to the lectures, there could have been no valid objections to that; for Hall had already made original investigations (largely augmented since) in the special field of physiological psychology, in whose results he would certainly have interested and profited majorities in successive classes. Instead of either of these alternatives, he was asked by Carter to lecture on the history of philosophy, and particularly of German philosophy, who added the astounding prescription in so many words, "*Give it to 'em stiff on Hegel!*"

Hall himself verbally told the present writer, in implied explanation at least of his failure to interest the classes in his lectures, that he had worked under definite instructions, couched in part in the above-quoted sentence. Here was incongruity carried to the pitch of absurdity. The "secret of Hegel" had not then been agreed upon even by the most advanced of the philosophers themselves; some of these affirm, that the "secret" has not yet been fairly enucleated; and there may be a few who say, that the infirmities of language are such that Hegel's deepest thoughts cannot be conveyed

over to other men through such weak and shifting instrumentalities as words. In the winter of 1898, however, appeared a new and revised edition of Dr. James H. Stirling's "The Secret of Hegel." This writer had not only found out the secret, but also had finally expressed it in words, as follows: —

> As Aristotle (with assistance from Plato) made explicit the abstract Universal implicit in Socrates, so Hegel (with less assistance from Fichte and Schelling) made explicit the concrete Universal implicit in Kant. The steps to Hegel's ultimate secret are his *in*, *for*, and his *in and for itself*. They have analogues in Aristotle; but, unless they are regarded simply in their derivation from Kant, they will be misunderstood.

Hall's introductory lecture to his first year's course was attended by Dr. Hopkins and another professor who sat next him. Both gave close attention to the entire lecture. As soon as it was concluded, Hopkins turned his face to the other, and said, "I do not know anything about this." Both then rose together to go up to the dais to greet Hall, who had just before come to town. Immediately the greetings were over, Hopkins repeated to Carter and Hall, who stood side by side, the same words he had just said to his seatmate, "*I do not know anything about this!*" Instantly perceiving by the blank faces of the two auditors, that he had said something *mal apropos*, the alert doctor made it worse instead of better by adding, "*but I am glad to learn about it!*" It was not on the whole an auspicious beginning for a course of lectures to a class of undergraduates who were compelled to attend them. Hall began as he had virtually been bidden to do, with Kant; and many of the class were considerably interested in the biographical details given of the outward life of the German sadler's son of Scotch descent; but when the lecturer passed on to "the concrete Universal implicit in Kant," their interest dropped off. Fichte and Schelling and Hegel fared no better at their hands, but rather much worse. Dr. Hopkins's mental and moral condition as being "glad to learn about this" was more hopeful than theirs. Professor Hall redeemed his second year's course, more or less, from the indifference and repugnance felt toward the first, by putting in at the end a number of lectures on physiological psychology, which took hold of the class pretty well, and of which the whole course should have consisted, for that was Hall's own and proper field. He then worried through the third year's similar course with increasing friction, and came then to an end; for practically the students refused to hear him any longer. Dr. Hopkins suffered no diminution of his popularity with his

classes from this repeated exhibition of the methods of modern German philosophy, but continued, till his death in 1887, skilfully to adapt his instructions to the average mental and moral condition of his grateful pupils.

The first president of the Society of Alumni was Dr. Asa Burbank, of the class of 1797, a man born and bred and professionally trained in Williamstown; and the first annual orator before the society was the Rev. Dr. John Woodbridge, of the class of 1804, whose theme in 1823 was "The Obligations of Literary Men to embrace with Ardor and maintain with Constancy the Divine Religion of the Gospel." This address was printed and widely circulated. For about fifty years thereafter the annual oration (or poem) before this society by one of its own members rarely failed to be a chief attraction of Commencement week. So prominent and influential became the Society of Alumni among the agencies coöperating in the upbuilding of the College, that its semi-centennial celebration in 1843 was conducted directly under its auspices and officers. As the years and decades went by, the society came into such self-conscious coöperation with these other agencies that in 1868 a carefully matured plan came into operation by which the alumni as such were thereafter to choose five out of the seventeen trustees of the College, each one of these to serve for a term of five years. From the beginning until then the College Corporation was a wholly self-renewing body on a life-tenure. There had come to be some dissatisfaction with the trustees as a body of exclusively elderly men. Friendly conferences were held as between the society and the corporation. Friendly conclusions were at length reached, to the effect that in order to avoid the necessity of a radical change in the college charter, the trustees should continue to fill by election the vacancies happening in their own body through death or resignation, but pledge themselves to choose one person each year already selected from their own number by the Society of Alumni by ballot to serve for five years. The secretary of the society was to canvass by mail the entire body of alumni for their votes from a list of five candidates nominated at their previous annual meeting. The candidate thus receiving the majority of votes was to be certified by the secretary to the trustees for his ultimate election. The whole burden of this somewhat complicated machinery fell upon the secretary of the alumni, who was always a member of the faculty, and who of course found his task burdensome and uncompensated, and more or less invidious. Giles Bacon Kellogg, of the class of 1829, a native of Williamstown and representing by descent three

or four of its oldest families, was the first trustee chosen in this manner in 1868. At the end of five years he was rechosen in the same way to fill the vacancy caused by the expiration of his first term of office.

This broadening of the basis of suffrage for the choosing of nearly one-third of the Board of Trustees was in the line of the spirit of the times, and was satisfactory to the Society of the Alumni for a while; but, as is common in such cases of balanced powers, the alumni did not remain altogether contented with the degree of direct influence secured to them by this roundabout method of selecting certain members of the trustees. The action of the latter as a whole still seemed to many of the former as too tardy and old-fashioned. The New England colleges generally were becoming relatively restless and dissatisfied with the results of the current schemes of college education and government. Williams was no exception to the rule. The Society of Alumni, accordingly, determined to take a further step in the way of supervision and securing some practical influence on the methods and results of class-room instruction. They decided to raise annually a committee of their own to visit the College in term-time, to attend recitations and lectures, to inquire on the ground of both teachers and students how matters were progressing, and what changes (if any) were needed — this visiting committee to make a formal report in writing to their principals at the alumni meeting of Commencement week. These successive changes of method, considered as one, constituted, by deliberate design, a considerable innovation, and lessened relatively the prestige of the College Corporation as a body, and, of course, also that of the president as an individual official. To carry these changes into effective execution required (1) a resident executive officer of the alumni responsible only to them; and (2) a yearly visiting committee similarly responsible, whose expenses were to be paid from the college treasury. The new system worked well for a number of years. There was nothing in the nature of it, nor in the practical operation of it, that should hinder satisfactory results. The entire scheme was a wholesome recognition that the College was a public institution, to be administered in the sole interests of the public, and to be responsive through each of its three main agencies to genuine and assured changes in public opinion. Let it be repeated, that these three main agencies were and are, (1) the trustees, (2) the faculty, (3) the students and alumni. Ever after 1821 the third body, itself more accessible and flexible to general public opinion than the other two, had been increasingly leaned

on by the other two. All three had worked together in almost unbroken harmony. As an experienced and trusted member of the faculty, the new secretary of the alumni represented in a certain sense all three of these governing bodies, though he was directly and chiefly responsible to the third only. If either of the other two bodies sought to use him officially as a means to any of their special ends, his duty would be as clear as the light; namely, to ignore them absolutely in that regard; for he was an agent only, and could have as such no personal motives or ambitions. His delicate functions were to gather and record and count and certify the alumni votes for alumni trustees.

When Carter became president with his peculiar and inadmissible views of what constituted the College, and while the secretary of the alumni was collecting their votes in the manner expressly prescribed to him, the two men meeting on the street, the president demanded to know the then current state of the voting. His manner was imperious. He had no right to ask such a question. The other had no right to answer it. As alumni each had his individual vote, and neither had a moral right to influence the votes of others. The scheme was concocted on purpose to pass over to the body of the alumni a modified power that formerly belonged to the body of the trustees. But Carter was unwilling that the actual transfer should continue. The menace in the eye and tone of the man on the street foretold what actually happened, namely, that not a stone would be left unturned to get back, by hook or by crook, into his own hands the virtual selection of every member of the Board of Trustees, the Society of Alumni and the faculty of the College to the contrary notwithstanding. The secretary of the alumni, on the other hand, had no option or individuality except to do what had been bidden him to do by those whom he had freely consented to serve as an agent. His task was laborious and thankless, but somebody must perform it for the common good, and take the inevitable consequences of suspicion and odium. He had no motive whatever to do anything but the right in letter and spirit. Silent and self-restrained, accordingly, because knowing his duty and determined to do it with as little friction as possible, the other party to the casual meeting on the street turned and went his way with a light heart.

Angered and transiently thwarted, the president began immediately his secret machinations against the Society of Alumni in the person of their hard-worked secretary, as if he were the responsible evil-doer; and these intrigues were not intermitted until his private ends were measurably reached in the enforced resignation of that

official and in the practical disfranchisement of the alumni as such. Former presidents of the College had always attended the general alumni meeting on the Tuesday morning before Commencement, and as simple alumni had taken an interested part in the exercises, and had helped to make those meetings crowded and enthusiastic; but Carter rarely or never attended that meeting *in propria persona*, while he always had his brief special tools and toadies there, flattered beforehand by his peculiar recognitions, and usually manifesting to practised eyes whose livery it was that they wore. He secured in this way annual changes in the conditions under which the alumni votes were to be gathered or counted or announced. The only thing common to all these changes was, that each of them made the duties of the secretary more arduous, more perplexing, more possible to be cavilled at and overthrown by a vote of the whole body. For example, one of these new regulations was, that the secretary should not even begin to count the votes received until twelve o'clock of the night preceding the annual alumni meeting, and there must be at least one other alumnus present to assist in the counting! It took between two and three hours of the night to count the votes in this manner. This feature was shortly outworn as too obviously insulting to the integrity of the secretary. A substitute was foisted in some time afterward to the effect, that the secretary, though he might count the votes at his leisure, should not announce the result to anybody under any circumstances, until twelve o'clock meridian in the general alumni meeting. This rule, like the other, was in force but a single year, and had a singular issue; for, in the late evening preceding the day of the meeting, while the trustees were in session, a classmate and friend of the secretary, John W. Dickinson, then a member of the trustees and in session with them, came to the secretary's house, and for the space of half an hour or more endeavored by various devices, all friendly in tone and shrewd in contrivance, to extort from him the state of the votes for alumni trustee. Dickinson did not say that he came on this errand at the instance of the president, nor did he wish the other to infer this, but it was impossible for him to conceal it. The other man knew that Dickinson did not personally care a straw for the state of the votes, and he could not help betray his true character as one *sent*. Besides he was dealing with an old bird that knew the difference between chaff and grain. His errand proving futile for obvious reasons, the two friends walked back together to the building in which some at least of the trustees were then sitting, and there parted for the night.

The two leading candidates from the alumni that year were

James M. Barker of the class of 1860, and Henry H. Anderson of the class of 1848. For some reason not at all relevant to the progress and issue of these intrigues, Carter was very desirous that Barker should be chosen. As a matter of fact it was a case of tweedledum and tweedledee. Both were good men. Barker had been trustee for five years, he lived in Pittsfield, and had belonged while in college to one of the later formed fraternities, the D. K. E. Anderson was a son of the long-time secretary of the American Board, was a college classmate of President Chadbourne, lived in New York, and had belonged to the earlier formed fraternity of the Sigma Phi. It had been noticed by many, and left unaccounted for, that relatively few of that society had ever found a place in the Board of Trustees, particularly as compared with members of the contemporary society of the Kappa Alpha. More interest was generally felt on this account in the possible election of Anderson. College-bred men, like all other men, are fond of what is called fair play. At any rate, it was injudicious (to use no stronger term) for the president to fling himself headlong into this canvass in the way he did. No man knew how the vote stood, nor had the least inkling of it, except the secretary, who had counted and recorded the votes. There was a general though vague impression that Anderson would be chosen; and Carter had determined that, even if he were, he should be "counted out" in favor of Barker. If Dickinson had wormed out of the secretary how the vote stood, then the election was to be pronounced invalid, on the ground that the latter had divulged what could only be legally announced in open alumni meeting at the specified time. Foiled in device No. 1, the fertile mind of the president fell back on a second possible expedient. One of the rules prescribed to the secretary for the guidance of his conduct as such had been drawn loosely and ambiguously, so that a charge of its violation either in letter or spirit might be trumped up against the secretary so as to pronounce the election void, and the alumni present authorized to proceed to elect.

The alumni meeting the next morning was a spectacle to gods and man. Nothing like it was ever seen before in any connection with Williams College. It may be doubted whether anything to equal it had ever been witnessed in Tammany Hall. When the meeting opened in the college chapel, the conspirators found themselves in a difficult quandary. They did not know how the vote stood on record, and the only man who did know had been expressly forbidden to tell till twelve o'clock. If they waited till that hour, and Anderson were declared elected, it would then be impossible to

count him out, that is to say, to reverse the verdict of the whole body of alumni. But something must be done at once and at all hazards. At least the secretary might be egregiously insulted at each opportunity, and the impression be produced on the minds of doubtful alumni present, that he were somehow or other a culprit at the bar, that he had been guilty of some malversation in office, nobody knew what. Possibly he might thus be provoked into blurting out the state of the vote, and so give them time to bring into operation their subtle contrivance No. 2. This last hypothesis did not serve them, for the secretary seemed to be the only man in the room perfectly at his ease. The great magician of course was not present, but his puppets were in considerable numbers, and the wires between them seemed to be in good working order. As he pulled, they danced. The president of the day was Milton B. Whitney of the class of 1849. He had taken his orders direct from headquarters, and had consented to forego the honorable task of presiding over a deliberative body in accordance with honorable precedents, bound to respect the rights of majorities and all the decencies of parliamentary law. He came upon the platform on the rampage, inflated and prancing. The secretary read the minutes of the last annual meeting. Reference was made in them in due course to a report then given to the alumni by Charles A. Davison of the board of trustees. As soon as the reference was read, Mr. Davison rose and interrupted and corrected the secretary verbally as to its purport. This was unlucky both for the knot of cavillers on the floor, of which Davison was a centre, and for the overcharged Whitney on the platform, who interjected, "*The secretary will correct his minutes!*" The secretary quietly observed to Davison that the passage objected to was under quotation marks and copied *verbatim* from his own report, which was at that moment in the secretary's custody. There was obviously no occasion to correct the minutes.

The meeting went forward much as usual, until the cabal on the floor, after more or less of whisperings with one another, thought it best to make the main attack. The goal to be reached was so to discredit the secretary, in some way or other, they did not care how, as to give some color of right to their determination to pronounce his record of votes invalid, and to assume the right of the meeting to choose then and there. Barker was to come in *vi et armis*, under their supposition that Anderson had been regularly elected. The cue then was to show the secretary at fault in his proceeding at some obscure and ambiguous point of his prescribed

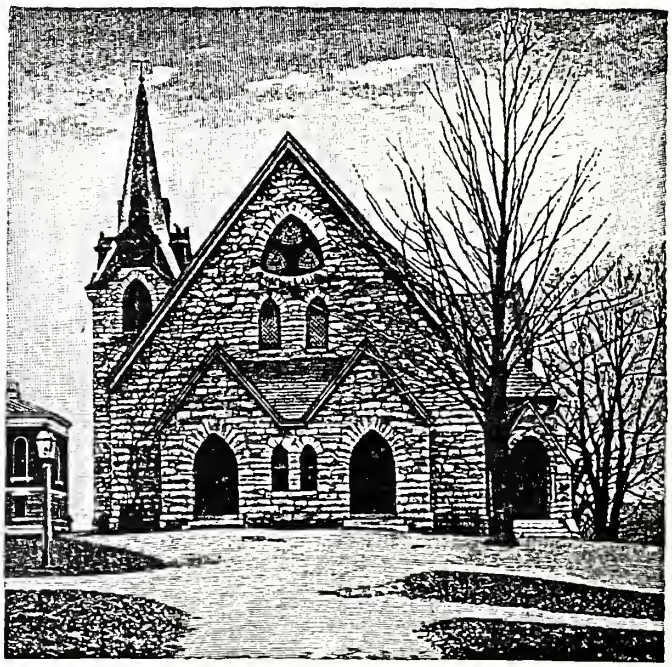
duty. James White of the class of 1851, who had spent an active and reputable business life in Boston, had just been chosen at this session of the trustees, and, under Carter's special auspices, treasurer of the College, but this fact was not known at the moment to many of the alumni present. White, who was a man of excellent character, had never been distinguished for perspicacity, but was rather noted for the lack of it, especially in matters of complicated and recondite statement. He was usually a modest man, and was a good friend of the secretary's, as they had been three years in college together as undergraduates, and were friendly ever after. But White was naturally exhilarated by his election to the responsible and honorable post of college treasurer, felt under deep personal obligations to the president for his elevation, and was assiduous at the latter's request to begin at once to repay service by service. It fell to him, accordingly, to state to the alumni wherein the derelictions of the secretary had consisted, and to support by argument the motion now formally before the body, namely, that the recent election of trustee be formally vacated. Everybody listened intently to what he said, no one more so than the secretary himself, but the latter certainly, and so far as afterward appeared on general inquiry, nobody else, could construe from the speech what the radical or even superficial fault in the official proceeding had been. His assumed task proved to be beyond his powers. His zeal seemed to have no rational basis, or at least no explainable basis. But this fact, as often happens under similar conditions, did not lessen at all the zeal of the persons committed to the scheme to carry it out to the end. White's most intimate friend from boyhood was William E. Merriman of the class of 1850; they were fellow-townsmen in Hinsdale and three years in college together, and as Merriman had been less successful in his life-work than White, he became in the fair sense of those terms a *protégé* and dependent on White. Of course the one would naturally be in at the inauguration of the other as treasurer of the College, and be ready to assist in any such work of sycophancy as the other was now employed in. Accordingly, Merriman rose to second the motion to pronounce the election invalid, and also to reinforce the argument (if possible) on which such action was sought to be grounded. To those who knew the existing relations of White to Carter, and the steady relations of Merriman to White, this exhibit of secondary toadyism would not have been assuring, even if Merriman's speech had been plausible and logical. It was neither. In substance it was as weak as water, and in form it was the talk of Poor Poll. Its effect upon

the alumni in two opposite directions was curiously marked. Upon about half of those present, who had already made up their minds for differing reasons to smash the vote and humiliate the secretary, the total want of force in the speech led them to make up in noise what was lacking in reason. It seemed to open Pandora's box. Samuel H. Scudder of the class of 1857, probably as the explosion of some old grudge thirty years old, rose to express two or three bitter insults to the secretary, having not the slightest relation to the circumstances in hand. He sat down self-satisfied, as if he had done a gentlemanly act, and one sure to contribute something toward the felicitous end in view.

His brother, Horace E. Scudder, of the class of 1858, who sat near him, rose next, as if it were a fraternal duty to give a moral support to the good cause, although, as he freely confessed in a letter of apology written to the secretary some little time after, he did not really know what the good cause was. He saw lots of smoke, and supposed that there must be a considerable fire somewhere. His speech, courteous in terms for the most part, assumed that the secretary had committed some great sin against constituted order, and that the trustees present with their satellites, and the excited spirits around him, including his brother, stood for violated law and the sanctity of precedents. He administered, therefore, proper rebukes to his old college teacher for his hypothetical malversations in office, without indicating in the slightest the nature of the malversations. By this time the other half of the alumni had experienced the opposite effects alluded to above. Oliver B. Hayes of the class of 1850 rose in personal and indignant defence of the secretary. What has he done? What is his offence? In the name of all that is fair and true, what is the accusation against him? He has been our secretary for ten or twelve years or more, and has done all our hard work, as you all know, *gratis*, and so far as any of you all know, in the most faithful manner; and now, before I hear any more of this loud talk around me, I want to know what it is that our sole executive officer has done, *or at least what he is now being accused of having done!*

Presiding-officer Whitney looked daggers at Hayes, and evidently ached for a chance to pronounce him out of order, which he would have doubtless done in an instant and silenced him, had anybody ventured to raise the point: and the new Treasurer White looked anxious while Hayes was speaking, and there was a good deal of buzzing before he ceased, to the effect that the motion before the house ought to be put at once, before any more such irrelevant and

unfortunate questions should be put. In the slight confusion caused by the closing of Hayes, a special friend of Anderson's, a member of the Sigma Phi, a lawyer and (as it proved) an orator, obtained recognition of the chair. It had now become known, or at least surmised, by all of the alumni present, that a high-handed though underground attempt was being made to break up the result of the regular election, and to put into the Board of Trustees on the part of the alumni a man who would have no proper right there. The com-



COLLEGE CHAPEL.
Built in 1859.

parative stranger who had the floor secured an uncommonly attentive hearing for a calm and elegant speech in behalf of precedents, in favor of the right of each alumnus to deposit a free vote and to have it properly counted; in favor, in short, of exhibiting in the annual meetings of the Williams Alumni the methods and manners of scholars and gentlemen. As soon as the speaker was seated, the call, "Motion! Motion!" rose in the room, and President Whitney was only too glad to put it before any further damage were done to its chances of passing. Many of the alumni did not vote at all, and

the motion was declared "carried." As it was not yet twelve o'clock, the secretary quietly, but with all due emphasis, resigned his office as such, and passed out of the east door of the chapel, and so round to its front on his way to his house. As he passed the front doors, Keyes Danforth of the class of 1846 and Eugene M. Jerome of the class of 1867 came out in order to see how the recorded vote actually stood. The record-book was held up before their eyes, showing a plurality of 110 votes for Barker over Anderson! "*The devilish fools!*" exclaimed Danforth. Jerome was silent, but not less indignant. Both passed back into the chapel, and each whispered to his neighbors in the rear of the room the state of the vote. In one miuute that part of the room was filled with derisive laughter, which spread into a general guffaw; jeers at the extra-officious presiding officer confused and astonished him before he knew the cause of the disorder, and still more after he had found it out; poor Merriman's face carried over even into the next day a dazed and damaged and hang-dog look; and it was no very hazardous conjecture, judging from his countenance and attitudes, that the new treasurer began to suspect that he himself had made a bad beginning by so conspicuously drawing his bow over the second fiddle in trying to keep up with the sly and false and cowardly key-note of his recent, but now absent, benefactor. But what was now to be done by the men responsible for the issue of the annual alumni meeting? And who was to be declared the choice of the alumni for trustee for five years? The second act in the deep-laid scheme was, after discarding the result of the regular election, to call on the alumni present to choose the trustee in some summary manner, *viva voce*, hand-showing, or extemporized ballot. The sense of the meeting as to the senseless trick that had been sought to be played upon them was manifest even to the dullest. If the now discomfited and disgraced leaders of the meeting had ventured to carry out the plan, and order a new election then and there, Henry H. Anderson would in all probability have been chosen trustee. The fair-minded members of the body (not in the plot) were disgusted on the one hand with the gratuitous insults heaped on their secretary without the shadow of a reason for them, and also, on the other hand, at the meanness of the attempt to "count out" an honorable gentleman for no reason whatever except that the president of the College preferred for private ends another man. Ludicrous to the last degree was the backing and filling, the hawing and geeing, of the now exposed and dilemma-caught leaders and servitors. Gulp after gulp they swallowed down all their proud

words of an hour before, and were inclined to think that the painstaking and regular election, although its result had not been declared in due time and form by their late worthy secretary, after all expressed the deliberate wishes of a majority of the alumni! So James M. Barker was announced as elected!

There is no proof and no probability that Barker approved of or was even privy to this detestable trick, entered into by the president ostensibly in his behalf; nevertheless, it is a duty to record the unquestionable fact that Barker's good name and subsequent usefulness to the College as a trustee suffered materially from the association of his name with this singularly unworthy procedure. He had occasion to pray to be delivered from the influence of his superserviceable friends. This was a story that had to be told over and over again, with his name prominent in it, wherever a knot of graduates gathered to talk over the old days and the newer days of the College. Moreover it helped to put Barker into unnatural relations with Carter for many years afterward, not favorable to the self-respect of either of them, and not conducive to the independent and broad-reaching counsel which every trustee is bound to render to his College with just as little reference as is possible to previous personal relations and alliances within the body itself. The story of the Board of Trustees while Franklin Carter was at the head of it, will never be written out nor fully known; but enough escaped from time to time out of the safety-valves of certain members into the ears of judicious friends of the College who held their peace, to make indisputable the bitter disputes, the crimnations and recrimnations, that often transpired in their sessions. The effect on James White of his initial participation in a piece of wretched policy prescribed to him was morally unwholesome so long as he lived. For about ten years he continued to be, so far as the College was concerned, not like his predecessor in the treasury, Joseph White, an independent adviser and coadjutor to trustees and faculty and alumni alike, but rather a negative echo and servitor of the president. He acquired very little personal and responsible influence in the College. He clung to his chief alike in the right and in the wrong, as if the latter person were the College and he himself no part of it, thus belittling his duty and his opportunity. In some not closely discriminating words spoken at his funeral, the president praised the late treasurer as displaying a "*loyalty to the College*" beyond his compeers; and so furnished a further definition of that much abused phrase undoubtedly held in common by the two men. The ill-effect of this whole alumni passage was most obvious and pronounced

upon the College Society of the Sigma Phi. This was the oldest but one of the college fraternities, and their members comprised a body among the alumni large in numbers, influential in social position, and probably representing more of material resources than any other equal number of college graduates. Man for man they were probably as friendly to the College as any other equal number of graduates; although for reasons for which they were not at all to be blamed, they had never received anything like the recognitions and positions from the College that fell to their contemporaries of the Kappa Alpha Society. But here was a positive stroke, whose source could not be mistaken, that would have made any body of men indignant, and have alienated them from the College. Not that they showed a vindictive spirit. They manifested in word and conduct the spirit of gentlemen justly and deeply offended. Anderson never visited Williamstown afterward, and very properly sent his own sons to Yale College. During the decades following, Eugene M. Jerome fairly represented on the whole the attitude of his brethren of the society. He was stirred to the depths by what he witnessed and by what he knew. But when his personal help was needed in the laborious preparations for the College Centennial of 1893, he rendered self-denying services as toward that end unsurpassed by those of any other alumnus. Jerome came out of the loins of the very earliest Williamstown, being in the direct line of descent from Colonel Benjamin Simonds; and as a prominent resident and citizen of the town, he enriched by himself and his beautiful family its society and progress throughout his middle life.

The writer has in his possession still the original report read to the Society of Alumni by their visiting committee, of which Irving Magee of the class of 1857 was the chairman, and Jonathan Wadhams of the class of 1867 was a member; and the historical significance of this report, as showing how the College was then being secretly administered, was so considerable as to justify and reward a brief notice of it at this point. The society had wisely and deliberately undertaken, while Mark Hopkins was still president of the College, and with his cordial consent and coöperation, to take some hand in its practical guidance and government. This took the form (1), of securing from out their number in the way already explained five of the seventeen trustees; and (2), of learning at first hand from a visiting committee of their own the state and needs of the College. The bottom purpose of both these plans was, to have in their own hands the means of knowing in general how the College was getting on and of influencing in general that ongoing, independently of the

impressions and representations of the stated authorities of the College. The visitors might indeed ask the president and professors any questions they chose, but they were to make up their own minds from what they saw and heard in the various lecture-rooms, and from all other data open to their observation and conclusion, and to report direct to their principals, the alumni. Any other view of their functions than this would make their mission and its results abortive and ridiculous. President Carter did not think that he needed any assistance from the alumni in administering the College, or indeed any assistance from any other source; and what was more, he determined that there should be no investigations into the state of the College, and no public reports made from the College of any kind, unless he had a chief hand in the researches and in the accounts given of them. We have just seen in the paragraphs above what practical respect he paid to the rights of the alumni to elect their own trustee in their own way. We shall now see what practical respect he paid to rights of the alumni to inquire and report as to the state of the College.

When Irving Magee gathered his committee together at the annual meeting to read to them the report he had written in their conjoint names, preparatory to his reading it in public, there was a passage in it strongly reflecting on one of the professors for his manner of conducting his recitations. The other members of the committee interrupted the reading: "Have you visited that recitation-room?" "No." "Have you asked any of the students attending it, whether those alleged facts be so or not?" "No." "Who told you that the facts were so?" "Franklin Carter." This silenced but did not satisfy the committee. Indeed, Magee himself was not satisfied with the truth of the statements, he himself being the subsequent witness; but he had come under the power and transient fascination of Carter, who had dictated to him the very words of the passage; and so Magee read them the next day with emphasis in the open alumni meeting. No names were used, and not one in twenty (if so many) of the alumni present knew to whom reference was had. In the course of the day and evening, however, it became known. At the hotel at which Magee was staying (this is on the testimony of eye- and ear-witnesses), numbers of the undergraduates gathered, who had been in actual attendance at this lecture-room for one or two years, and these students communicated with Magee in a manner very unpleasant to him. They said in his hearing, that the averments in his report were made-up falsehoods; they did not care who was responsible for them, they were false and

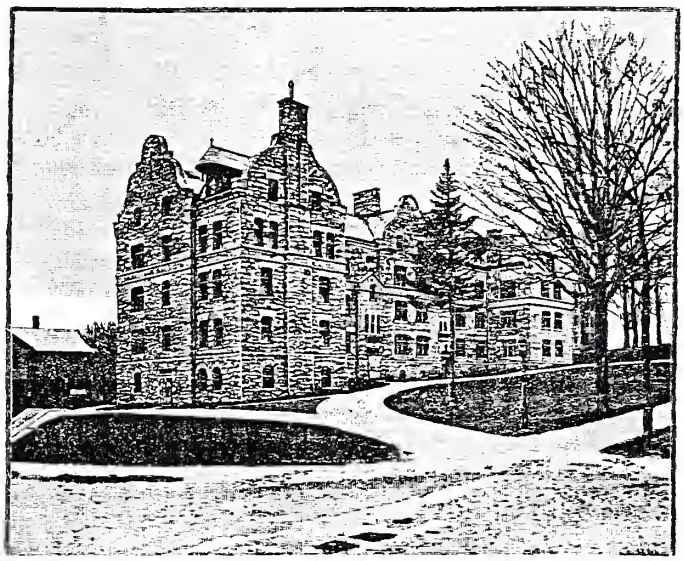
malicious; and that the professor in question was not only the best-liked man on the ground, but was also the best teacher on the ground, — interesting the pupils in his subjects more and getting more real work out of them. Magee left the hotel by an early stage the next morning, and it was said by a witness of his departure that his countenance evidenced a very low state of spirits. He was one of the best friends the College had in its whole body of alumni. Being settled in the ministry near the North River, he had been assiduous in his attendance at the Commencements and constant in his interest in the College for about twenty-five years. He came as usual the next year after making his report, and found the state of things different from what he had expected. The president did not seem to be glad to see him; which might have been anticipated by any knowing the custom of that official to use men for his secret ends and then contemptuously to discard them. He did not find in the alumni meeting any visiting committee prepared to make any report on the state of the College, for it appeared that no visitor from out of town had come upon the ground during the year; A. C. Sewall of the class of 1867, then the minister in Williamstown, was of the committee but not its chairman, and made a few desultory remarks for which the meeting seemed to care little. The professor who had been apparently compromised in his report of the year before greeted him cordially and was warmly greeted in turn; the clasp of hands and the glance of eyes indicated a mutual understanding and a thoroughly mutual regard. But the good man never afterward set his foot on the soil of Williamstown so far as is known.

Something was working, and working powerfully and constantly, to discourage the alumni in their legitimate undertakings to help the College along. The proofs of this fact were as clear as proofs can be, whatever view one might take as to the causes of it. The interest and satisfaction of the visitors and of the alumni as a body in their visitors and in any report these might make at the annual meeting dwindled perceptibly after Magee's report in 1889. Also the numerical attendance of the alumni themselves on the annual Commencements grew less and less from the same date, and presumably, in part at least, from the same causes. In 1891 A. C. Sewall made a verbal report more elaborate indeed than his brief statements of the year before; but he was a resident of the town, and might be supposed to reflect the views of the local authorities of the College, which was no part of the purpose of the institution of the visiting committee. In 1892 the report of the visiting committee

(such as it was) was transmitted by telegraph, and read to the few alumni present at the annual meeting. In 1894 no visitor, no report, not even a telegram, appeared. In the two years following, S. W. Dike of the class of 1863, a nominal member of the visiting committee, did all that a faithful and able alumnus could do to revive interest in the Society of Alumni; and W. B. Putney also of the class of 1863, perceiving that the steadily diminishing numbers of alumni present was a discouragement to visitors so far as preparing and reading any report was concerned, kindly offered to meet the expense of printing for circulation among the entire alumni the annual report of the visitors. The report of these in 1897, of whom L. C. Mygatt of the class of 1870 was chairman, was printed and circulated in this way; but through no apparent fault of the five worthy names appended to it, the report itself was not such in topics and in handling and in hopefulness of tone as prognosticated anything essentially better along this line in the immediate future.

We have now been looking (perhaps too long) at the internal and moral condition of things in Williams College under the presidency of Franklin Carter. These are the essential things. These are the central things. A college consists of persons. A good and strong college consists of good and strong men in wholesome and hearty relations with each other, all consciously working as toward a common end, namely, "*the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men.*" These persons, as already indicated more than once, may fall into several groups, of which the faculty are always the central and most important one; while the common end, and the voluntary and usually gratuitous services of the others, make possible and actual a good degree of harmony and zeal among them all. A college is a republic, — a republic of letters. From the nature of it, the sole purpose of it, and the mode of operation within it, it cannot tolerate the monarchical idea in practice, and at the same time reach its ends. No more can it tolerate in practice as to matters essentially important what is sometimes called "*college diplomacy,*" that is to say, wheels within the wheel, or, otherwise expressed, secret manipulations by or for or against any college official in any one of the few groups constituting the college. And, lastly, no college can tolerate, and reach its true ends, the suspicious temperament and habit in its officials. Autocracy, diplomacy, settled distrust, are the three chief foes to the peace and success of colleges. Equality of privilege as between the groups, and as between the members of each group; open discussion and fair conclusion in all matters of radical interest; and a human and Christian confidence in one's

neighbors and colleagues, that they are as clear-headed and pure-minded as one's self (unless proven to the contrary), — are the three indispensables to efficient college progress. Confidence by college officials as toward each other, and by these as toward classes of college students as such, is rational, and is rarely misplaced, except in relatively few individuals easily separable from the mass. When members of a college class, especially in the beginnings of their course, find themselves trusted by those with whom they have most to do, the influence is most happy in all vital directions; on the other hand, manifested doubt and distrust in those circumstances



MORGAN HALL.
Built in 1882.

tend to poison the entire atmosphere, and facilitate the inference so easily drawn, that those who find it difficult to trust young men in general are themselves unworthy to be trusted. The experience in Williams College certainly, during its first century, seems to demonstrate this proposition, namely, that college young men are more worthy of confidence in all essentials than any equal number of young men in the other walks of life.

Considerably distinct, however, from these internal and moral and vital conditions in the common college life, lie certain departments external and financial and regulative. These fall naturally and properly into the hands of the president for the most part. For

some of these functions President Carter possessed unusual qualifications, and attained remarkable successes in them. He had business capacities of a high order. He was expected to enlarge the funds of the College. He addressed himself to this work with promptness and pertinacity. His first stroke along this line surpassed any single stroke achieved in this way in the history of the College. By personal solicitations, he obtained from ex-Governor E. D. Morgan of New York, in a lump sum, $100,000, of which $82,400 went into the fine dormitory, Morgan Hall, built in 1882. This while Governor Morgan still lived; and after this his executors paid over into the treasury the remaining $17,000. An incidental circumstance of some interest undoubtedly contributed something to this triumph of the president. Governor Morgan was a native of Berkshire County, having been born on one of the many hills of Washington in 1811. Many other very considerable sums of money were obtained by President Carter through personal solicitations of individuals for the enlargement and embellishment of the College. He was also very instrumental in securing from willing donors the sums expended in 1890 upon Hopkins Memorial Hall, amounting to $87,800, by much the finest building upon the college grounds. In all this work of solicitation he was incidentally aided by his possession of a private fortune, and by his command upon occasion of manners unusually courtly.

The most munificent gift ever received by the College in its whole existence hitherto did not travel hitherward along the route of personal and official solicitation. It came of its own accord. It was proffered unsolicited. This was the first and chief benefaction of Frederick F. Thompson, of the class of 1856. He was a lifelong banker and broker in the city of New York, with a summer home in Canandaigua in the same State. His first conception of this gift was the purpose to erect a massive building that should cost one hundred thousand dollars, to be dedicated to the conjoint uses of chemistry and biology and physics. Practical difficulties were encountered in the planning to unite, under one roof, and at the same time keep separate, the work of instruction and research in these three great departments. Thompson's wisdom and generosity surmounted these difficulties. There shall be three laboratories ranged side by side. Each department shall be under its own roof. It will nearly double the cost, but the advantages to the College shall be just as great as they can be made. Accordingly, the Thompson Chemical Laboratory was put up in 1892, costing $60,000; the Thompson Physical Laboratory in 1893, costing $60,000;

and the Thompson Biological Laboratory, also in 1893, costing $60,000. Professor Leverett Mears (Amherst 1874) was at the head of the instruction given and the work done in the chemical laboratory from the first; Professor S. F. Clarke (Sheffield 1874) was similarly the chief in the biological laboratory; and Professor Henry Lefavour (Williams 1883) was chief, also from the beginning, in the physical laboratory. This magnificent donation in the behoof of the natural sciences was not by any means the sum total of the pecuniary benefactions of Frederick Thompson to Williams College. No full list will here be given of them. They were abundant and recurrent and diffused. Very expensive annual courses of lectures and entertainments for the College were furnished by him for many years. He gave, also, the main impulse to the College infirmary, a *quasi* hospital for sick students, costing ten thousand dollars. The Hoosac River pours into the Hudson, and the Hudson rolls on into the bay of New York. Frederick Thompson wrought a miracle, causing a counter current to flow up the Hudson from New York, — and even into the upper waters of the Hoosac, where its tide tarried indeed in place, but its effects will flow on thence forever.

Following is a list of the gifts of the late Frederick F. Thompson to Williams College, excluding the considerable amounts given to students either in payment of term bills and board bills or for other purposes:

1882 — Library	$500	1889–98 — Additions to "Prize for Prizes"	$750
1886 — Gymnasium clock	1,000	1886–99 — President's private fund, mainly for entertainment course	17,500
1887 — College farm	10,500	1893–99 — Expenses of infirmary	600
1888 — Library	500	1899 — "Sustentation fund" of new Y. M. C. A. building	2,000
Hopkins Hall	25,000		
1890 — Loan fund	450	Total	$265,900
1891–93 — Thompson laboratories	180,000		
1894 — The infirmary	5,100		
1895 — General expenses of college	10,000		
1896 — General expenses of college	5,000		
1898 — General expenses of college	5,000		

In connection with what may be called the show occasions of the College, President Carter possessed talents that enabled him easily to distinguish himself. Many of his speeches at the annual alumni dinner at home were in every way felicitous; and some of those delivered from time to time at local alumni dinners, as in New York, Chicago, and Boston, were perhaps equally so. A few of these addresses, particularly of those at home, were happily humor-

ous, and enjoyed by everybody. When he felt well he felt very well, and countenance and conversation and formal address were all in conformity. This, however, was but seldom. His temperament was melancholic. His situation was trying at best, and all the more so, in fact, because he was out of adjustment with it from the first. Mainly for personal reasons, some of which have been sketched in outline, he led an unhappy life in Williamstown. Nobody could help this. It was in the make-up of the man and of his surroundings. If those external circumstances and relations at which he fretted and wore himself down could all have been changed to his mind at the moment, he would not have been the happier on the whole. The worst thing about it was, he was less able than most men to disguise his inner feelings. His countenance was a true index. He did not desire to make those around him miserable, but if he were miserable himself he could not conceal it, nor cut the cord of natural sequence. This drawback to his usefulness as a college official was thought to grow less as the years drew on toward the close of his presidency. His external difficulties and contentions in the town and elsewhere rather increased than lessened, but he was probably able to maintain toward his colleagues and pupils a more cheerful aspect on the whole. His teaching, particularly of theism in the Senior class, became more and more successful and enjoyable, though the old despairing look would once in a while come back and cover the entire hour. At one such time a Senior of the class of 1898 whispered to his fellow, "*Do you think that Dr. Carter himself really believes that there is any God?*"

The more solemn tone and aspect on all sorts of occasions was more natural to him, which gave his festive strokes, when they came, all the benefit of sharp contrast. Another kind of surprise also frequently attended his serious public addresses. Any one who took occasion to note these from year to year, or at least from time to time, might well have been astonished at the rapid changeableness in the opinions expressed and measures commended in them. If it were true, as he was wont to explain in private, "I never know what to say on those occasions," it was still more true that his most familiar auditors never knew what he would say! It may be wise for a public educator to have little pride in consistency of utterance, and so be able to avail himself of unanticipated changes of public opinion; but if there be possible gains to be gathered along this route, the hazards of it are sure to be considerable also. For example, in Carter's address to the New England alumni in Boston in February, 1898, as reported and given below, there were

many points made fitted to recall to many present his intense animosity of a few years before toward professors for holding these precise opinions and maintaining the exact attitude herein commended.

President Carter was received with marked enthusiasm. At the outset he spoke of the disposition now manifest in colleges to emphasize material equipment, and recalled in contrast to this tendency the self-denial of the early men of the college. The material and physical gain in all institutions and professions is largely the contribution which the applications of science to industry, commerce, and the arts have made, and it is immense. The problems which great fortunes and startling inequalities among the people, the corruption of municipal government, the mediævalism of much modern taxation, the complicated relations of business as affected by currency and trusts and international jealousies present for our solution, have a right to force themselves into the schools of learning as never before. The college must teach the solemn responsibility for good government resting upon every citizen in our republic, and must also teach faith in the people, faith in God's guidance and the supreme patience which these faiths underlie.

There were pretty constant contradictions like this, not only in Carter's opinions and expressions, but also in his general policy and personal conduct. To know him as he was at any one time only was not to know him at all. To learn to know him as he was at all times was a task difficult, if not impossible, of accomplishment. To anticipate what he might say or do in a set of circumstances somewhat new was beyond the ken of those associated with him, and of course tended to beget in some of these a fluidity of general sentiment and a laxity of general conduct, demoralizing to the College, and proving, later, unfortunate to him. And yet it must be regarded as certain that his motives in general were better than his actions in general, considered as a public official, in which light alone he has been held up in these pages throughout. Owing largely to the circumstances of his youth and training, he never came to know other men well, and he never came to know himself well. Without any ground for it, he discriminated between his own rights as an official and the rights of other officials about him, — both of them to be equally and at all times respected. This discrimination became perhaps less flagrant in the later years. The faculty meetings, though they never came to convene regularly as of old, but only occasionally, at the call of their faithful and patient and competent secretary, Eben B. Parsons, of the class of 1859, meeting on the average once in two or three weeks, became more tolerable toward the last, simply because they became less and less significant. Little was left to them to do or to decide on. Compulsory

attendance of students on stated religious exercises in the colleges became a topic of controversy at Williams during the last decade of the century; but at no time heated as elsewhere. Upon this question Dr. Carter represented very accurately the general opinion of the alumni, and of the faculty, and of the local friends of the College, in favor of such attendance. This discussion led to the appointment of a college dean, whose sole function at first was to control attendance upon the stated religious services of the College under regulations prescribed by the faculty. Little by little his functions increased, until he came to exercise practically nearly all of the duties of the four class officers, whose authority in their respective classes shrunk contemporaneously with that of the faculty meeting, leaving to the dean the practical control of the students, — the teachers reporting to him daily their absences. Thus the *collegiate* idea and practice dwindled as *individualism* was strengthened. This tendency was marked at the same time by the multiplication of *elective* at the expense of the *prescribed* studies.

Several of the professors in alternation have always officiated at morning prayers; the presidents in succession singly officiated at evening prayers so long as these were continued; and Sunday evening prayers, which were never intermitted, were always a solemn and impressive duty of the successive presidents. In the performance of this duty, Dr. Carter surpassed his predecessors in reverence of demeanor, in solemnity of scriptural reading, and in appropriateness of spiritual petition. This service became attractive to, and was frequented by, many others outside of the strictly college circle. The arrangement of all its parts, especially the musical portion of the service, in which the organ and a special choir gained a new significance in connection with the usual congregational singing, was admirable, and manifested alike the good taste and piety of the president. He was conservative in relation to the older Puritan doctrine and practice, but scarcely more so than the one prevailing on the whole among his colleagues of the faculty and the Board of Trustees. Among the stronger of the motives actuating him to assume the presidency of the College, in 1881, was the hope that he might be able to exert a strong religious influence over the students as a body. This hope was dashed on account of a lack of thorough acquaintance with the mind and ways of students, and a lack of tact in approaching and moving them on any subject. He gained very little continuous moral hold over the students.

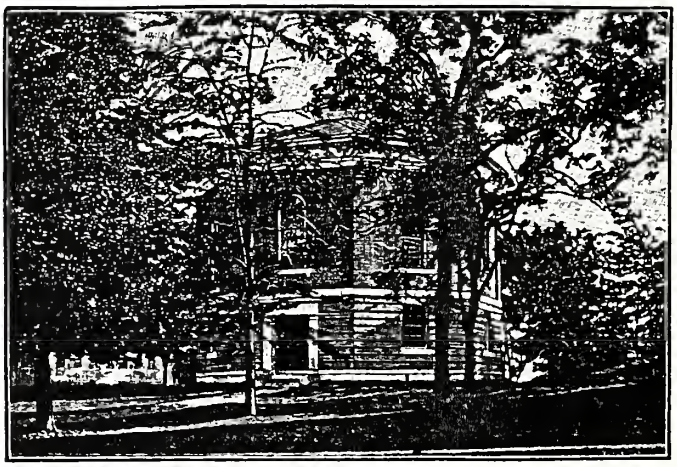
As a sermonizer, or preacher, on common baccalaureate occasions, President Carter was in no way remarkable. He usually occupied

the chapel pulpit on the first Sunday of the college year, and occasionally at other times. None of his baccalaureates were printed. Perhaps the two most memorable of all his sermons were those commented on at the time as preached to himself, and whose lesson was thought to be more applicable to him than to any of his auditors; namely, one from the text, "*With what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged*"; and another of similar tenor from the text, "*By thy words shalt thou be justified, and by thy words shalt thou be condemned.*" It is believed by those most competent to judge of this matter through long opportunity and absence of prejudice, that the main reason why Carter's preaching held so little of the attention of the students and acquired so feeble an influence over them was, that they had come to distrust him in matters secular, and could not easily discriminate him as a religious teacher, in which sphere he was worthy of all trust. Whatever else the president might prove to be to them, he was statedly proving himself to be a man of manœuvres. Distrust in one set of relations begets distrust in other relations. A man who descends to stratagems, and of course to commerce with such men as stratagems imply, thereby and so far forth shows himself unworthy of confidence in any of the relations of life. That at any rate is the usual style of reasoning. Such was the reasoning here, particularly during the decade 1885–95. At the graduation of the last named class, there was witnessed a scene in the church, on the baccalaureate Sunday, such as made all judicious friends of the College grieve to the heart. The feelings of the baccalaureates toward the president seemed to be indicated in the patent facts that not a single one of them paid any visible attention to his sermon as it proceeded, and not a single one of them rose to his feet to pay respectful attention to the personal address at its close, as had been the unvarying custom for just one hundred years.

For about five years, during the eighties, John H. Denison, of the class of 1862, was pastor of the college church and stated preacher in the chapel. He was a man of profound spiritual insight and knowledge of the Scriptures, who knew how "rightly to divide the word of truth" at all times to his college congregation, while the state of his health and his sensitive nervous system made the duties and difficulties of his post so wearing upon him, that he left them in 1889, to the great regret of his brethren in general. From that time on the delicate task of securing from Sabbath to Sabbath suitable preachers from abroad was met by President Carter with noticeable skill and success.

Probably the most pregnant and permanent improvement brought

about by Dr. Carter in the opportunities furnished the entire College relates to the college library. Until the erection, in 1846, through the liberality of Amos Lawrence, of the Lawrence Hall library building, the small collection of books was very little frequented by either students or professors. This pleasant and accessible building (figured below) cost seven thousand dollars, and soon began to attract some visitors and book-takers. John Tatlock was then the librarian, and a few new books were purchased from time to time, but the library was not regularly opened, although it purported to be, and contributed very little to the intelligence or research of the College. Nathaniel H. Griffin, 1856–76, made a better libra-



LAWRENCE LIBRARY BUILDING.

rian, and Truman H. Safford, 1879–88, one better still; and the library slowly and steadily increased and widened its influence. With the accession, as librarian, of Charles H. Burr of the class of 1868, in 1888, after some of the inevitable perturbations, the library began as a modern library, and sprang into prominence as an efficient educating power. Two wings were added to the original building in 1890, at a cost of ten thousand dollars; ample rooms were provided for readers *in loco;* reference books of all sorts were gathered in other rooms for research on the spot; all books were classified in sections, and students allowed access to the shelves; portraits of college officials and alumni covered the circular walls of the main room; liberal provision was made for the purchase of new books; and the library was opened under certain restrictions for the use of the students on Sundays.

CHAPTER V.

BACKWARD AND FORWARD.

Turn the key and bolt the door, —
Sweet is death forevermore.
Nor haughty hope, nor swart chagrin,
Nor murdering hate can enter in.
All is now secure and fast;
Not the gods can shake the past.
— EMERSON.

WILLIAMSTOWN was always, is now, and is likely to remain, what is called a small place. The preceding chapters have shown well enough that it has been useful and influential, and in some few aspects remarkable since its organization as a town in 1765. But it has been uniformly small in population. The reader will perhaps be pleased to see in a table, as appended, the results of all the enumerations of population taken in the town, 1776–1890, both inclusive.

	Year.	Population.
Colonial Census	1776	1,083
United States Census	1790	1,769
" " "	1800	2,086
" " "	1810	1,843
" " "	1820	2,010
" " "	1830	2,134
" " "	1840	2,153
" " "	1850	2,626
State "	1855	2,529
United States "	1860	2,611
State "	1865	2,555
United States "	1870	3,559
State "	1875	3,683
United States "	1880	3,394
State "	1885	3,729
United States "	1890	4,221

In 1800, 2086 persons were found in the town by the national enumerators. In 1865, two-thirds of a century later, the State enumerators discovered but 2555 persons, a gain in 65 years of

only 469 souls. During those 65 years, the population varied at no time 600 people from its condition at any other time. As a rule in that interval, a single pair of parents had the characteristic then common in New England, namely, a large number of children, and had it not been for pretty steady causes of outflow, first to western Vermont, and then to central and western New York, the population would have increased here much more than it actually did. Each of the States just mentioned had its "Williamstown," occasioned by early emigrants from the town on the Hoosac. The original families here came about one-half from Connecticut, and the other half from the towns in Massachusetts east of the formidable Hoosac Mountain. The difficulties of access and the distance were about equal whether they came up from the south or over from the east. Some slight jealousies, both religious and social, were encountered in each other by the folks from the Bay and the folks from the Sound. They were alike a strong stock, there was room enough for all, the land in its virgin strength was fertile, and the families multiplied on every hand. Not until the opening of the Erie Canal in 1825 did the people here experience a steady pull toward the more fertile and workable lands around the lakes of New York. Between the national censuses of 1830 and 1840, Williamstown gained but 19 to her population. It is safe to conclude that most of the overflow in that decade passed into central New York. The Fitchburg Railroad, connecting Williamstown at once with the East (through the Tunnel), and the West (across the North River), was the main force that checked emigration from it and tended to bring new population into it. The gain in five years from the State census of 1865 till the national census of 1870, was 1004. The gain from 1885 till 1890 was similarly 492. The pretty steady increase in the numbers in attendance upon the College, although the students as such are not reckoned in the census, tend indirectly to increase the population of the town. The immediate proximity to North Adams, already a city and growing rapidly with but slight means of local expansion, tends also to increase the population of Williamstown. The so-called State Road, constructed between these two centres about 1897, not only facilitated intercourse of all kinds between them, but also enabled men doing business in North Adams to find permanent homes across the line in Williamstown, where the building expanses were broader and pleasanter. The building at about the same time of the electric railroad parallel with the river and the steam road furthered the same ends more directly. The two towns were at one in their origin as East and West Hoosac, and in their common relations

to Colonel Ephraim Williams; and they have seemed to be growing more united in their interests and fellowships, as well as in their local habitations.

The mountainous surroundings of the western town have a geographical peculiarity, a brief description of which will now pave the way to some historical and biographical features within the enclosure. The highest peaks of each of the three ranges, together encircling the valley, present themselves to the eye in groups of seven. Namely, on the range to the southeast, Mount Williams, Mount Fitch, Greylock, Mount Moore, Mount Griffin, The Bluffs, Simonds Peak; on the range to the northeast, Smedley Height, Mount Emmons, Hudson's Height, Mount Hazen, Mount Sentinel, The Dome, The Domelet; and on the western range, the famed "Taconics," Leet Hill, Dodd's Cone, Mount Hopkins, McMaster Mountain, Mount Mills, Comstock Heights, Sabin Heights. There have been graduated from Williams College at the present writing, 1899, very nearly 3700 graduates in all. It would be a comparatively easy task for any one, thoroughly familiar with the history of the College and with its special rolls of honor, to construct three groups of seven alumni each, who should seem in point of the manifested power of their lives and hence in point of reputation, relatively to the great body of the graduates much as these foremost groups of seven peaks each seem to their neighboring heights and to the lower levels of the town. But this task would prove ungracious in its details, and would become more difficult of determination the further one should pass from the very highest eminence of character and achievement. At any rate, it is more feasible to essay the universal suffrage of one's competent contemporaries in relation to the position of seven men than that of three times seven men. Who were the seven most eminent of the graduates of Williams College in the first century of its existence? We give our judgment and the ground of it.

Amos Eaton	1799	*Naturalist and Promoter.*
William Cullen Bryant	1813	*Poet and Publicist.*
Mark Hopkins	1824	*Teacher and Preacher.*
David Dudley Field	1825	*Lawyer and Codifier.*
William Dwight Whitney	1845	*Scholar and Lexicographer.*
John Bascom	1849	*Thinker and Orator.*
James Abram Garfield	1856	*Worker and Winner.*

1. Amos Eaton. Born in Chatham in 1776, died in Troy in 1842. The significance of this man's life and labors, in a scientific and pedagogical sense, as described by numbers of well-informed compeers,

may seem to modern readers as exaggerated and almost incredible. But the various portions of this manifold testimony, when carefully compared together, seem mutually self-sustaining and corroborative. He was extraordinarily precocious; and yet, unlike ordinary cases of precocity, his work at full maturity and even to old age was as remarkable as in his prime. He was the son of Capt. Abel Eaton, a worthy farmer, and a deacon in the Orthodox church in Chatham. The father was a native of Woodstock, Connecticut, in 1754, and the mother, Azuba Hurd, was a native of Roxbury, Connecticut, in 1758. Her father, Amos Hurd, had perished of starvation in the last French and Indian war, probably in the near neighborhood of Williamstown, of whom the brief record is, "died in the campaign, Nov. 29, 1759." The Chatham family were poor, and it was the strong religious character of the mother, coupled with her self-denying economies, that sent both Amos Eaton and his younger brother, Sylvester, to Williams College. Perhaps it was in part because he had been born in 1776, that Amos Eaton was selected to deliver a 4th of July oration in 1790. Of course it was a creditable performance. About the same time he was employed to carry the chain for a local land surveyor, when he made up his mind to learn the art himself. Being too poor to buy the needful instruments, he showed his practical sagacity by a bargain with a skilful local blacksmith, who wanted a hand to "blow and strike" for him, to render that service daytimes in consideration of the blacksmith's work for him night-times. In this way, after several weeks, a good surveyor's chain was made and a well-shaped needle. Eaton magnetized his needle by a pair of kitchen tongs, which had themselves been magnetized by long standing perpendicular to the earth's current. The bottom of an old pewter plate, polished and graduated by his own hands, made a passable case for his compass; and he was soon in the field with his home-made instruments, doing little jobs of surveying for his observant neighbors. As one result of this early experience, he generally preferred to make his own scientific instruments of whatever sort out of simple materials with his own hands, even after he became well able to purchase them, and so long as he lived.

Except the statement that he was graduated with a high reputation for scientific attainments, nothing is known of his college life and special companions and teachers. Four classes, averaging twelve graduates each, had already preceded his own, which consisted of fifteen graduated. If there ever were a boy who showed at graduation what he was predestined to become, that boy was Amos Eaton, and that vocation was natural science. Nevertheless, right in the teeth

AMOS EATON,

W. C., 1799.

of the manifested will of God, in accordance with a foolish fashion then prevalent, he was put apprentice in a lawyer's office in Spencertown, studied later in New York, was admitted attorney in Albany in 1802, and practised for several years at Catskill. One dare not affirm, absolutely, that all this was dead waste; for it may be that the scientific impulse, which he could no more resist than he could resist his breathing, took on a more practical, every-day-useful form in consequence of these legal studies. At any rate, his very first publication (there were more than forty others that followed it), was entitled "Art without Science." It was a small pamphlet printed in 1800. In this, and in most of the rest of the productions of his pen, truth seems to have been investigated more for the sake of its practical applications than for the sake of science as such. For example, he sought to make botany of quickening and broadening use to farmers as a class; and other of the natural sciences to mechanics and other producers so-called. While still in the law office in New York, he borrowed Kirwan's "Mineralogy," then a scarce book, and made a manuscript copy of the whole of it. In 1810, while still in some sense a practising lawyer in Catskill, he formed an institution there for the practical study of botany, and prepared for the use of his pupils a small elementary treatise on that subject. Referring to this effort long afterward, which attracted at the time widespread attention and recognition, he said himself, "*I made then the first attempt in this country at a popular course of lectures with a view to make practical botanists of young persons of all conditions and pursuits.*"

In 1815 Amos Eaton abandoned the legal profession altogether, not without disgusts, and not without certain scandals, and never resumed it; the scientific impulse had completely conquered, and he left Catskill with his family for New Haven to avail himself of the assistance of Professors Ives and Silliman, and the general advantages afforded by Yale College in the way of lectures, libraries, and cabinets. This was the turning-point of Eaton's life. To their great credit the professors mentioned received him kindly, opened to him their private libraries, and constantly aided him by their personal counsel. He soon became qualified to take the field as a scientific explorer, and the desk as an acceptable lecturer. Professor Silliman wrote of him long afterward, "Professor Eaton passed a winter here in preparation to become a lecturer, and he became a distinguished teacher." This was the winter of 1815–16. While in New Haven he translated from the French the "Botanical Dictionary" of Professor Richard of the Medical School in Paris, with

"additions and corrections." Even the classification of Linneas is more or less modified. It is dedicated to Eli Ives, M.D., as follows: "Although this dictionary has not received the benefit of any corrections immediately from your own hand, I have been governed by your opinions in all cases of doubt." In the body of the book it is incidentally stated, "The manuscript was prepared last summer under the immediate inspection of Professor Ives of Yale College." The botanical dictionary was published in New Haven in 1817 by Hezekiah Howe, and a copy of it is in the library of Williams College, to which institution as his own *Alma Mater* Eaton had betaken himself in the meantime; and these notices just quoted from the book itself imply trips back and forth between Yale and Williams, and indicate furthermore the best of feeling in the bonds of natural science between Eaton and the professors at New Haven and the young Professor Chester Dewey at Williamstown, graduated there in 1806 and becoming Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in 1810. Dewey in particular and the whole student body in general welcomed him to Williams, not indeed as an additional professor, for the college was too poor to employ another, but as a volunteer explorer and lecturer in the natural sciences. His students were equally volunteers with himself. He gathered about him at the start almost the entire Senior class, and also some members of the lower classes. He griped these men to himself and his methods with hooks of steel. It was the dawning of a new day of studious enthusiasm in Williams College. Before the volunteer course was over, he received from the students the following written address: —

> As the course of Lectures on Mineralogy, which you have conducted so much to the benefit of your class, is nearly completed, we are gratified with the prospect of attending your course of Lectures on Botany, — knowing that our improvement in that branch of Natural Science would be greatly facilitated by a systematic description of vegetables, and being destitute of such a system, we render you thanks for the one, which you have been pleased, gratuitously, to present to us for publication.

This complimentary address was signed by sixty-three students, comprising all the young men in the Senior and Junior classes, every member of the Sophomore class with the exception of one, and all of the Freshmen but three. This was a personal as much as a scientific triumph for Eaton, for it rested back on certain open and admirable qualities of the *man* even more than on those *attainments in science*, which were indeed already remarkable. At this very point, a distinction is to be noticed and emphasized, without laying proper

stress upon which the success or non-success of college teachers can never be understood or explained. If an analysis of Eaton's manly traits may now be ventured on this ground, where they were first conspicuously displayed, notwithstanding the dimness that has gathered over them in the entire century since his graduation, it would be substantially this: — (1) Self-Confidence. (2) An open Trust in others. (3) Jocoseness. Self-confidence is a very different thing from self-conceit; it may be said to be even an opposite thing to self-conceit. Self-confidence is an egotism based on palpable reason. The foundation of self-confidence in matters relating to the natural sciences is a personal conviction of the uniformities of nature, and hence of the strength of scientific classification. Eaton stated to his first classes in Williamstown that there were nearly 1000 species of plants collectible within a radius of ten miles of New Haven. How did he know this? Because he had examined particular specimens of all these species. One species varied from every other by palpable differences practically universal. Nature is so uniform in maintaining these differences from age to age and from continent to continent, that a real *lapsus naturæ* in these essentials is a wonder of wonders. Therefore, scientific statements resting on these observed classifications may be made with all assurance. There is no guesswork about it. With a just confidence in his own powers of observation and conclusion within these fields, practising a natural logic that was essentially inexorable, Amos Eaton had entered upon an assured inheritance; he spoke as one having authority; he had no doubt about it himself, nor did his mien allow any of his hearers to entertain any doubt about it. This confidence in self and nature, that is to say, in God, was and is and ever will be delightful to students. It gently and powerfully carries everything before it. And not to students only. Largely in virtue of this princely quality, Eaton afterward swayed for years such leaders as De Witt Clinton and Governor Seward and Founder Van Rensselaer; and held and persuaded such hard-headed audiences as the Legislature of the State of New York, and gatherings of farmers and ordinary citizens all over that State to listen to popular lectures on geology and kindred subjects.

The second of Eaton's personal traits, hardly less conspicuous and influential than the first, was his manifested trust in others. He carried an open face and an open heart. He believed in the truthfulness of nature, in the integrity of his own mental and moral organization, and (in the absence of evidence to the contrary) in the equal trustworthiness of other men. Students particularly

have an instinctive distrust of teachers who distrust them, and an equally immediate confidence in those who manifest an instinctive trust as toward them. They are not, indeed, apt to philosophize about this, and probably seldom find the true ground of it; but the ground of it is firm, nevertheless, in the fundamentals of human nature. From the necessities of their construction and position, men are compelled in general to judge of others by themselves; and it is only by the slow observation and still slower ripening of experience that this inevitable rule becomes modified in its action here and there. When a public teacher is found extraordinarily distrustful of his pupils, he cannot conceal this attitude of mind from them if he tries, and the more he tries the more he betrays it; and whether he tries or not, the suspicions become self-interpretations: for how should he come to suppose others unworthy of confidence, when he is thoroughly conscious of being worthy of confidence himself? *Ex nihil nihil fit.* A specially suspicious man is a specially untrustworthy man the world over. A specially suspicious teacher is deservedly distrusted by his pupils. If not too old, he may find fitter occupation than his present one with Pinkerton's detectives. Now Amos Eaton had nothing of all these unusual suspicious. As a boy he was known to have roughed it and joyed in it with other boys; as a student he may be concluded to have measured others by himself, as well as himself by others; and as a man it is certain that he displayed himself worthy of all trust, partly because he found men in general trustworthy, and helped to make them still more so.

The third prominent personal quality of Amos Eaton, closely connected of course with the former two, was that constant attitude of mind, by which he instantly perceived and could neatly express, without the least malice, any ridiculous side of men or things. He had a natural and inexhaustible humor, as harmless as it was enjoyable. He could enliven at will the driest scientific presentations in chemistry or geology by quaint hits right or left, by which the point was sure to be remembered by pupil or auditor, and himself sure to become more esteemed and endeared. He was as willing that others should turn a joke upon himself as he was ever ready to exercise the same privilege upon them. In this rare respect he resembled Mark Hopkins. It was difficult for the spriest student or auditor to catch either of them, but whenever it was fairly done, the laugh of the masterful victim was the heartiest and longest. It fell to the lot of Eaton throughout his life at intervals to suffer the severest strokes of affliction, particu-

larly in the persons of his own family; and there can be no doubt at all that this cheery temper in connection with his profound and practical faith in the benignity of the Divine Providence both lightened his burdens and broadened his influence.

Eaton began his volunteer work at Williams in March, 1817, comprising courses of lectures on botany, mineralogy, and geology; and the encouragement he received from the faculty and students, and particularly from Professor Chester Dewey, his lifelong friend and coadjutor, determined him to attempt courses of popular lectures with practical instruction to such classes as he might organize in several of the larger towns successively in New England and New York. The dedication of the second edition of his "Manual of Botany," published in 1818, to the Williams president and professors, pleasingly expressed his sense of obligation in these words, "The 'Science of Botany' is indebted to you for its first introduction into the interior of the Northern States, and I am indebted to you for a passport into the scientific world." He went first to Northampton, where he is said to be the first man in America to enrol classes of ladies in the study of natural science. Then he went to Amherst, where Mary Lyon, the founder of Mount Holyoke Seminary, became his enthusiastic pupil, and later in Troy, where she was by invitation a member of his family. He lectured also in Lenox and Stockbridge and other towns with ever widening applause and permanent reputation. President Gates of Amherst College said finely of him, "He knew how to ring the rising-bell in the dormitory of the soul." Great matters were then stirring along the upper Hudson, which was a more important stream than the Hoosac, the Housatonic, or the Connecticut; and the greatest of these was the marvellous scheme of De Witt Clinton to unite by means of a series of canals the waters of Lake Erie with the upper tides of the Hudson, for purposes of public transportation, whose success or failure was largely a matter of scientific geology. Clinton was Governor of New York during nearly all the progress of this vast work, namely, from 1817 to 1825; and the greatest obstacles he experienced were from the Legislature of the State and the practical incredulity of its people. In 1818 Governor Clinton sent to Amos Eaton a special invitation to give a course of lectures on geology before the members of the Legislature in session at Albany. He went. He lectured in his own novel and inimitable way. He so interested the leading men of the State in geology, not only in its relations to the canals, but also in its relations to agriculture, that the first steps were then and there taken which resulted in the

preparation and publication of that great work, "The Natural History of the State of New York." Governor Seward in his Introduction to this work, Albany, 1842, said of Eaton: "He described rocks which no geologist had at that time attempted to classify. We are indebted to Eaton for that independence of European classification which has been found indispensable in describing the New York system."

It is probable but not certified, that it was at Albany at this time that Amos Eaton made the permanent acquaintance of General Stephen Van Rensselaer, the greatest of the Patroons, and the earliest of the great benefactors of practical science in this country. In 1820 he employed Eaton to make an exhaustive agricultural survey of his own vast estates, the original Dutch colony of Rensselaerwyck, extending forty-eight miles one way and twenty-four the other, and now covering three counties. The results of this and further similar surveys east as well as west of the North River were published in 1824 at the sole cost of his generous patron. He also paid Eaton to give popular lectures on geology throughout the State. The crowning work of the lives of both these men centred in the establishment in Troy of a school of the highest grade, entitled the "Rensselaer Institute," endowed by the one and superintended and directed by the other till his death in 1842. President Brainerd of Middlebury College has the following to say of these two men in relation to each other: —

> The pioneer explorer in American Geology was Professor Amos Eaton. He had the good fortune to find a munificent patron, who sustained him for nineteen years, enabled him to travel more than seventeen thousand miles in explorations, and published his reports and maps. In these days Geology became the rage. It was talked on every steamboat and canal packet, and at every public watering-place. Perhaps the fact that Eaton had more than seven thousand pupils or auditors had something to do with it. At any rate, at his death in 1842, every State in the Union except five had authorized geological surveys.

In a book designed and entitled and constructed as is the present one, it would be a grave fault to omit to notice, that Ebenezer Emmons of the class of 1818 and Albert Hopkins of the class of 1826, whose after relations both to the town and college were peculiar and long continued, owed their first faltering steps in their distinguished scientific career to the skilled and helpful hand of Amos Eaton. Albert Hopkins described in his later life his own early impressions in the words following, to wit: —

Professor Eaton was one of the first to popularize science in the Northern States. For this task he had some peculiar qualifications. He had an easy flow of language, a popular address, and a generous enthusiasm in matters of science, which easily communicated itself to his pupils.

I well remember attending a lecture of his in my native town, the first scientific lecture I ever attended, and, if I may judge by the sharp outline of it still in my mind, one of the most interesting and impressive. Perhaps the "leafy month of June," the subject of the lecture, "Flowers," and the presence of a large number of interesting young persons, may have added something to the charm; but making all due allowances, I am sure that the lecture itself must have had a good deal of intrinsic merit. Professor Eaton was at this time (1817, I think) nearly in his prime. His person was quite striking, — a large frame, somewhat portly and dignified, though entirely free from what is commonly called starch. His face was highly intellectual, — the forehead high and somewhat retreating, locality strongly marked, and the organs of observation and comparison well developed. His hair at that time was black, and being combed back, rendered his fine physiognomy still more striking. I well recollect the flowers, which I believe his young pupil, Emmons, had been employed to collect for the occasion. They were, in the first place, the common lilac, which I had probably seen before; however this may be, the small floret, with its salver-form Corolla and long tubular throat, into which the Professor dexterously inserted his pen-knife, with no murderous intent, but to give us a view of the organs which the great Linnæus had selected as the basis of his classification, — this little floret, I say, is the first I now recollect to have seen; and seen it was, and still is, with great distinctness. Then followed the *Pedicularis*, and some plants more difficult in their analysis. In the analysis of these plants Professor Eaton made use of his Manual descriptive of plants in the vicinity of Williams College, a book which, with some imperfections, was highly valuable as a pioneer work. Professor Eaton was among the first in this country to study nature in the field with his classes. I think his zeal in the department of Botany led Professor Dewey to direct his discriminating mind to the study of plants. At this time Dr. Emmons took the field. In fact Natural History came in on a spring-tide and has never lost the impulse since.

2. William Cullen Bryant. Born in Cummington in 1794, died in New York in 1878. In a former chapter of this book are given in sufficient detail the interesting circumstances connecting him with Williams College. His astonishing precocity in the classical languages and in poetry, and his eminence in both of these directions maintained throughout a very long life, have no need to occupy us for the purpose at present in hand. The man and his life-story possessed a great fascination for his countrymen. Two generations of them became familiar with it while he still lived, and a third generation came to know it through the beautifully truthful biography of his father-in-law, by Parke Godwin. So far as the public were concerned both before and after Bryant's decease, the emphasis was usually put upon his wonderful career as a poet both at the

beginning and toward the close of his life. Almost everybody knew something of his "Thanatopsis," written at seventeen, of which the poet Stoddard said, "Thanatopsis was the greatest poem ever written by so young a man;" and the literary classes of all three of these generations came to know, that "for the first time on this continent a poem had been written destined to general admiration and enduring fame. It in fact began our poetic history, and, whatever great things have since been done or will yet be done, to 'Thanatopsis' belongs the glory of the morning star, which glitters on the front of day, and only fades in the superior light it has itself announced." So at the close of his life, where, to use the words of a line in one of his early poems, he was "journeying in long serenity away," the attention of the public and particularly of all lovers of Homer was strongly drawn and held to his complete translations in English blank verse of the "Iliad" and "Odyssey." This was wholly an old man's work. It was commenced in 1868, when he was nearly seventy-four years old, and completed before the close of 1871. It was therefore rapid work, though the work of a brain and pen already accustomed to similar work for more than sixty years. He had the advantage of all the previous translators of Homer into English verse, (1) in having their good work before him for comparison with and emendation of his own; (2) in possessing a better command than any of them of a full vocabulary of old and pure and strong English words; and (3) by escaping through his choice of simple blank verse the restrictions and infelicities of rhyme and metre, under which most of the rest had placed themselves. It was apparently the conclusion of the most competent critics in this country at least, that Bryant's Homer was more nearly Homer's Homer than any other English Homer on the shelves of their libraries.

As already intimated, it is the present purpose to dilate rather on Bryant's work and influence as a publicist, in which character he was far less known to his countrymen and more closely connected with his college. During fifty years, 1829–78, he was an editor on the *New York Evening Post*, and for the most of that time editor-in-chief and the principal owner of the paper. He virtually controlled the political and economical policy of the *Post* for that broad interval of time. He either wrote himself or secured and approved the writing of the daily leading articles of a widely read and widely quoted newspaper in the commercial centre of the United States, and thus exerted a commercial and political influence difficult indeed to weigh in exact terms but certainly and satisfy-

WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT,

W. C., 1813.

ingly prodigious. The *Evening Post* was founded in 1801 under the auspices of Alexander Hamilton and his Federalist friends, by William Coleman, who became sole editor in 1809 and continued so till 1829, when Bryant succeeded him. Jefferson had become President of the United States in 1801, and the *Post* started and continued in strong opposition to the prevailing party until the close of the second war with England (1815), when party lines were mostly obliterated, and the paper became and continued more or less independent. Bryant began to work for it in 1826 in a subordinate capacity under Coleman, and it is said that the paper began at once to show the impress of a finer hand in more discriminating notices of new books, in more frequent extracts from foreign journals, in the presentation of the claims of artists and of a better architecture, in more careful characterizations of public men and in almost daily suggestions of reform in matters relating to the city government. In politics there was no sign in those days of the presence of a new hand, except on the subject of free trade. It has often been publicly pronounced, that Bryant first induced the *Post* to advocate that doctrine, but this was not the case. The journal was fully committed to that righteous policy before the day of his apprenticeship. So indeed was the city of New York, through its merchants and more eminent citizens. There were calls in those days for free-trade meetings and delegates to free-trade conventions; and one may find in the files of old newspapers as signers of such calls and delegates to such conventions, the names of the first citizens and greatest merchants of New York. Let seven taken almost at random serve as examples of the rest — Albert Gallatin, James Kent, Peter Gay, Isaac Bronson, John Duer, Morgan Lewis, Peter Bemsen.

How came this young man to become and to remain a Democrat and a free trader? There were none of his kinsfolk and early acquaintance of that way of belief. His father was a strong Federalist. So were all the ministers and teachers of his boyhood. By much the greatest man in western Massachusetts was Judge Theodore Sedgwick, next to Alexander Hamilton the most influential member, and the national leader of the Federalist party. Curiously enough Theodore Sedgwick, second son of the judge, fourteen years older than Bryant, with whom the latter was very intimate, early adopted the tenets of the Democratic party, and was a ready and powerful speaker and writer in behalf of free trade until his death in Pittsfield in 1839. Whether this Theodore Sedgwick, foremost of the family after the death of his father in 1813, exerted any

direct influence politically over Bryant's mind is not specifically stated or inferrible, but it is altogether likely, for, in a memoir of his friend, he describes him as one "whose character deserves to be held up to the imitation of all men engaged in political life, or in public controversies of any kind. He was a man of many virtues, but he enjoyed one distinction difficult of attainment, that of being a politician without party vices. In the question respecting the powers of government and the proper objects and limits of human laws, he took part with great zeal, deeming them highly important to the welfare of mankind." Bryant, however, was not a man to take opinions of a radical cast from anybody without thorough researches of his own. Such researches he made particularly in the first half of the decade of the twenties, reading with care the great debates in the British Parliament in the time of Huskisson (1820 *et seq.*), through whose reasonings and exertions the old restrictions on the trade of the colonies with foreign countries were removed, the removal or reduction of many import duties obtained, and even considerable relaxations of the Navigation Laws secured. Huskisson is allowed on all hands to have been the chief practical pioneer of free trade. At the same time Bryant took up the then current leading treatises on political economy, those of Adam Smith and Jean-Baptiste Say and David Ricardo, and learned whatever they had to teach him. He lived long enough to gain, and often to express the opinion, that these and the other technical writers on the subject had become antiquated and practically useless, as following a method that is non-scientific, and embracing discussions too comprehensive to be *scientific* in the proper use of that term. It was his view that political economy has since become a science, and that that science is simply and solely the science of buying and selling.

After all that may be said and done about the proper use of books in the study of political economy, Bryant possessed an additional, and for men of his power of analysis, a superior resource. As in the "Thanatopsis" he described a world of things, and men as subject to a law of inevitable decay, appointed of God and unchangeable by men, so he saw and came to describe with an invincible logic day by day and year after year, — burning it into the unwilling minds of men, — that all the great economic movements of human society by which the wants of all men and all nations are reciprocally supplied, are as uniform and regular as any other complicated aggregate of palpable causes and effects; and that, consequently, for any so-called government to interfere in any artificial manner with the play of these divinely appointed laws of demand and supply is of neces-

sity impoverishing in practice, and in contradiction to one of the most sacred rights of men, that, namely, of freely bettering their own condition without impairing the condition of anybody else. This argument in substance satisfied the mind of Bryant for more than fifty years. Only a few months before his death he exclaimed in public, "*I have been fifty years in this service, and have never wearied of it!*" One of those associated with him in the American Free Trade League, of which he was the first president, was wont to put the same argument in the way following, namely, It always takes two persons to make a commercial exchange, that is to say, a trade, each of whom renders something to the other for the sake of receiving something else from that other; each of these estimates less what he is about to part with than what he is about to receive, otherwise he would not part with it to that end; usual intelligence supposed and fraud aside, the trade if consummated is profitable to both parties, otherwise it would not take place; now, if a so-called Law (*Protection!*) comes in to prohibit or restrict this trade, the interfering law destroys the profit of each of two persons, or of two millions, as the case may be. What are the motives of the men who always conspire to get such a restrictive law passed by the Legislature? These will always bear looking into! They will invariably be found to be of a selfish and sordid character. No instance to the contrary has ever been exhibited in the world of trade-legislation.

There is no original connection obvious between free trade and politics strictly so-called. Nevertheless, there are derived connections very plain to be seen. In becoming a free trader Bryant logically and almost irresistibly became a Democrat, as that word was used in contradistinction with Federalist. He had been reared a Federalist, and so more emphatically had Theodore Sedgwick, second son of the great judge. Both of these young men came to see, as clearly as day, that protectionism so-called was a selfish scheme to plunder the public for the enrichment of a few, and so to be resisted in all stages and at all hazards; and they saw also at the same time, that the leading statesmen in Congress were apt to take position in regard to so-called "protective" taxes, according to their own proclivities of constitutional doctrine. Those who were inclined to protectionism were also inclined, or rather bound by the necessities of the case, to broad constructions of the powers of the national government; while those who had emancipated themselves from old economic errors were as earnestly disposed to a rigid exegesis of the clauses of the Constitution. Free traders naturally

became Democrats, and Democrats were logically free traders. The only deep-cutting distinction in our national politics from the beginning for a century at least lay along the line of State Rights as contrasted with an elastic construction of powers granted in the Constitution to the national government. The following formula expresses as perfectly as frangible words can do it, the exact political and economical truth combined: — *Equal opportunities under the law to all citizens ; no special privileges of any kind to any.* Bryant and Sedgwick and thousands of other intelligent young men passed thus through the open door of free trade into the safe fold of the Democratic party. Bryant's mind was satisfied with the results of this process as a matter of historical interpretation of the Constitution, while it continued active for many years upon a broader phase of the same vital question.

What are the functions of government, if any, within this vast sphere of social and industrial liberty, which is capable of operating harmoniously and to universal advantage, impelled alone by permanent and indefeasible impulses? The European answer to this question had been *Laissez faire,* Let alone, let things take their natural course. If *Laissez faire* were regarded as the mere negation of the positive restrictions and interferences of government in matters industrial or commercial (the two adjectives mean the same), then Mr. Bryant would accept *Laissez faire* as the true answer to the question. But he wished to make his own limitations. What he said in effect was this: Government is the organ and representative of the whole community, not of any class or of any fraction of that community. Its primary and substantial function, therefore, is to maintain the conditions of universal liberty, that is to say, the equilibrium and harmony of the social forces so that the energies of the individual may the most freely act and expand, according to his own judgment, his own capacities in particular, and his own views and purposes in general. Government must not undertake directly any enterprises of its own of any kind, whether religious or intellectual or artistic or economical, but must secure a safe and open field to every kind of enterprise for every one of its members in an individual or corporate capacity. Its functions are juridical, that is, to protect and maintain existing rights; and not paternal or eleemosynary that is, to encourage and nurse and coddle interests. The supreme, if not the exclusive, ends of government are liberty, justice, order; not at all prosperity, which will come of itself when these ends are measurably reached. This was Bryant's theory of the State; on these foundations our national institutions

were distinctively and historically built; these principles must be carried out to every logical and practicable result through the State governments, as well as through the national government, or else the people give up their pretentions to democracy.[1]

The educating power of these points of political philosophy, urged editorially in the columns of a daily newspaper year after year and decade after decade, urged not in the abstract, but in the concrete as illustrations of them or of infractions of them came out in the news of the day, reënforced also by those ethical and Christian considerations which were all one in the mind of the editor-in-chief with sound politics, and both alike clothed day by day in great beauty and simplicity of language, expressing the convictions of the writer, not more than bespeaking the candid attention of readers, — the educating power of these discussions over the people of the country, and especially over the great political party with which the *Evening Post* rarely broke, so far as organization and practical work were concerned, cannot be adequately expressed in words. Bryant became personally identified with the *Evening Post* perhaps as much, though in a quite different sense, as Horace Greeley with the *New York Tribune*. Both were equally sincere and philanthropic men. But Bryant was a broad-minded, well-educated, much-travelled, and æsthetically gifted man; and his life-work consequently was put in much nearer the vital foundations of society and progress, than that of his more superficial and dogmatic contemporary. It was often said of Bryant in his highly honored and extraordinarily useful old age, by those entitled to judge and to compare, "*He is the first citizen of the Republic!*"

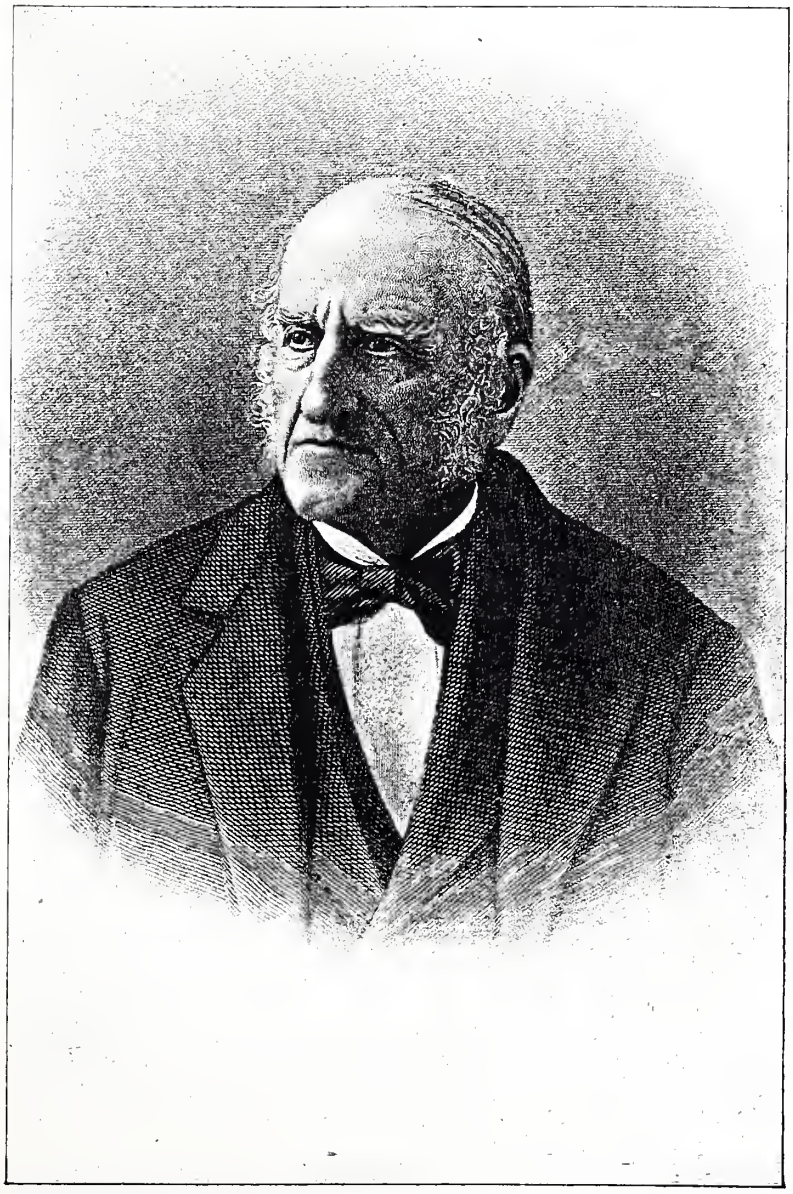
3. Mark Hopkins. Born in Stockbridge in 1802, died in Williamstown in 1887. Discussions of heredity are perhaps still rather speculative than philosophical; but Mark Hopkins was a believer in observably transmitted tendencies in his own case. The writer once asked him about his relationship with Samuel Hopkins, the distinguished New England theologian. He answered with manifested interest, though in general he cared little for genealogies, "He was my grandfather's brother." More demonstrably than heredity did environment influence the choices and the career of Mark Hopkins. Stockbridge was a Puritan town in the best sense of an adjective whose significance is already becoming dim. It was an historic town in the sense in which no other town in western Massachusetts was historic, that is, having its origin in direct acts of the General Court for ends and purposes of the Court's own. It

[1] See Godwin's *Life of Bryant*, Vol. 1, page 254 *et seq.*

was in its origin a missionary town pure and simple. After the Stockbridge Indians had left the place for good, it became exclusively a town of farmers. The farm on which Mark Hopkins was born and brought up, was one of four farms originally set apart by the General Court for the use and occupancy of four English families, which should serve as object-lessons to the Indians of the mission undergoing direct instruction at the hands of their missionaries. When Mark Hopkins was born, the minister and the squire and the doctor were the only parties in Stockbridge differing in position and influence from the strong, fee-simple farmers of the valley and the hillsides. When he was seventeen years old, and his brother Albert twelve, Rev. David Dudley Field came to Stockbridge as pastor of the church, bringing with him his eldest son of the same name, then fourteen years old, and a second son, Stephen J., nine years younger. There was an Irish boy in Stockbridge at that time, John Morgan, born in Cork in 1802, that is, of the same age with Mark Hopkins. In 1888, in an address at Williams College, David Dudley Field spoke as follows of circumstances occurring in Stockbridge: —

> In the year 1819 three youths met for the first time in the academy of Stockbridge. Their ages were not far apart, and they were all in training for a college education. Their tastes were much alike; they were enthusiastic, lovers of knowledge, and untiring in its pursuit. They went to the same college and afterwards into different professions, but they always kept watch of one another. Of these, two died in maturest age, and I alone survive. The first to leave us was John Morgan, of whom I can never think but with deep emotion and admiration for his profound learning, his guileless nature, and his devout life. Long useful and honored as professor at Oberlin, he now sleeps by the shore of that inland sea which pours its waters over the cliffs of Niagara. The second, Mark Hopkins, descended into the grave two years behind his comrade, and he sleeps here under these waving trees.

Mark Hopkins used to say, that he had no reason to suppose he should ever have gone to college at all, had there not been an accessible college in Berkshire. His maternal uncle, Jared Curtis, was the medium of communication between the three Stockbridge boys and the slender institution at the opposite extremity of the county. Curtis was a native of Stockbridge, and was destined by his parents for the ministry. He was employed as a tutor for two years in the College, 1803–05, after his graduation in 1800, and then for ten years thereafter in mercantile pursuits, reasons existing mainly in his own mind always keeping him out of the ordinary pulpit. For several years he was principal of the Stockbridge Academy, constantly sending up boys to the College, and so becoming from his



MARK HOPKINS,

W. C., 1824.

early boyhood a sort of shuttle thrown from south to north and back again, bearing threads forming a firm web between Stockbridge and Williamstown. Licensed to preach, and going into central New York, he was providentially appointed a chaplain in the state prison at Auburn. He was the first person to be inducted into such a function in this country. Subsequently he was appointed chaplain in the state prison of Massachusetts, where he passed about thirty years of his life in self-denying labors for the spiritual good of convicts. The changes of character wrought through his instrumentality were said to be in some instances wonderful. He died in 1862, at the age of eighty-five. His two nephews, Mark and Albert Hopkins, were a ground of much pride and satisfaction to him, and he became in a certain sense a second father to them in matters educational.

Albert Hopkins described in a letter their home in Stockbridge as "a secluded dwelling," and Mark was heard to say in middle life that the distance from it to the district school was not far from two miles. Mark was five years older than Albert, and the two labored on the farm with their father in summer, and attended the district school in winter. This tended to develop their physical constitutions, naturally robust, and the younger became noted among his schoolfellows, and afterward in college, for feats of strength and physical endurance. Both were tall, with broad shoulders, wiry in shape and motion, and slightly bent as old age drew on. There was a difference in bodily temperament, the elder tending to indolence, and the younger seeming to be fond of exertion even for its own sake; there was a difference in intellectual endowment, and in breadth and solidity of grasp, the elder being much the superior in all this; in matters of emotion and in control of the feelings of others, Albert was very different from his brother, and in times of religious excitement in college and in town easily came to the front, and held his position there; while in steady persistency of plans, and in all the elements of a broad intellectual and moral leadership, Mark Hopkins was the greater and more influential man. Very little can be gleaned about their early life in Stockbridge, probably for the reason that there was very little remarkable about it. A single paragraph from a letter written by the younger brother in 1840 is significant and precious: —

> Study was more congenial to my brother Mark than to me. He entered upon the pursuit of knowledge prompted, I think, by a love for it, mixed doubtless with something of a worldly ambition. For myself, it was rather at the instance of my parents that I commenced study. I yielded to their wishes, and think I

can now clearly trace in those promptings of parental kindness the agency and direction of God. I have little doubt of having found the sphere assigned me and designed for me in Providence, — a sphere, however, for which I could not have been prepared otherwise than by pursuing the steps marked out for me by them.

(1) There was an element of *largeness* about Mark Hopkins in what he was and said and did and planned, that seemed to discriminate him from most (if not all) other men of his generation in New England. He had a large way with him from whatever point of view one might observe him. He had a striking bodily presence, awkward rather than graceful in every movement, and yet every movement rather impressive than otherwise. Whatever he said in conversation or counsel or persuasive discourse, or other orations in public, was sure to have in it something that gave the hearer the impression that it was something of his own that he was saying, and also that it was something of peculiar scope and breadth. Even trivial things he pronounced in a manner that seemed to give them weight and consequence. An illogical argument fared better in his hands than at the hands of anybody else, and seemed at the time more convincing than when one went over it afterward alone, in order to reassure himself. It is much to be suspected that he sometimes amused himself, as well as more often deceived himself, by the overpersuasion he was enabled to effect, particularly with students, by reasonings really fallacious. But given a fair cause, capable of being supported by sound arguments, and the impression was invariably favorable to the cause and favorable to himself, through a large way he had of looking at things in general, and that cause in particular, and also through a way he had of disarming prejudice by disclaiming advocacy. Sometimes he seemed at the outset to be about to give away his case wholly, in order to take it back again amplified and reënforced at every point. It was not that he was more learned than other speakers, for the contrary was rather the fact; it was not that he was more earnest and eloquent than others, for he rarely rose to much of personal warmth in any stage of the discussion; but it was that he made it plain at the outset that he was in wide command both in thought and language of the whole field, and seemed to demonstrate that it was safe and sensible for every hearer to go with him readily along the broad highway to his foregone conclusion. Much the same qualities appeared in all his printed books, and tended to make them popular and effective. He dreaded to be, and had little occasion to be, a disputant; and as to becoming a belligerent, it was not in

his make-up, and no part of his divine call in the service of his fellow-men.

(2) Few are the men of whom it can be reasonably said, that they produced distinct and decided currents in the movements of their generation, and even this cannot be surely affirmed, until that generation be well past; and in regard to Mark Hopkins, it is already pretty clear that he did not belong to that select few; but he belonged to another class of men not more in point of number, and perhaps eventually even more influential; that class, namely, whose members have the ability and the opportunity to impress themselves and their own germinant ideas recurrently year after year, upon scores after scores of gifted young men, who, in turn, diffuse their own impressions upon hundreds and thousands of their countrymen, and so on interminably. Mark Hopkins was first of all, and more than all, a teacher of young men. He chose that early as his function in life. He had special capacities for it that were congenital, and he schooled himself in it by patient observation, and through mistakes and recovered tendencies that were better. He could teach, and he knew it. His successive classes knew it. The community knew it. The country came to know it very well. This process went on practically unimpaired for forty years. He taught large numbers of those who came in turn to be teachers, and who transmitted to others, if not a method, at least the spirit of a method. Here and there, one — possibly one in ten years on the average — went out from his class-room to become as good a teacher as himself. It was as a living teacher that Mark Hopkins was incomparable. It was from this fount flowed his influence and his distinction. It was not so much what he taught, considered as substance of doctrine. He founded no school in metaphysics or ethics. He looked directly for himself, and he taught the most capable of his pupils to look directly, upon the phenomena of mind and morals through introspection open alike to all. He could not be said to teach a system of his own in either of the two great branches of philosophy; although it is true that he threw into new relations and dependencies certain sections of both of those vast fields of thought, particularly that of morals.

What was vital and distinctive, and most worthy to be remembered is, that in his best hours he put himself into instant and constant communication with the best, that is, the most receptive, of his pupils, to investigate with him while he investigated anew each recondite topic as it came before them. He asked them questions in order to encourage them to ask questions. There were hazards in this

method, of course. The discussions sometimes straggled on to no purpose and no end. There were always some in each class who did not follow to profit any of this talk. But there were almost always some who learned something in every excursion, however tentative and apparently futile. To learn to inquire, to learn to postulate, to learn to discriminate, and to learn to conclude at least a little, was the task perpetually laid before those young men. In nearly every class of the forty to which reference has just been made, there were one or two or more who caught his knack of studying directly these invisible phenomena, and who became in time philosophers themselves, if not in the strictly technical sense of that term (as a considerable number of them did), yet philosophers in the etymological sense of the term, and so influential in transmitting to wide and diverse circles of men elements of permanent power that had their start in the Mark Hopkins lecture-room. Again, there were in each of those forty classes one or two young men who were pondering the point of becoming foreign missionaries. The College was considered and often called the missionary college. The Hopkins brothers were men of a strong missionary spirit, though it was manifested in each in a peculiar way. These inchoate missionaries watched and welcomed the manner of instruction in that lecture-room with an interest accentuated by some prospect of their needing to use it themselves in a foreign land through a foreign language for simple but divine purposes. After Hopkins became president of the American Board, which fell in 1857, Williams graduates in foreign fields renewed their interest in him and in his books, and on their return to this country from time to time, they as well as others continually going out, looked upon him as their intellectual and spiritual father; to the general result that he came into moral possession of remarkable influence even in the lands of the heathen. Providence opened up to him both at home and abroad paths of access and impression trod in the same sense and to the same degree by no other public educator among his contemporaries.

(3) Mark Hopkins became a distinguished preacher. That was not his original calling. He had no special preparation of any kind for that profession. It was incidental to his professorship in 1830, and particularly to his presidency in 1836. He always recognized the authority of the Bible in the common English version, and never took any occasion to inquire critically into the sources and sanctions of that authority. No such questions ever really came before his mind. He happily escaped altogether the problems sweeping down irresistibly upon the next generation of Christian ministers. He

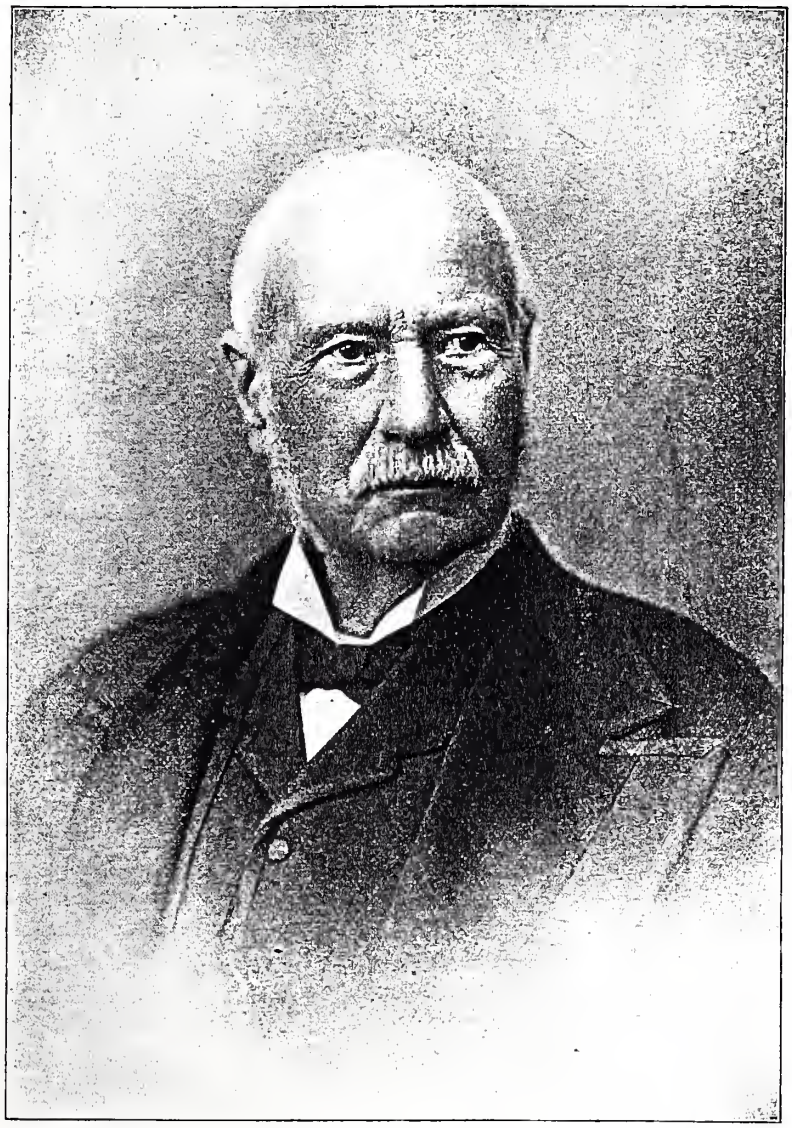
found by experience the enlightening and healing power of all parts of the Scriptures, and he interpreted them to others in the light of those principles of knowledge and duty that he accepted for himself. He exhibited on ordinary occasions ordinary Christian truth in a plain and forcible way. These sermons cost him very little time in their preparation. They were useful, but in no way extraordinary. But when the unusual occasion and opportunity offered itself, he was prompt to meet it with elaborate preparation, and with results that were striking and permanent. Such, for example merely, was his special sermon before the American Board, 1845, and the Election sermon, 1839, and the series of Baccalaureate sermons in general, 1850–72, of which "Strength and Beauty" (1851), "Eagles' Wings" (1858), "Spirit, Soul, and Body" (1869), made the most powerful impression at the time of their delivery. To these labored and finished discourses of the days of his scarcely diminished strength, should be added a reference in this connection to three or four of his unwritten addresses at the annual meetings of the American Board delivered in his capacity of president of that body during the last decade of his life. Representatives of all the continents and of the islands of the sea present singly or in groups at these annual gatherings were astonished as well as delighted at the breadth and forecast and unmistakable power of these apparently *ex tempore* speeches of a man about eighty years old.

4. David Dudley Field. Born in Haddam, Connecticut in 1805, where his father of the same name was pastor of the Congregational church, died in New York in 1894. The father moved to Stockbridge as pastor when this the eldest son was fourteen years old, who came at once under the instruction and influence of Jared Curtis of the Williams class of 1800, and into intimate associations with Mark and Albert Hopkins. Mark was three years older than Dudley. The friendship thus begun in boyhood, and continued in college, prevailed unweakened throughout a long lifetime, till the earthly tie was snapped in 1887 by the death of the elder. The next year, in a public address here, the other said of his friend: "*He was to me as a brother. We started on the voyage of Life together, from the same shore, each in his own bark, but keeping always within hailing distance of each other. I knew, as he knew, that if evil befell either, the other would hasten to the rescue. We have had our good and our evil days, but the good have prevailed over the evil. Now from my bark still lingering on the sea, I wave my parting salutation to him safely landed on the shore.*"

Entering college as a Freshman in 1821, young Field at once

distinguished himself as the scholar of the class, a rank he held till the close of his course. He also proved himself an active leader in all legitimate enterprises, such as college students are likely to be interested in. As a single example of this, he organized a considerable body of the students in 1824, when La Fayette was visiting this country and about to pass through Berkshire, to go down to Pittsfield, and, as representing the College, to pay their reverence to the great Frenchman. This incident, trifling in itself, presaged in a boy of nineteen a natural leadership among men when life should open before him more fully, and especially a peculiar interest in the great events of the world and in its public men. This visit of La Fayette, which lasted more than a year, was one long ovation. Congress made him a gift of $200,000 and of 24,000 acres of land. He entered into friendly relations with President Monroe; with John Quincy Adams, who was elected President during his sojourn; with John Adams, and Albert Gallatin, and Daniel Webster; and he was also Jefferson's guest at Monticello. While still a college student, Field had determined to become a lawyer, and in the autumn after his graduation he studied for a short time in Albany, and soon passed down to New York to enter the office of Henry and Robert Sedgwick, both sons of Judge Theodore Sedgwick, and both graduates of Williams College in 1804. Field was admitted to the bar in 1828, and practised with the Sedgwicks, his teachers, until the death in 1831 of Henry, the elder and abler of the two brothers, when he entered into partnership with the other, Robert, who also fell a victim to excessive professional labor, and died in 1841. From that time certainly, even if not before, David Dudley Field stepped into the very front rank of American practitioners at the bar, and held this place unquestioned by anybody for fully forty years.

The influence of the Sedgwicks upon Field was at least in a general way as distinct and pronounced as was that of the members of the same family upon Bryant, as previously noted in these pages. Next to Field himself, Henry Sedgwick was the most distinguished lawyer graduated at Williams College in its first century. It is not generally known, but it is certainly true, that the dissenting opinion given by Judge Theodore Sedgwick of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts in 1810, in the case of Greenwood *versus* Curtis, was written by his son, Henry Dwight. It is still more relevant in the present connection to notice that the Sedgwick brothers, and particularly Henry, were earnest advocates of law reform and of a codification of the laws, while David Dudley Field was still in



DAVID DUDLEY FIELD,

W. C., 1825.

college. In 1822 Henry Sedgwick published an elaborate pamphlet entitled "The Evils and Absurdities of the Practice of the English Common Law." He also published in the *North American Review* various articles on the common law, its possible modifications, and its practicable codification in connection with some of the leading principles of the civil law of Rome. The common law of England, as it was practised in the American colonies and later in most of the American States, was a huge, indigestible mass of judge-made law, full of contradictions, quite inaccessible to the minds of the people for whose benefit alone it had been ostensibly pronounced, and consequently, as Sedgwick claimed and proved in his pamphlet of 1822, full of "evils and absurdities." Edward Livingston, a graduate of Princeton, belonging to a family in New York fully as distinguished as the Sedgwicks in New England, probably antedated by a little the labors of the Sedgwicks in behalf of a simple and rational codification. While studying law with his brother Robert, Edward Livingston had devoted special attention to the Roman jurisprudence. The purchase of Louisiana by the United States was accomplished through the negotiations of his brother with Napoleon at Paris; and a marvellous set of circumstances made Edward Livingston a citizen and lawyer of New Orleans; and in 1820 he had been appointed to draw up a code of civil procedure for Louisiana. This proved so admirable, that he was shortly after empowered to reduce to a system the then confused body of the civil laws of Louisiana. He had to aid him the some time before completed Code Napoléon, also the nomenclature of Scotch law, and a familiar acquaintance with all that was most valuable in the English jurisprudence. Thus was produced, and reported, and adopted in 1823, the "Civil Code of Louisiana," undoubtedly the most successful adaptation of the civil law to the conditions of modern society ever made. The Sedgwick brothers made the most they could out of the Louisiana labors of Livingston, although the conditions in the State of New York were very different from those in the French colony and State of Louisiana. There was of course no such prejudice there against Latin forms and principles as a similar movement was sure to encounter in the Dutch and English usages intrenched on the banks of the Hudson.

What makes all these statements pertinent to the present place and purpose is, that two extraordinarily gifted lawyers, both graduates of Williams College in 1804, were among the very first in this country powerfully to advocate in the name of the people the great cause of the simplification and certitude of the laws. Both died

before the cause had been thoroughly argued over the continent; but they had admitted into their counsels and imbued with their spirit another graduate of Williams, destined to eclipse them both, — a young man of powerful frame, of tireless industry, of incisive and ever broadening mental grasp and dignity, who expended herculean labors in his life-work initiated by them, and who lived to see the practical triumph in most of the States of the Union of parts at least of his own codifications of the law. It was in several respects like Gladstone's apprenticeship to Sir Robert Peel in the English House of Commons. Peel was Gladstone's master and model. What Peel began, Gladstone ultimately completed and amplified. Peel was almost forgotten in the longer parliamentary life and broader sweeps of the policy of Gladstone. So the Sedgwicks fared in their relations to Field. They helped to teach him not only the law as it was, but also the law as it ought to become. But the pupil came after a while to surpass his teachers in both these respects. Time is a great element in success and in reputation. Gladstone sat for sixty-three years in Parliament. Field pleaded at the bar in New York, and labored conspicuously and successfully at home and abroad in behalf of betterments of the law both civil and international, for sixty-three years also. The beneficent results of codification in this country were best displayed in the States of Louisiana and California. So far as the latter was concerned in this regard, there was a point of much interest connected with David Dudley Field, and with Williams College too. Stephen J. Field of the class of 1837, of which he was the valedictorian, studied law with his brother in New York, and after his admission to the bar became his partner till 1848, when for the second time he went abroad, and passed a year and a half in Europe, employed chiefly in expanding his early knowledge of the French and other continental languages. Returning in the autumn of 1849, he joined in the emigration then just beginning to California, settled in a place where now stands the city of Marysville, and was elected informally the first *alcalde* or judge, holding office until the organization of the judiciary under the first constitution of the State. The jurisdiction exercised by him in the anomalous condition of society in California at that time was practically unlimited. As a member of the Legislature of 1850, he framed the Judiciary Act of the State, most of whose provisions were retained in the later code, over whose substance and form he exerted the controlling influence. In the same capacity as a legislator and at the same time he framed the mining laws of the State, later adopted by other mining regions of the

country, and at length by the Congress of the United States. As a judge of the Supreme Court of California from 1857 to 1863, Field by his decisions and influence permanently settled the law of real property for his State. President Lincoln in 1863 appointed Judge Field an associate justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, whose functions he fulfilled for a longer time than any other occupant of that bench had ever done, when he resigned them in 1897.

What Edward Livingston and the Sedgwicks had well begun in behalf of law reform, David Dudley Field carried on indefatigably throughout a long life. As early as 1839, two years before the death of the younger Sedgwick, he published his first essay on the subject, pointing out again the defects of the old system, and the necessity of the reconstruction of the modes of legal procedure. This was followed up by a succession of similar articles till 1847, when the Legislature of New York appointed him a commissioner on practice and pleadings, and as such he took the leading part in the preparation of the code of procedure, whose design it was to abolish the old distinctions between the forms of action, and particularly to obliterate the difference between legal and equitable suits, so that all the rights of the parties may be determined in one action. In 1857 the Legislature appointed him at the head of a new commission to prepare a political code, a penal code, and a civil code, works designed to contain, with the two codes of procedure, the whole body of the Law. These codes were all laboriously prepared and reported; but their adoption was bitterly opposed by the great body of the lawyers of the State, because the codes tended to make common and easy the knowledge of the law, which the lawyers wished to keep as a monopoly of their own. Said Mr. Field in his old age, namely, in 1886: "This condition of things will last forever, unless the people take the matter into their own hands. The lawyers as a body never did begin a reform of the law, and judging from experience, they never will. The reform must be the work of laymen, aided by a minority of the lawyers." This was spoken in general. On the same occasion he spoke in particular as follows:

> Perhaps I may be expected to say something about codification in the State of New York, the pioneer Commonwealth in the work of law reform, though I am sorry to say it has paused in mid career. We have had here as earnest a contention as was ever had in any work. Of the five codes prepared, three have become laws. The Political Code need not be brought into the discussion, for it is chiefly a compilation of existing statutes, relating to the government of the State and the functions of its public officers. The Civil Code, the most important of all, has been once rejected by the Assembly, and twice passed by both

Assembly and Senate, but failed to receive the approval of the Governors. The onslaughts that have been made upon it, the falsehoods that have been told respecting it, the means that have been resorted to for its defeat, would form a chapter of legal history which I hope yet to see written, amusing and instructive, for the information of the world, touching the devious ways of prejudice and ignorance. It has been objected that the code is too long, and that it is too short; that it has too many new phrases; and too many old ones; that it changes the law, and does not change it; and so on to the end of the score of objections.

The Sedgwick brothers were not only good lawyers and strenuous if not original advocates of law reform, but they were also good Democrats in the Jeffersonian sense of that good word, and consequently were devoted free traders and radical antislavery men. In each and every of these regards, David Dudley Field warmly adopted the views and the practical line of action of his teachers, because the views commended themselves to his inner sense of what was fair and right and divine. These views grew stronger and stronger within him, and were expressed in firmer and firmer outward action, as he grew older and as experience of the influence and results of the opposite sentiments demonstrated to his mind their inequality and injustice and iniquity. He acted politically with the Democratic party so long as its leaders were faithful to the fundamentals of Jefferson; and in 1856 he publicly broke away from that historical organization for reasons expressed in the opening paragraph of his speech in convention at Syracuse, which was in terms following, to wit: —

Fellow-Democrats: The time has come for Democrats to declare their independence of those packed conventions which have lately assumed to dictate the measures and the candidates of the Democracy. That party of glorious memory, which once spoke and acted for freedom, has fallen into the hands of office-holders and political adventurers, serving as the tools of a slaveholding oligarchy. For more than ten years the measures of the General Government have been directed mainly to the increase of Slave States. One measure has followed upon another, each bolder than the last, until we have violence ruling in the Federal Capitol, and civil war raging in the Territories.

The reference in this passage to "violence ruling in the Federal capitol," was to the cowardly and murderous assault on Senator Sumner by Congressman Brooks of South Carolina. Mr. Field never wavered in his private and public opposition to slavery, in season or out of season, till it was exterminated on this continent. His speech before the Peace Congress of the States at Washington in February, 1861, was a marvel of conciliatory firmness and philosophical forecast, displaying an ability to read to the bottom the

hearts of men both South and North. He resumed his political affiliations with the Democratic party upon the nomination for the presidency of Governor Tilden of New York, in 1876. He and Governor Tilden had been neighbors for years, and each knew the ability and uprightness and steadfastness of the other; and when the infamous purpose of the leaders of the Republican party to "*count out*" Governor Tilden, who was elected, and to "*count in*" Governor Hayes, who was not elected, manifested itself, Mr. Field published a pamphlet in January, before the "count," and another in March, after the "count," both maintaining the constitutional and righteous election of Tilden in such an irrefragable manner, at every point, that no attempt was ever made by anybody to overthrow or even to weaken the arguments.[1] The twenty-two years already elapsed between the prediction of Mr. Field as to the perpetrators of that portentous fraud and the present writing, confirmed the substance of it over and over again. — "*The moral sense of the whole American people was shocked. No form of words can cover up the falsehood; no sophistry can hide it; no lapse of time wash it out. It will follow its contrivers wherever they go, confront them whenever they turn, and as often as one of them asks the suffrages of his countrymen, he may expect to hear them reply, 'Why do you reason with us, why seek to persuade us into giving you our votes, you that have taught us such a contempt for votes, that one fraudulent certificate is better than ten thousand of them?'*"

Mr. Field's fidelity to the noble cause of free trade was unswerving from youth to age. On accepting the presidency of the American Free Trade League, in succession to Mr. Bryant, he paid a notable compliment, in words, to the latter for his lifelong services to the people against the greed and plunder of the protectionists; while he paid at the same time, in act, a still more notable compliment to the good cause by consenting to bestow in its behalf the scanty leisure he could find or make from his own most exacting vocations. In the writer's judgment, there was never a prouder moment in the history of Williams College than that moment when, in the city of New York, scanned by the eager gaze of a crowd of earnest and disinterested men, her most distinguished son, all things considered, passed over to her next most distinguished son, all things considered, the robe of an office worn by both simply and solely for the unmixed good of the whole people and of the whole world!

Even more than William Cullen Bryant, and much more than any

[1] See Vol. II. of the Works of David Dudley Field, pp. 88–127.

other one of all the sons of Williams, did David Dudley Field hold a position of great honor and influence in each of the countries of western Europe. This was owing in part to the admiration of the European lawyers and judges for the compactness and symmetry and beauty of his Civil Code of New York. England has always been known as a proud country. She has always been specially proud of her common law. Nevertheless Field lived to see enactment after enactment of the British Parliament, embodying principles and forms originally from the civil law of Rome, but so combined and transfused with the spirit if not the letter of the common law of England, largely the work of Field himself, that Lords and Commons saw the superiority of the new to the old, and legislated it into the British statute-book. Most of all did this homage appear in the "Supreme Court of Judicature Act." Shortly after the passage of that act by Parliament some one asked Mr. Field in the writer's presence, "Did not Parliament borrow from your Code in that Act?" His exultant reply was, "*It is my code!*" In still greater part, however, was Mr. Field's European position owing to his labors in conjunction with the foremost publicists of Europe in behalf of a Code of International Law. The success in the United States and in England of the New York codes led on to those more cosmopolitan attempts to improve the law of nations. In a banquet given to Mr. Field in London by the Law Reform Society, of which Lord Brougham was the president, it was said that those New York codes were being introduced into the most distant British colonies, so that "an American was giving law to Australia." When at length a commission was appointed by the English crown, composed of three lord chancellors and other eminent legal authorities, to consider and report on the whole subject of a revision of the body of the English law, in their first report to Parliament they spoke of the revised codes of New York as a marvel of achievement, and also referred to Mr. Field by name as having rendered to them valuable assistance in explaining personally the details of these codes, and their method of revision, thus shedding light on their own future labors. As these labors went forward, John Bright was led to say that he "wished they had some man like Mr. Field in England to do for this country what he had done for America."

At a meeting in 1866 at Manchester of the British Association for the Promotion of Social Science, Field called the attention of that body to the unsettled condition of international law, which led to frequent disputes between nations like that relating to the ship *Alabama*, and made a proposal for a general revision and reform of

the law of nations to be ultimately adopted by all civilized countries in the interest of universal peace and good-will. In accordance with the suggestion a commission was appointed to prepare a formal international code, consisting of eminent jurists of Europe and America. As a member of this commission, and acting on his own proposal, Mr. Field labored for seven years, and completed in 1873 a work entitled "Outlines of an International Code," which he presented to the Social Science Congress of that year. It met with very favorable criticism from eminent jurists all over the world. But whatever of this sort might emanate from a British association was sure to encounter prejudice from nations for any reason hostile to England, and so in that year, 1873, Mr. Field became the first president of a new association formed at Brussels for the same purpose as the other, namely, the form and the codification of the law of nations. It was differentiated from the other mainly in this, that it proclaimed as one of its chief objects the substitution of arbitration for war in the settlement of all international disputes.

So and in other similar labors of broad-minded beneficence, always including painstaking toward the welfare of Williams College, passed the old age of David Dudley Field. On his eighty-seventh birthday, Feb. 13, 1892, he wrote the following lines which were specially printed over his own name. A copy was sent to one of the professors of the College, and at the same time a photograph of himself taken on the same day, both of which are herewith reproduced.

LINES WRITTEN ON MY 87TH BIRTHDAY.

What is it *now* to live? It is to breathe
The air of Heaven, and behold the pleasant earth,
The shining rivers, the inconstant sea,
Sublimity of mountains, wealth of clouds,
And radiance o'er all of countless stars.
It is to sit before the cheerful hearth
With groups of friends and kindred, store of books,
Rich heritage from ages past,
Hold sweet communion, soul with soul,
O'er things now past, or present, or to come,
Or muse alone upon my earlier days,
Unbind the scroll, whereon is writ
The story of my busy life,
Mistakes too often, but successes more,
And consciousness of duty done.
It is to see with laughing eyes the play
Of children sporting on the lawn,
Or mark the eager strifes of men

And nations, seeking each and all,
Belike advantage to obtain
Above their fellows; such is man!
It is to feel the pulses quicken, as I hear
Of great events near or afar,
Whereon may turn perchance
The fate of generations, ages hence.
It is to rest with folded arms betimes,
And so surrounded, so sustained,
Ponder on what may yet befall
In that unknown mysterious realm
Which lies beyond the range of mortal ken,
Where souls immortal do forever dwell,
Think of the loved ones who await me there,
And without murmuring or inward grief,
With mind unbroken and no fear,
No cares and no resentments even,
Calmly await the coming of the Lord.

DAVID DUDLEY FIELD.

February 13, 1892.

In taking its final leave of David Dudley Field, a book entitled "Williamstown and Williams College" cannot forbear printing another poem of his written almost exactly fifty years earlier than the one just quoted.

GREYLOCK.

Thy summit, Grèylock, gives the straining eye
Visions of beauty o'er that glorious land,
That lies around thee; valleys broad and green,
Teeming with corn, and flocks, and men's abodes;
And countless hills; and the far mountain ridge,
Whose roots strike deeper than the ocean's depths,
And whose blue line, traced on the distant sky,
Hangs like the edges of a watery cloud;
The old and shadowy woods; the slumbering lakes,
Bright in the summer noon; the thousand streams,
Binding the earth with silver; villages
Scattered among the hills; and frequent spires,
Greeting the sunlight.

But thyself, vast pile
Of congregated mountains, whose tall peaks,
Where the clouds gather and the eagles build,
And the strange pine puts forth, stand over there,
Like the old pillars of the firmament,
Thyself hast more than beauty; and thy dark
And yet untrod defiles, whence comes no sound,
But from the screaming bird and murmuring tree,

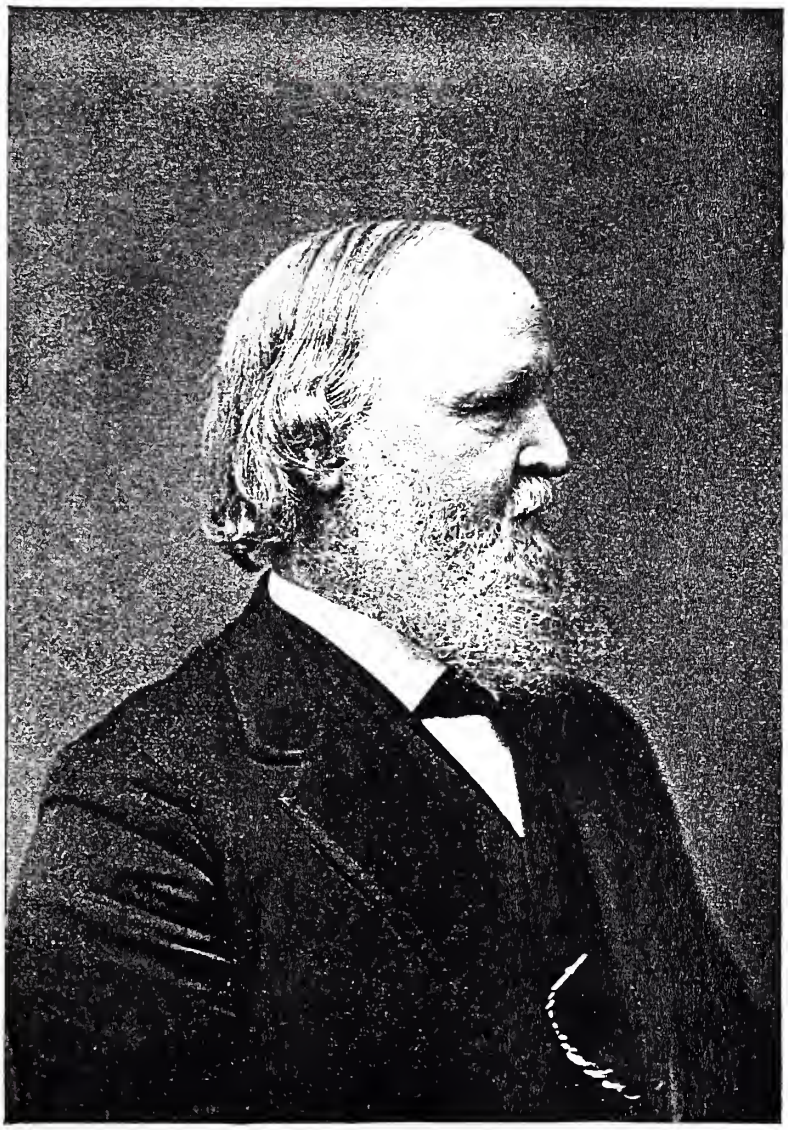
And thy deep chasms, where falls the avalanche,
And the white torrents pour, have an intense
And dread sublimity, too great for words.
For ever, since the world began, thy eye,
Gray-headed mount, hath been upon these hills.
Piercing the sky, with all thy sea of woods
Swelling around thee, evermore thou art,
Unto our weaker, earthly sense, the type
Of the Eternal, changeless and alone.

5. William Dwight Whitney. Born at Northampton in 1827, died at New Haven in 1894. It is impossible to explain the marvellous career of Whitney, by all odds the most scholarly, that is to say, the most learned, man ever graduated at Williams, without a considerable reference to his remarkably scholarly and learned ancestry. Special heredity played no large part, at least no very visible part, in the development of any one of the four celebrities already characterized in the present connection; but when we strike this our only great linguist and lexicographer, we instinctively feel that he was endowed with something, that he was saturated with something, that could have come to him in no other way than the way of special inheritance; what one merely sharing in but the common lot of descent could by no possibility acquire as an individual in one short life. Industry, moral integrity, aspiration, a distinctive goal, and special environment will do wonders for a man, and make him a torch-bearer of a certain kind; but all these and kindred qualities of themselves can never make such a man as Whitney was, nor such a torch-bearer as he became. Intelligence, character, power, are cumulative in human life along the line of families. "Of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation." The more noted of the families and kindred concerned in the descent and at least in the broad training of Professor Whitney, were those of Dwight, Stoddard, Edwards, and Whitney.

A few years ago the present writer was standing on the platform of the station of the Providence Railroad at Dedham. Near by was an elderly gentleman, both waiting for a coming train, of very intelligent mien and evidently to the manor born, whom the stranger ventured to accost by asking, "Do you know where is the site of the house in Dedham which *John Dwight* occupied about two hundred and fifty years ago?" "I do; and we are now standing within a few feet of the place; some of the posts of this platform are set in that very ground." In the first volume of the Dedham Records, lately printed, the first entry in the register of births is the

following: — "1635. Mary. Daughter of Jn° and Hanna Dwight, borne 25 of ye 5m°." As the year was then reckoned to commence March 1, Mary Dwight, the first white child born in Dedham, was born (says Savage) July 25, 1635, which was the year of the first incorporation of the town. Timothy, son of John, was born in England about 1633, became freeman in Dedham in 1655, and was often a representative to the General Court. Timothy has been a favorite Christian name in the family for at least two centuries, and two members bearing that name have been presidents of Yale College. Henry Dwight, son of Timothy, grandson of John, resided in Hatfield, married in 1702 a daughter of the famous Joseph Hawley of Northampton, was a man of large public spirit and filled important offices, became the ancestor of all the Springfield Dwights and presumably of Anna Dwight who was the wife of Lieutenant Zebadiah Sabin of Williamstown. The descendants of John Dwight in New England in each generation were about as notable for character and public influence as were the descendants of Robert Sedgwick, who settled in Charlestown the very year that the other settled in Dedham.

John Whitney, a great-grandson of Sir Robert Whitney, who became a knight under Queen Mary in 1553, migrated from London to Watertown in 1635, bringing with him five sons, with wife Elinor — John, Richard, Nathaniel, Thomas, and Jonathan. He was the first of the name in America, and the one from whom the great majority of the Whitneys in the United States were descended. In 1834, seventeen of the name had been graduated at Harvard, three at Yale, and ten at other New England colleges. The family at Northampton, whence William Dwight Whitney entered Williams as a Sophomore in 1842, was prominent and highly connected. Solomon Stoddard had been the pastor in Northampton from 1672 till 1729, and had exerted a prodigious influence there, both theologically and in every other way. His grandson, Jonathan Edwards, was chosen colleague-pastor with Stoddard in February, 1727, and thereafter for a full century, till February, 1827, when William Dwight Whitney was born, was a presence and power in Northampton, being held by some in a way of affectionate veneration and by others in a way of indurated opposition — by both classes in such a way as to stimulate intellectual action. The public schools were of such a character that young Whitney fitted for the Sophomore year in college without leaving town, and found himself easily at the head of his class in Williams so soon as he had opportunity to exhibit his relative rank. He was then but



WILLIAM DWIGHT WHITNEY,

W. C., 1845.

fifteen years old. The first place had been, during Freshman year, in a sort of dispute as between two other members of the class, who yielded their claims so soon as Whitney discovered his own. The classical languages were then at a low ebb in college, perhaps lower than at any other time, relatively, during the century, and the natural sciences were still maintaining that sort of preëminence they had held for three or four decades, and the studies of Dr. Hopkins's department were assuming the first place, which they then kept for three or four decades. While he was in college, Whitney showed no signs of language-preference over other studies; he was easily from the first the best linguist in his class, but he took no special pains with his classics; rather he devoted himself to the natural history studies, and to the Natural History Society, — anything that took him into the fields, and into the woods with his gun, and upon long walks for rare plants. He was already a good botanist, and was studying birds particularly. "If he saw a bird, he could imitate its notes; if he heard its voice, he could name the singer." He had a rare mechanical skill in mounting birds, and in other similar manipulations; and he left among the collections of the Natural History Society a large number of the local birds beautifully mounted.

Young Whitney seemed to come under the special influence, from the beginning, of Professor Albert Hopkins. He was such a lad as "*Prof. Al.*" naturally took to; although in the course of a long life the teacher never encountered just such another pupil. The professor's taste for natural history, and his acquaintance with its various branches, made him instrumental in peculiarly fostering such tastes among the students, and in sustaining their interest in the Natural History Society of the College. Neither professor nor pupil wished to pitch his tent in any one department of the great field. Each was training his eye in his own way to see specialties on the earth, and under the earth (geology), and over the earth (astronomy). The professor was married in the summer vacation of 1841, when he was thirty-four years old, and Whitney entered college just a year later, and remained on the ground for three full years. It is certain that these two unique personalities came into interesting and mutually influencing relations with each other; but the details are not now known, except that Professor Whitney had an extraordinary and life-long estimate of Professor Hopkins, both as a naturalist and as a supernaturalist. President Mark Hopkins at that time taught the entire studies of each Senior year. When the class of 1845 passed out from under

the hand of Professor Hopkins at the close of the Junior year, and came into a new circle of studies involving new standpoints, there was a marked change thereafter on Whitney's part in mental attitudes. Not that he ceased to maintain a lively interest in the progress of the physical sciences. More than once, for example, after his graduation, he took part in important geological surveys. At the institution and gradual upbuilding of the Sheffield Scientific School at New Haven he took a leading part for twenty years, as well in council as in teaching, having no prejudices in behalf of the old college and university ways, and but slowly devoting himself by choice and profession to what may be called literary pursuits, that is to say, to the profound study of the speech and so to the history of mankind. The initial turn with him was when he got hold of Bopp's "Sanskrit Grammar." The veteran Professor Salisbury guided Whitney in his incipient study of Sanskrit, and then founded the professorship which enabled him through life to pursue his original Oriental researches. These researches, with all his other gifts and gains, enabled him to develop, as no other man had ever done, the Indo-European languages as a class by themselves, and to differentiate from the Sanskrit, the eldest sister of the family, the German and French and English branches of that great linguistic stock. There was a clarity and a simplicity and a certainty about the language-affiliations as brought out, for example, in "The Essentials of English Grammar," perhaps his most perfect work of this kind, found nowhere else in the world. His "Language and the Study of Language," his first publication, with perhaps something less of ease and fluency, completely exhibits the organic unity of his system. Whitney was a consummate systemizer. His German and French grammars show the same facility and beauty and comprehensiveness.[1]

Professor Whitney's father was a bank president in Northampton, and put his boy at once into the bank when he came home from Williams at eighteen, having just delivered the valedictory oration. This was in 1845. Here he stayed for three or four years, becoming an adept in every one of the banking processes as then practised. This fact of personal familiarity with practical banking gave point and interest to the words of Professor Whitney to the alumni the last time he was in Williamstown at Commencement. He had come up to attend the fortieth anniversary of his graduation. With several of his classmates also in attendance, he

[1] See the *Whitney Memorial Meeting*, a volume edited by Charles R. Lanman, assisted by Professor March, President Gilman, and several others.

had visited in the morning their old Senior recitation-room in Griffin Hall. That room had been built expressly by President Griffin for his own work with the Senior class. Dr. Hopkins had similarly used it in succession for nearly forty years; and now Whitney *et alii* found to their great surprise the National Bank of Williamstown in busy occupation of the premises. The bank had been organized in January, 1884, partly for the convenience of the college treasury, and partly in the business interests of a country town. The College, as such, took a portion of the bank stock as an investment, and persons in one way or another connected with the College took most of the rest; Frederic Leake, a retired banker and citizen, who had taught French in the College for some years, became the first president of the bank, and Charles S. Cole of the class of 1870 became the first cashier. But there was no convenient room in the village for its practical operations. The old Senior recitation-room happened at that time to be unused, and was temporarily appropriated by the bank, and proved a convenient place of business, both to town and college, for several years. When Whitney was put forward to represent his class at the alumni dinner in the afternoon, the incident of finding the money-changers in the most sacred place in the temple was a godsend to him and proved the making of his speech. The incongruity, that is to say, the humor of it, went without saying; while the significance of the speech as a whole lay in the betrayal of considerable remains of the old prejudice, even in one of the most liberal and broad-minded of men, whose father and himself had given some of their best years to the highest forms of buying and selling, that after all, to buy and sell as a business in some sense soils the hands of the exchangers. This old prejudice must go out root and branch. Williams College has done a good deal, both scientifically and practically, to exalt all forms of trade into their God-appointed niches.

James White of the class of 1851, while serving as treasurer of the College, was chosen as the second president of the bank, and Cashier Cole then afterward succeeded Mr. White as treasurer of the College, and John B. Gale of the class of 1842 became the third president of the bank. As owner also of one of the two chief business blocks of the village, situated on Spring Street, Mr. Gale furnished the bank as tenant its convenient and permanent quarters for business.

William Dwight Whitney closed his astonishing career as a scholar and lexicographer, fulfilling the duties as the editor-in-chief of the "Century Dictionary." This magnificent work, in ten majestic

volumes, was first offered for sale complete and unlimited in the June days of 1898, while the present pages were in process of composition. Whitney's strictly lexicographical labors began in early systematizing and simplifying the definitions of "Webster's Dictionary," and then in contributing material to the "St. Petersburg Sanskrit Dictionary." These labors continued in the planning and direction of his "German Dictionary," and finally in the broadest superintendency of the "Century Dictionary," which has been said to be a sort of apotheosis of Webster. He had his say in securing the adoption of the plan for the etymology, and for the handling of most of the philological material from the modern languages; and many of all the ingenious devices of arrangement and notation, particularly to indicate pronunciation of letters of varying sound, were of his own personal contriving.

6. John Bascom. Born in central New York, May 1, 1827. It has been usually thought both in ancient and modern times to be hazardous and unwise for any one to attempt any elaborate and permanent estimate of another, while the latter is still living on the earth. In the present connection the writer was placed in a strait betwixt two, — either to mutilate outright a carefully culled category of the seven college celebrities, or to defy in one instance a *dictum* which in general time has consecrated as just. He chose the latter alternative, and took his risks; for what the verdict of posterity in this particular case will be, posterity alone can discover.

Next to Whitney in our present list of seven notable graduates of the College, it is plain that Bascom was more indebted to notable ancestors than any one of the number. His mother was Laura Woodbridge, a daughter of Major Theodore Woodbridge of the Revolutionary army of Connecticut, who was a son of the Rev. Ashbel Woodbridge, Yale College 1724, chaplain of a Connecticut regiment in the old French war, and was a Fellow of Yale College at the time of his death in 1758; his tombstone bears this memorial: — A GREAT SCHOLAR, AN EXCELLENT DIVINE, A FAITHFUL MINISTER, A WISE PEACE-MAKER, HE SHONE WITH UNCOMMON LUSTRE IN EVERY RELATION OF LIFE. This great-grandfather of John Bascom on the Woodbridge side seems to furnish at most salient points a fair type of his descendant. By going back one step to Rev. Timothy, who was born in Wiltshire in 1656, who came to New England with his father in 1663, and was graduated at Harvard College in 1675, and became minister of the First Church in Hartford in 1683, we seem to strike an additional set of qualities and functions somewhat typical at any rate of his great-great-grandson. He was one of the

John Bascom

W. C., 1849.

SHEYE, PHILA.

ten principal ministers of Connecticut named by the General Assembly as trustees, and authorized to found Yale College in 1699; he was Fellow of Yale from 1700 to 1732; was offered the rectorship after the resignation of Rector Cutler in 1722; and he was largely concerned with the political affairs of the colony, serving on important committees named by the General Assembly. Miss Talcott says, "All my investigations in the old records of Hartford show that Mr. Woodbridge was a very prominent figure here all his life." He died in 1732, the year that Washington was born. The will of this Timothy Woodbridge, and also extant records of his eldest son Timothy, show the family to be decided men of business and large holders of real estate, and taking hard and grasping views of property rights in general. The will, for example, has this: "*and my Negro Girll named Lydia, desiring if my Wife should assent to it, that my daughter Susannah Treat May have said Negro girll, paying a reasonable price for her. And whereas I have disposed of the principall part of my Reall Estate to my three Sons by Deed of Gift my Mind and Will is that the remainder of my Estate*" etc. The son Timothy referred to was graduated at Yale in 1706, and was ordained at Simsbury in 1712. For a minister, he was an active man in business, and pugnacious to the last degree. He engaged in the manufacture of steel, and also in the making of turpentine, of which last he shipped in 1728 no less than five tons at one time. By this sharp turn for business, and harsh sense of his own property rights, he became involved in vexatious lawsuits, and in great difficulties with his parish. The story of the famous copper mines of Simsbury, and the state prison of Connecticut in connection therewith, compromise considerably the good name of this Timothy Woodbridge, and also of two other Woodbridge clergymen, his near relatives, namely, John of Springfield, and Dudley of Simsbury, who jointly took the contract of "The Mining Company of Simsbury for the smelting of the ore."[1]

On the Bascom side, also, Professor John Bascom came of distinguished lineage. Thomas Bascom was one of the original company settling in Dorchester, in 1634; but removing with others to Windsor, in 1639, and thence to Northampton about 1660, where the family seat remained till 1733. Samuel Bascom of the fourth generation, through Thomas 2d and Thomas 3d, removed to what is now Warren in Worcester County in 1744, where Aaron Bascom was born in 1746. He was graduated at Harvard College in 1768, and was ordained the next year as the first pastor over the church in

[1] See Phelps in *History of Newgate, passim.*

Chester, where he spent the remaining years of his life, thus ministering to one flock for forty-five years. He is said to have been "a very useful and laborious minister." He was usually denominated "Priest Bascom," and is known to have been puritanic in his theology and imperious in his personal manners. He sent three of his sons to Williams College, all graduating in the highest rank as scholars, Samuel Ashley in 1799, and John in 1807, and Reynolds in 1813. The two latter became ministers of the Gospel, and died nearly at the same time, Reynolds at Camden, South Carolina, in 1827, and John at Genoa, New York, in 1828. The last had married Laura Woodbridge in 1813, and these became the parents of Professor John Bascom in 1827. The family were extremely poor at the time of the father's death, and afterward; and the burden of the education of their brother fell upon the three sisters, and particularly upon the middle one of the three, named Mary, who showed an astonishing push and power. While still young, she came to New England to fall under the moulding hand of her aunt, Mrs. Wright, one of the daughters of Priest Bascom of Chester. Emma Willard's celebrated school, the Troy Female Seminary, then in the flush of its prosperity, opened its privileges to gifted girls who were poor, on what may be called the instalment plan, that is, portions of the expense of their education were advanced by the seminary to be repaid by the beneficiaries from the proceeds of their own teaching, especially at the South, where there was at that time a strong demand for female teachers at good wages. Mrs. Wright made all these arrangements with the seminary for her niece, Mary Bascom; and she, in turn, for both of her own sisters. All three were thus graduated at Troy, and all taught at the South in partial payment for their education. The brother meanwhile went to the public school at home, and so fitted for college in mathematics, which he acquired throughout with extraordinary ease; and began the study of the classical languages, which always came hard to him relatively. To complete his preparation for college he went but for two terms to the Homer (New York) Academy, of which his sister Mary was then the principal. He entered Williams as a Freshman in 1845, just after William Dwight Whitney had graduated. His sister paid his college expenses throughout the four years; and only a few days before his graduation, in 1849, she passed suddenly into the great and blessed University above.

During these four years John Bascom was a very marked man in college. Not only was there no other in his class who could stand any sustained comparison with him in silent power and positive

influence, but there was no student in college during his time who could do this, and it may be fairly questioned whether there were ever a student here maintaining during four years such an easy and acknowledged supremacy in all good things above all his compeers. It was not that he was a better scholar in general than many others; Beckwith of his own class maintained a higher rank in technical marks throughout, and was graduated with the valedictory; and Carpenter of the same class, who died in 1898 as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of New Hampshire, had a clearer practical insight into men and things in general: these two were the only other students in his class with noticeably fine intellectual endowments and a clean purpose fully to cultivate them. The present writer was a Freshman while Bascom was a Senior, and shared in the universal admiration of his time for the latter's splendid talents and character; but the opportunity for observation at that time and an intimate association afterward during forty years, more or less, did not convey along with the impression produced in his own mind the power to convey to others in words an adequate delineation of his peculiarities or their sources. An attempt must nevertheless now be made once for all.

He entered college eighteen years old, six feet tall, as straight as an arrow, with sandy hair and complexion, a pronounced Roman nose springing from between eyes always bright though usually quiet, the whole countenance and bearing, whether on the wicket-field or in the recitation-room, indicating a restful self-possession and an easy mastery over all that belonged to him, with a corresponding indisposition to meddle with anything that belonged to anybody else. He seemed to claim nothing from anybody, to need nothing from anybody, while manifesting indirectly an unmistakable purpose to defend all that was his own. The first positive and profound impression made upon his classmates in recitation was the entire ease with which he handled his Euclid, then used as a college text-book. Whether it were proposition or problem, it was all child's play to him. He paid little or no attention to demonstrations as given in the book. What is to be proved? What is to be solved? A half-dozen ways were equally facile to his hand. One mental glance gave exits in plenty, each equally valid. It was so in succession with all the mathematics of the course, whether pure or applied. He strode over these fields, while his classmates toiled and tugged. He was not looked upon as a wonder, as was young Safford at Harvard, but he was looked on as a genius, which indeed he was. This facility was not an acquisition, it was a congenital bestowment or

inheritance. He himself always thought and spoke of it as one and the same gift with his intuitional insight in philosophy. This last indeed surprised and gratified his classmates during their Senior year, but it gave him no such reputation and honorable isolation as the mathematical powers had done. His face in college and ever afterward indicated a remarkable purity as well as elevation of thought. He had been brought up wholly by and with his mother and sisters. This may have had ultimately some drawbacks, but its moral advantages to a boy in college are obvious enough. He was practically subjected to no temptations of any kind. He was sure of himself, sure of pecuniary support, sure under a kind Providence of his future career. He chose his own companions, and they were always the best to be had.

He had made a profession of religion before entering college, and fell at once under the personal religious influence of Professor Albert Hopkins, participating in his daily prayer-meetings, and feeling no repugnance to those views of biblical truth which he crowded home on the students with incredible force and fervor. President Mark Hopkins exerted no such stimulating power over this student by his philosophical teachings of the Senior year. Not that the boy was ready yet to question the foundations of the Scottish philosophy, or of any other school in metaphysics, of all which he then knew very little; but his mind was waking up to a consciousness of its own special endowments, and to an independence of the minds of others, which showed itself in a singular choice of the law as his profession for life, mainly because his mother and sisters confidently expected him to be a minister, as his father and uncle and their father before them had been; at the same time and contributing toward the same end, he became conscious of an inherent love of pragmatical assertion and even of dogmatical contention, as well as of a capacity for philosophical generalization. So he was graduated with the law in full view. But first he taught an academy for a year at Hoosac Falls. Two of his trustees and patrons, Deacon Wilder and Lawyer Ball, were men of science as well as of business, the former exhibiting a fine collection of geological specimens which ultimately came to the College, and the other a working chemical laboratory in complete order. All these things quickened Bascom's attention to the vastness of Nature, to the comprehensiveness of her laws, and to the æsthetical side of her manifestations both on the grand scale and on the minute also. Close observation of Nature's processes and results came to be a habit of his life. He took long walks and rides and drives, always with his eyes open. One special consequence of this

must be noted here, namely, his mind came to be filled with outward images of all sorts capable of illustrating the abstract and recondite topics with which he was so largely to deal both as a writer and speaker; and this facility of illustration affected his style in a pleasing and useful manner; for the copious use of figurative language served to adorn in spots a written style otherwise rather rugged and repulsive, often to explain a statement that would go hard without it, and sometimes in the highest reaches of philosophical discussion where appropriate *words* are few, if not wauting altogether, to carry the thought along indirectly but effectively over what would otherwise have been impassable crevasses of expressiou.

A single year of a lawyer's office in Rochester, with its consequent acquaintance with average clients and quarrels, was enough to satisfy Bascom that this was not the life for him, and he turned to the Auburn Theological Seminary, where he encountered in Dr. L. P. Hickok his best teacher in philosophy, one of the most stimulating thinkers and leaders he ever had, and certainly his warmest personal friend in the generation just in advance of his own. Dr. Hickok had the moral advantage over Dr. Hopkins so far as this particular pupil was concerned, in that the pupil had had some additional years of self-development with an accompanying experience of men and things very precious in that considerable iuterval of time.

It is probable that Dr. Hickok never had another pupil in philosophy, unless it were his own nephew, Julius H. Seelye, at once so receptive and capable, and ultimately so independent and coequal. Dr. Hickok carried out his intuitional philosophy to the extent of practically denying that there could be any empirical philosophy at all. Bascom hesitated along this pathway, carried his doubts to his teacher to have them removed temporarily, but at length planted in his own mind the empirical philosophy as firmly as the other and harmoniously with it. When, accordingly, Dr. Hickok published the "Rational Cosmology," teacher and pupil broke as philosophers, but continued steadfast as friends. In the meantime, Dr. Bushnell of Hartford, looking at all problems prevailing from the religious side, contributed to harmonize the ethical and the religious with the philosophical, and Bascom derived more help from Bushnell as toward his own ultimate solutions than from any other thinker. This he was always prompt to acknowledge.

Nothing has hitherto been said, though it cannot any longer be delayed, about a peculiar factor in the make-up of John Bascom, namely, an intense and immeasurable, and yet for the most part suppressed, personal ambition. This colored every day of his active

life, and controlled every substantial turn in it, and had much to do with his ultimate satisfactions or his lack of them; and yet very few of his acquaintances were ever aware of its dominating power over him. He took without question everything that offered or seemed to offer itself which was large and good. He did not distrust his ability to accomplish any task whatever that seemed to promise for his private gain or for the public welfare. Perhaps it may be said in general, that he did not overestimate his intellectual and executive abilities taken as a whole. But he did overestimate his ability altogether to do certain things, which nevertheless he promptly undertook. Accordingly, to take an early example, so soon as his mind was fully set on a theological and preaching career, he determined to master absolutely the Hebrew language, especially as he had not gotten in college a very firm hold of either Latin or Greek. The persistent attempt to accomplish this, together with much other reading contemporaneously carried on, caused a serious collapse of his eyes; and he was suddenly confronted with a possible future quite different from that which he had latterly sketched out for himself. We can all see now that this was well for him in the ultimate outcome, terrible as the shock was at the time; for such ability as was unquestionably his, and such ambition as was confessedly his also, coupled with full vigor in all physical organs, would have certainly led on to a different man and Christian from that actully presented in life. While thus halted by Providence, and hesitating what course he should take, he was invited to a tutorship in his *Alma Mater;* a third avenue seemed thus to open before him, all equally clouded perhaps by the visual misfortune, — lawyer or minister or teacher, which? It was curious and dubious and pathetic. He took the tutorship for a year and a half, but it did not prove any great success, mainly because Bascom was not a natural class-room teacher and never became such, although class-room teaching became his life-work, and also partly because tutor's work was in Latin and Greek, for which he had neither fondness nor sufficient preparation. Then naturally came theology again for a year or two, this time at Andover; and as there always was a decided bent toward public speaking, and now some opportunity for *ex tempore* preaching, things seemed to be drifting in the best direction attainable under the circumstances; when, in 1855, six years after graduation, he was elected to the professorship of Rhetoric at Williams. Technical rhetoric was not to his taste nor scarcely to his capacity, while practical oratory was abundantly adapted to both. If it had been a professorship of philosophy at any well-established college, the case would

have been perfectly clear to his mind, and to the mind of anybody who knew him well. But in rhetoric the case was different. Dr. Hopkins, who practically called him to this chair in Williams, had grave doubts about his succeeding well in it. These doubts he frankly imparted to Professor Perry, then a colleague who urged the appointment, conceding the technical unfitness of the candidate. Bascom himself hesitated to accept on very much the same grounds, and on another ground also, of which mention will be made in a moment; and he told the writer more than forty years afterward, that he thought it might have been better for his happiness and his reputation, if he had declined the professorship offered, and had either awaited another one elsewhere more to his mind and talents, or had resolutely clung to the preacher's desk and its collateral opportunities. However, he accepted the professorship at Williams, and worked in it for twenty years under considerable limitations partly personal and partly external. In this interval of time he published his treatise on Rhetoric, which was reissued in 1882 with the collaboration of H. H. Morgan (Williams College 1859) in a second edition.

The special grounds of Bascom's hesitation alluded to above was marked changes in his philosophical and theological beliefs during the six years preceding, which he feared would encounter prejudice and opposition from Dr. Hopkins particularly, and which, as a matter of fact, did encounter these strongly. But why should a professor of rhetoric come in contact and collision with the conclusions of a professor of philosophy and Christian theology? (1) Because it was not in Bascom's nature to conceal from his colleagues anything of importance working out toward a conclusion in his own mind. His impulse to think aloud was very strong, and helpful to himself and others. He could not bear to wait until everything correlative was cleared up and rounded out. On the contrary, beyond most men, he felt bound by inclination and even by conscience also, to unfold privately and publicly partial results so far as he had well gotten at them at the time. A college is always a place where ethical themes are in agitation, as between the professors themselves and these and the foremost students. (2) At that time Sunday services were held in the chapel twice a day, the president always preaching in the morning, and four or five professors alternating in the afternoons. Bascom of course took his turns with the rest. While he never sought occasions in the desk for differing with Dr. Hopkins, such occasions thrust themselves upon him. The doctrine of the Atonement, and a consequent doctrine of the Trinity, as these were then held in most of the

churches of New England, were points at which Bascom had already clearly put himself in the opposition, and it could not well be that the sparks should not now and then fly. Hopkins had never had any technical theological training at all, had read theological books but very little, yet it had come about naturally enough (all things considered) that his opinions on these topics were generally supposed to be finally authoritative. There were always some few students who delighted to hear Bascom in *quasi*-opposition, and who frequented his study more or less for conversation on these themes. But in general a prejudice was excited and cultivated against him as an innovator in religion. And it was astonishing to observe with what vitality this feeling continued to manifest itself, notwithstanding the fact that little by little a large portion of the clergy of New England came to occupy theological positions practically identical with his own.

When Dr. Hopkins resigned the presidency of the College in 1872, there was a continuation of this manifested prejudice, and probably an intensification of it. As Hopkins was to continue to teach philosophy and theology as a professor, and did so for fifteen years longer, more or less, it was not strange that Chadbourne and the trustees refused to give Bascom a chair in Philosophy, which he very much desired, and which would have attached him to the College for life, though doubtless at the expense of some friction in high places. Really, Chadbourne did not want Bascom on the ground in any capacity, and this made the one more than willing to recommend the other to the regents of the University of Wisconsin as president there, a place which Chadbourne himself had just left after a brief tenure of it. Bascom accordingly went to Madison, where he had an untrammelled career of almost fourteen years. In 1886 Edward Herrick Griffin succeeded Mark Hopkins as Professor of Moral and Intellectual Philosophy for three years, when John Edward Russell assumed the chair. During these rapid changes, the bottom grounds of which were very curious and not worth the telling in sober history, Bascom returned from Madison to Williamstown, where his homestead had remained, with unimpaired powers and unquenched ambition. But the religious prejudice against him had survived the changes in the presidency also, and some other similar feelings as well, and so he could gain no opportunity to teach college classes in his chosen line of research and achievement. This was a renewedly keen disappointment to him. In saying that Bascom was an extraordinarily ambitious man, it must be borne in mind that the etymological sense of that word, the *going about* to seek for something desired, was not the prominent element in his

case. He rarely *applied* for places he coveted and that he was confident he was well able to fill, though he usually let it be known to some one concerned that he wished for the place; but the steadiness and strength of the ambition revealed itself rather after it had been again and again foiled and thwarted. In his old age he said deliberately and repeatedly to a friend, though without a tinge of bitterness: "*The College has always had a malign influence over me,*" — referring particularly to this *odium theologicum*. After the return in 1887 he preached occasionally both in college and in town and elsewhere for many years, always with power and eloquence, but never popularly, because his thought was too deep and his mode of reasoning too difficult for the common mind to follow them readily. He lectured also in various places, particularly on temperance; and he was repeatedly a candidate for Governor of Massachusetts on a platform demanding the prohibition of the sale of intoxicating drinks. He was an unquestioned orator in the pulpit and on the lecturer's platform. His character was of the highest in every respect. He was the centre of a genuine admiration on the part of his neighbors and of a very wide circle of friends and acquaintances. He was an active and courageous and disinterested citizen. He was the acknowledged leader for his town in all matters of village improvement and of æsthetic adornment in every direction, setting a modest and economical example to all in and through his beautiful estate on Park Street.

Yet it must be conceded that he did not take that steady and solid satisfaction in his own life and work that such a man seemed to be fully entitled to. This was painful to his best friends to observe. Because it was instructive also to those who observed it, and may be instructive to some who come after, a few reasons for this will be hinted at in this and the following paragraphs, in connection with some careful statements of what was the great work of his life. Premising in words what has been already implied, there was a considerable want of adjustment in general throughout his active life between his personality and his environment. Speaking after the manner of men, he was pre-ordained to investigate, affirm, modify, reaffirm, readjust, and carry forward toward an ultimate solution the problems of philosophy. What is philosophy? He shall tell us: —

> Philosophy is a presentation of the ultimate reasons of belief. Its purpose is to define the forms, nature, and force of knowledge. Physical phenomena arise in Space, and are united by causes. Mental phenomena arise in Consciousness, and are united by reasons. The two forms of phenomena are in such living

interaction that causes modify reasons and reasons redirect causes. It is the first business of Philosophy to define knowledge in reference to these, its two original constituents, and in reference to their interaction on each other. The one element is present to the mind as Sensations, the other as Conceptions, while the two are woven together reflectively under experience. The nature of these two terms, sensations and conceptions, and their respective validity, is the primary problem of philosophy. The answer we give it will modify all our notion of the nature of the reflective process by which sensuous impressions and mental ideas are united in judgments through all the diverse forms of knowledge.[1]

The best conditions for the slow founding and building up of such a structure as is here clearly described in outline, the most recondite and difficult and ultimate work to which the human mind can rationally apply itself, are furnished by successive college classes under a teacher capable at once of conducting for himself such far-flung researches and of letting himself down, without loss of dignity and authority, to the mental level of students, and taking them along with him in these perilous journeys and bringing them safely back. Comparatively few students in an ordinary college class can accompany at every step the adventurous leader, but there are always some who can, and all who choose can go part way and profit by each step they take; and, as these trips are or should be constantly recurrent forth and back, some who stumble at the first excursions learn to stand in future ones, and even to stride at last alongside of the teacher. These constant and mutual experiences in the classroom are as fruitful for the teacher as for the taught as respects the slow and certain progress of philosophy. It is not in philosophy as in scientific generalizations, in natural history, for example, or in political economy, — one careful induction from a few particulars, and then an end for all time. It is repetition and re-formation and reorganization of all correlatives, — of each radius to its centre, of each spoke to its hub. Bascom, by build of mind and choice of will, took early to philosophy as his special field. But he had not the advantage of an early professorship in it. He needed that advantage. He never wholly overmastered the consequences of the lack of it. As a teacher, he could not naturally and easily let himself down transiently to a lower intellectual level than his own. If he had begun to teach philosophy to boys while he himself were still tentatively learning it, and had had this opportunity renewed year after year, before his own lines of thought had become rigid and dogmatic, and had had the help, both in discovery and correction which the bright fellows never fail to yield to a sympathetic

[1] *Historical Interpretation of Philosophy*, p. 375.

and growing teacher, Bascom's manners and methods as a teacher for life could not but have been both softened and strengthened. There would have been less of *ex cathedrâ* and more of mutual fellowship. Then, too, he would have had after a while young and enthusiastic disciples, who would have caught his central principles in the class-room and then have gradually diffused them in the regions round about. All this would have added to his reputation at an age when such things are prized, and would have rewarded and stimulated his skill and zeal.

As it was, he was almost compelled to develop the leading correlatives of his central principles, such as ethics and æsthetics and natural theology, before he had put in order and published to the world his central constructions in philosophy itself. This was like a general entering on a complex campaign without first having established headquarters. He wrote many books, — too many, — all of them involving special points and peculiarities of his own philosophical system, before having brought out in simple connection with each other — each buttressing the rest — these points and peculiarities themselves. In 1885 was published "Problems in Philosophy," — the book coming the nearest of all to an exposition and defence of his philosophical system. Indeed, in its preface he says: "*Philosophy, above most topics, calls for an explicit statement of a few fundamental principles, and a pushing of inquiry in reference to them till some satisfactory conclusion is reached. The present volume aims to make, in the most direct way, a contribution on the more obscure topics of philosophy.*" Some of the preceding books — in particular "The Words of Christ," 1883 — do not seem in their titles to involve these central statements and inferences from them, and yet the text is full of these, which makes the books hard to read and also to seem less valid in their conclusions than they really are. "An Historical Interpretation of Philosophy," 1893, is a careful general criticism within moderate limits of all the most important philosophical speculation from Pythagoras to Lotze, is an extraordinarily comprehensive and valuable book, — by much the most so of any given to the world by John Bascom, — and the criticism, of course, involves throughout, though in an indirect and modest way, a presentation of his own fundamental points of philosophical belief. No one can fail to see, however, in a general way, that the number of these books, — a baker's dozen or more, — and especially the order of their publication, would prejudice the position of their author as a speculative philosopher. The natural readers of such books, in this country at least, are a set of very

busy men who want to take what any thinker has to give them in a direct and compact way. Very few indeed have leisure to compare critically a half-dozen books on as many different subjects in order to draw out of them a consistent scheme of philosophic thought, or even to satisfy themselves whether the implications in them all may be harmonized. To use a phrase current among the publishers, no one of Bascom's many books "sold well." He came, when at all, very slowly and imperfectly into his own. This being so, and considering the purpose of these paragraphs, it is incumbent on us to display as clearly and succinctly as possible the points which Bascom himself considered to be his chief contributions to philosophy.

The two lines along which thought has always gone out in search of ultimate goals are best characterized as intuitional and empirical, or (less happily) as subjective and objective. The tendency of all individual philosophers hitherto, and of each specific school of philosophy, has been to put the emphasis upon one or the other of these lines, — that is to say, upon either insight or experience, — each to the minimizing of the other. In many cases and in many schools, this minimizing of the other practically amounted to the denying the validity of that altogether. Bascom claimed as his own more material contributions to the long discussion the following, though the words are not wholly his: —

1. A better and more rational, and consequently a defensible, statement of the grounds and limits of Intuitionalism.

2. A complete and comprehensive acceptance of Empiricism, and so a rational reconciliation of two conflicting schools of thought.

3. The drawing of attention more definitely and strongly to the intuitive convictions of all men as proof positive of the postulates of Intuitionalism.

4. The recognition of Space and Consciousness as the two primitive form-elements under which all phenomena arise; physical phenomena demand Space only, mental phenomena demand Consciousness only; hence no possible connection between the two as phenomena, and all alleged sub-conscious agencies are unprovable and therefore non-existent.

5. A clean reconciliation in Evolution as properly defined of both empiric and intuitive elements, without whose combination in Growth Evolution is impossible.

John Bascom was not the man to claim anything for himself that properly belonged to another, or to allow any one (so far as he could help it) a title to something really belonging to somebody

else. All men may therefore accept without scruple as his those radical contributions toward an ultimate explanation of men and things, which is philosophy. Even a tyro in such difficult matters can see, and a fair-minded expert will not deny, that these contributions are vastly important, that they simplify even if they do not solve the problems of philosophy, as well by inclusion as exclusion; that probably no other American has as yet approached this man in patient penetrativeness and power of comprehensive explication; and that by the same probability his rank as a philosopher was highest in the land of his birth as the nineteenth century passed into the twentieth. As that transition approached, Williams College, though not with entire unanimity, claimed him as her most distinguished living graduate; and feared not the verdict of posterity as to his position first or among the first in rank then and there. Williams was a small college at that epoch, and relatively obscure as compared with the great and old universities of the land, like Harvard and Yale and Columbia and Princeton and Pennsylvania and Virginia, and yet she respectfully presented to these and all other institutions similar to these and to herself the name of John Bascom as having done as much in his day to elucidate philosophy, that is, to throw into a vexed and dark region of thought unbroken rays of light, as any graduate of any one of them all.

Making the above presentation with all confidence, the College at the same time was as ready to admit as anybody else was prompt to assert, that Bascom did not equally illumine by any means all the topics that he touched and taught. He touched and taught too many topics to make this possible under the universal and invincible human limitations. These several failures may all be traced back to one source, namely, the lack either in the original structure of his mind, or (what is more likely) in its early training and the consequent life-habit, — the lack of inclination and ability to treat the particulars of any one class of facts or phenomena in an inductive way, and so to reach sound scientific generalizations. He was often heard to say, that his mind was reluctant to gather up for itself the particular facts one by one with which it delighted to deal when some one else had furnished them. "Let somebody gather up my facts for me and I will take good care of them." Such an admission as this was far more significant than he ever supposed it to be. He supposed it indifferent, it was actually fatal. If he chose to have others select his particulars for him, he was at the mercy of those others in his own further manipulations of them. How could he know that his facts were well gathered? How could he know

that each and every one of them really belonged to a single *class* of facts or phenomena? Many facts superficially viewed may *seem* to belong to a certain class, and may be honestly and carelessly put there, and yet really belong somewhere else; and these, if accepted with the others, necessarily work confusion and ruin to any argumentation based upon them. Bascom was not only liable to be deceived by facts or particulars so gathered and taken for granted, but also he was actually and repeatedly so deceived, to the consequent comparative worthlessness of even whole volumes of his books. If he ever clearly saw the radical difference between inductive and deductive reasoning, he nowhere clearly explains this difference, nor gives the grounds for his own ever manifested partiality for what he calls the "deductive" forms. He had an elaborated criticism of Mill's "Logic" ("Historical Interpretation," pp. 235-243) without being fair to Mill, quoting little or nothing from his book verbally, and ignoring his ample concessions to intuitionalism both in the introduction and throughout the text, and seeming to take for granted that because Mill was reared in empiricism his logic must bear all the faults and corollaries of that system as such. On the contrary, Mill himself says (they are the last words of his introduction), "*I can conscientiously affirm, that no one proposition laid down in this work has been adopted for the sake of establishing, or with any reference to its fitness for being employed in establishing, preconceived opinions in any department of knowledge or inquiry on which the speculative world is still undecided.*" Again, "*Logic is common ground on which the partisans of Hartley and of Reid, of Locke and of Kant, may meet and join hands.*" And once more: "*Whatever is known to us by consciousness is known beyond possibility of question. What one sees or feels, whether bodily or mentally, one cannot but be sure that one sees or feels. No science is required for the purpose of establishing such truths. There is no logic for this portion of our knowledge.*"

The indefiniteness and consequent confusion of some portions of Bascom's published writing was illustrated by his use of the technical term "science." He published a book entitled, "Science, Philosophy, and Religion." A book so entitled should certainly contain an exact definition of each of its titular terms, and the precise differences between them. Years after the publication of that book, in a more ripened and final discussion of the same themes, we find the following: "*Science is homogeneous with knowledge. It does in minor directions precisely what philosophy should do in major ones. It makes our insight deeper and more consistent. It accepts the habit-*

ual force of thought, and bears it forward to a full performance of its office. It tests its own additions and corrections by their concurrence with knowledge, by their ability to carry familiar lines of light a little further. Philosophy must start from the same centres of truth and return to them. All conclusions that lie beyond the primary convictions of men will be aberrations, vagaries." When questioned as to the exact meaning of this assuredly not over-clear passage, its author added by way of elucidation, "All science is knowledge, but all knowledge is not science." "What, then, is the precise line of distinction between the two?" "Science is that portion of knowledge more thoroughly settled in the mind by reflection." "Can no clear and technical distinction be made between the two?" "No." "Then of what earthly use is the term science, and what do men mean when they talk about the amazing progress of modern science?" The silence that followed was nothing but the failure to appreciate the nature and power of inductive reasoning. "All ruminating animals are cloven-footed." There is not a scientific man in the world who doubts the truth of that proposition. How did they become assured of its truth? Because a few careful men, interested in such things, who did not leave to others to gather the primary particulars for them but who did this for themselves, observed in a considerable number of instances that the ruminating function in animals was invariably accompanied by the split-hoof peculiarity in their feet; and then at once with complete assurance of mind from the instances examined passed to the logical generalization, that all ruminating animals everywhere are split-footed. Scores upon scores of generalizations made in just this way from particulars constitute, and precisely so of all other *bodies* of tracts properly called the "sciences," the *science* of natural history. The process is induction pure and simple and safe, because God has made the world on everlasting lines of order, and He has made men so that they instinctively and immediately trust this order so soon as they clearly perceive its lines, and science is but the recognition in propositions of this predetermined order as it manifests itself in various classes of facts or phenomena. But men must be cautious and repetitive in gathering up their particulars under some general conception of classes or universals. Whether this general conception be preëxistent or born on the instant makes no difference whatever in the *process* of induction, which is the process of reasoning or inference. Bascom says above, that all conclusions that lie beyond the primary convictions of men are aberrations or vagaries. Tut! That it takes two shoes for each foot of an ox, and only one

shoe for each foot of a horse, are among "the primary convictions of men;" but that the ox chews his cud while the horse does not, and that a certain shape of foot invariably accompanies the world over a certain mode of feeding, is *not* among the primary convictions of men. Far from it. The one is knowledge, the other is science. There is a sharp line of distinction between them. The one is the result of local observation, the other of logical inference, that is, of reasoning, that is, of induction.

Professor Bascom's first book was a treatise of political economy. It was unfortunate from whatever point of view looked at, that, instead of gathering up and studying for himself the primary facts of that branch of knowledge, he languidly allowed others, as was his wont, to do that preliminary work for him. He borrowed bodily from old English sources, then already becoming antiquated, the notions and phraseology that first came to hand. He ignored the admirable hints toward a reconstruction conveyed by Archbishop Whately's proposal to denominate the whole subject Catallactics, or the science of Exchanges. He assumed without question, with many others more at fault at this point than he, that the word "*Wealth*" was an adequate word to put in at the foundation of economical inquiry. Yet neither he nor anybody else was ever able so to define this word as to make it useful or even sufferable in any rational attempt to build up from its foundation a consistent science. He also took for granted from his unscientific predecessors, (1) that economics were substantially an investigation about things rather than persons, about commodities rather than services, about the past and present rather than the present and future, the word "wealth" has a concrete meaning ever deceptive in this connection; (2) that economics must (in order to start at all) start in axioms, and proceed (in order to proceed at all) by corollaries, thus assimilating the reasoning to that of mathematics. All this was delusive and impedimentary. It contributed to no progress. It cast no light. That the word "wealth" is not needful to the unfolding of economics, but is rather a hindrance in every way, is shown by the fact that a Williams College text-book on the subject, without even once using the obnoxious word, was published in 1865, and passed through more than twenty editions in twenty-five years; and there seemed to be no disposition in later books to recur to the scientific use of the word, so far as they appeared and were observed by the writer. Professor Bascom never became a good political economist, and therefore never a good teacher of those topics, chiefly for the reason that he never studied at first hand for his own use the

primal subject-matter in the market-place, in the labor-exchange, and in the banking and clearing-houses; secondly, for the reason that he never became an adept in the current and scientific inductive reasoning.

7. James Abram Garfield. Born in Cuyahoga county, Ohio, Nov. 19, 1831, and died at Long Branch, Sept. 19, 1881. We have now reached the seventh and last of the most notable examples of Williams graduates during the first century of the College. We feel sure of the united suffrages of the living alumni, when this book shall be published, in favor of the selection of these seven as the most distinguished of all the alumni. The point of heredity as throwing some light upon the life of each of the seven, though striking also in relation to Garfield, had a considerably different application to him from that in the two cases of Bascom and Whitney. Unlike these last, Garfield was not the scion of individual ancestors of remarkable distinction, — rather the reverse, — but he showed as distinctly as they the strain of commingled blood coming down through generations of relatively common men from the Puritan, Edward Garfield, one of the proprietors of Watertown, 1635; and on the other hand, from the Huguenot, Maturin Ballou, Providence, 1639. Puritan and Huguenot features, distinct and yet commingled, showed themselves in almost every line of Garfield, boy and man. The Ballou strain through the mother, Eliza Ballou, was the finer, the more intellectual, the more spontaneous, the more religious. She was born in 1801, in Richmond, New Hampshire, the same town where Hosea Ballou, the founder of Universalism in this country, and a relative, was born in 1771. He was a son of Rev. Maturin Ballou, 2d, a Baptist minister, and a father of a race of preachers of distinction. According to tradition the Ballous have been small in stature, have even been said to be "a French pony breed," which means a fine texture of organization throughout. Eloquence, the gift of poetry, and a knack of leadership, came naturally to this family of exiles for righteousness sake in all the several generations. Silas Ballou, a brother of Garfield's grandfather James, was the author of more than a score of hymns in the first Universalist "collection," edited in 1837 by Hosea Ballou, 2d, chosen the first president of Tufts College in 1853. From his mother's side of the family the general derived legitimately his fitness and fondness for public speaking, his imagination, his finer sentiments of all kinds, his gifts of leadership.

From the father's side in long succession the general gained apparently another set of qualities, a strong physical development,

unusual power of muscle, together with what often goes with these, good-nature, generosity, and a quick sense of the visibly ridiculous. Five generations of the first Garfields in Massachusetts, including the first Edward, who in all probability came in Governor Winthrop's company in 1630, lie buried in or near Watertown. Solomon, the sixth in descent, great-grandfather of our Garfield, was the first of the line to look beyond New England for a home. The wilderness west of the northern Hudson got talked about in central Massachusetts after the surrender of Burgoyne in 1777, and Solomon Garfield was one of a company that settled what is now the town of "Worcester," New York. Solomon was known in the rocky clearing made there as a man of prodigious strength. He was once offered a grindstone weighing five hundred pounds if he would carry it home. He put it on his shoulders and carried it home, a mile's distance, without even availing himself of the privilege of leaning against a fence. His son, Thomas Garfield, and his son's wife, Aseneth Hill, had born to them in December, 1799, the month in which Washington died at Mt. Vernon, Abram Garfield, the father of the President. When Abram was ten years old, who should move into the clearing at Worcester from southern New Hampshire but the mother of Eliza Ballou, then nine years old, with three other small children. Among Eliza's playmates for five years in Worcester was Abram Garfield, her future lover and husband. Her eldest brother, James Ballou, after whom the general was ultimately named, took brief militia service in the War of 1812, and had his adventurous spirit quickened and his local ideas enlarged by hearing about forest-covered Ohio. In 1814, he persuaded his mother to take her children there, the goal being Muskingum County, near Zanesville. In the meantime Abram Garfield became an orphan and bound out to service in Worcester, remembering all the while the little Ballou girl, broke his bonds at eighteen and set out for the Ohio wilderness, where he found his "better half" and made her legally his own within a year. The enterprising young giant found employment through the building of the Ohio Canal by the State; and, showing wits and will and character, was appointed a superintendent on the canal work, and soon fell to taking contracts, which for a time were profitable. But the usual frontier reverses overtaking him, he paid up in full, and, taking a half-brother with him, he struck out for the unbroken wilderness of what is now Orange, fifteen miles from Mentor.[1] There was but one house within seven miles of them.

[1] Harry A. Garfield, the general's eldest son, Williams College 1885, told the writer in Williamstown, July 29, 1898, that there never was anything in Orange except

They built a log-cabin and lived in it until a second was built, when both men went to work to make a hole in the forest. There in November, 1831, James Abram Garfield, the youngest of four children, was born. When he was eighteen months old, the father, who had never found his match in strength, though often challenged, died suddenly in consequence of putting forth the efforts of ten men combined to save his home and crops from a sweeping forest fire.

Our Garfield could never find in the college triennial catalogues but one other Garfield alumnus, showing that the family, though long established and large in numbers, were not a college-frequenting race. The names of all his own four sons have since been gathered to his own in the Williams triennial. The childhood and youth of James A. Garfield did not differ in essentials from that of tens of thousands of poor boys, his own contemporaries in all parts of this country. He had an excellent mother. Her mode of handling him from the beginning on was worthy of all praise. She trained him at every stage to respect her judgment as well as to reciprocate her affection. He inherited from her strong religious tendencies, and an appetite for learning. It was at these two points that she watched him, and worked and waited for him. She read to him out of the New Testament, and taught him to read to her out of the same, and thereafter when separated in place they often read it in conjunction, chapter by chapter. Fortunately, the family came into the neighborhood of other poor families belonging to the Christian Disciples, or Campbellites so-called, and came under the influences diffused by the simple-hearted ministers of that denomination of Baptists. The father and mother had become "Disciples" shortly before James was born; and the associations of the family with these excellent people, and their influence over Garfield himself so long as he lived, were wholesome and uplifting. He had felt indeed at times the common reaction of boys religiously brought up, and had absented himself from the meetings in the neighborhood schoolhouses, one of which stood on his mother's own land; but when he was a little past eighteen and had just finished his first term of teaching in a rough district school, he came under special impulses from the preaching of a plain old Disciple in the little schoolhouse, and was hopefully converted, and was baptized into the faith of his mother. Thereafter everything in prospect became new to him. He determined to acquire the best and broadest education that hard

cross-roads, others of the people besides the Garfields being drawn to Mentor early by its proximity to Lake Erie and the railroad.

work could impart. Alexander Campbell, educated at the University of Glasgow, came to the United States in 1809, and settled in Pennsylvania as a Presbyterian minister, but became a Baptist in 1812, and in conjunction with his father, Thomas Campbell, founded several congregations which united with the Baptists, but protested against all creeds; and in 1827 were excluded on this account from all fellowship with the Baptist churches. In 1833 the Campbellites numbered about one hundred thousand, mostly in the States of Virginia and Kentucky and Tennessee. Thereafter they increased rapidly in Ohio and Indiana and Illinois and Missouri. Their growth was particularly noticeable among the Scotch-Irish people settled in those States. These people, wherever settled, even in New England, manifested a spontaneous and exceptional devotion to every attainable means of intellectual and religious culture. Alexander Campbell, born in Antrim, Ireland, in 1786, may perhaps be termed an educational zealot, was at any rate a large-minded teacher and apostle, and impressed himself in an extraordinary way educationally on all his religious followers, until his death in 1866. He founded Bethany College, Virginia, in 1844, and became its first president. Among several others similar, he was instrumental in establishing the institution at Hiram, Ohio, at which Garfield himself was fitted for college, and of which afterward he became for some years the head.

The following letter, written in the early autumn of 1854, is a key to unlock very much in the subsequent career of young Garfield. He was then not quite twenty-three years old. One curious in such matters may compare with it Milton's sonnet "On being arrived at the age of twenty-three."

There are three reasons why I have decided not to go to Bethany: 1st. The course of study is not so extensive or thorough as in Eastern colleges. 2d. Bethany leans too heavily towards slavery. 3d. I am the son of Disciple parents, am one myself, and have had but little acquaintance with people of other views; and, having always lived in the West, I think it will make me more liberal, both in my religious and general views and sentiments, to go into a new circle, where I shall be under new influences. These considerations led me to conclude to go to some New England college. I therefore wrote to the Presidents of Brown University, Yale, and Williams, setting forth the amount of study I have done, and asking how long it would take me to finish their course. These answers are now before me. All tell me I can graduate in two years. They are all brief business notes, but President Hopkins concludes with this sentence: "If you come here we shall be glad to do what we can for you." Other things being so nearly equal, this sentence, which seems to be a kind of friendly grasp of the hand, has settled the question for me. I shall start for Williams next week.

The present writer, the only person now living who was teaching at Williams while Garfield was in college, remembers distinctly the impression produced upon the Junior class and its teachers, by the accession of two young men from Ohio, Garfield and Wilbur, at the beginning of the fall term of 1854. They came together. Both were Disciples. Each was older by about a couple of years than the average member of the class. These two roomed together throughout the course. Both were about equally proficient in the matter of their studies. The class had been more than decimated at the close of the Sophomore year by the dropping out of some poor scholars and some unworthy men, making the class the smallest in college. Besides the two from Ohio, there were four or five new and able men joining at the same time, transforming the face of the class, and making it very interesting to all its teachers. It is not true that Garfield was in any sense eminent as a student over at least fifteen or twenty others of the class of 1856. He was under some disadvantages as compared with these. He was poor, and obliged to earn concurrently a considerable portion of his expenses. He taught evening writing-schools in Williamstown and in Pownal and in other places more distant. During a considerable part of his two years' college residence, in conjunction with Wilbur, he ministered to small Baptist congregations inclining to hear the lay preaching of the Disciples, driving over the Taconic mountain-wall for this purpose to the small villages of Berlin and Petersburg. He missed in this way much of the stimulating college preaching of President Hopkins, whose lecture-room nevertheless was the centre of attraction to him for the Senior year. Twenty-four years after his graduation, and just after he had been nominated as a candidate for the presidency of the United States, Dr. Hopkins gave in writing his recollections of him as a student. These were careful and candid, and corresponded in almost every particular with those of at least one other, his college teachers. The reader will be glad to see these characteristics, given indeed for campaign purposes, but almost wholly free from partisan bias.

My first remark, then, is that General Garfield was not *sent* to college. He *came*. This often marks a distinction between college students. To some, college is chiefly a place of aimless transition through the perilous period between boyhood and manhood. Without fixed principles, and with no definite aim, with an aversion to study rather than a love for it, they seek to get along with the least possible effort. Between the whole attitude and bearing of such, and of one who *comes*, the contrast is like that between mechanical and vital force. In what General Garfield did there was nothing mechanical. He not only came,

but made sacrifices to come. His work was from a vital force, and so was without fret or worry. He came with a high aim, and pursued it steadily.

A second remark is that the studies of General Garfield had breadth. As every student should, he made it his first business to master the studies of the class-room. This he did, but the college furnishes facilities, and is intended, especially in the latter part of its course, to furnish opportunity for gaining general knowledge, and for self-directed culture. To many, the most valuable result of their college course is from these. What they have affinity for they find, and often make most valuable acquisitions in general literature, in history, in natural science, and in politics. Of these facilities and of this opportunity General Garfield availed himself largely. Of his tendency towards politics in those days we have an illustration in a poem called "Sam," which he delivered while in college, and in which he satirized the Know-Nothing party. He manifested while in college the same tendency towards breadth which he has since, for it is well known that he has been a general scholar and a statesman rather than a mere politician.

And as General Garfield was broad in his scholarship, so was he in his sympathies. No one thought of him as a recluse, or as bookish. Not *given* to athletic sports, he was fond of them. His mind was open to the impression of natural scenery, and, as his constitution was vigorous, he knew well the fine points on the mountains around us. He was also social in his disposition, both giving and inspiring confidence. So true is this of his intercourse with the officers of the college as well as with others, that he was never even suspected of anything low or trickish; and hence, in part, the confidence I have always felt in his integrity. He had a quick eye for anything that turned up with a ludicrous side to it, and celebrated a trick that the Freshmen played on the Sophomores by a clever parody of Tennyson's "Charge of the Light Brigade." Respecting always the individuality of others, and commanding without exacting their respect, he was a general favorite with his associates.

A further point of General Garfield's course of study was its evenness. There was nothing startling at any one time, and no special preference for any one study. There was a large general capacity applicable to any subject, and sound sense. As he was more mature than most, he naturally had a readier and firmer grasp of the higher studies. Hence his appointment to the metaphysical oration, then one of the high honors of the class. What he did was not done with facility, but by honest and avowed work. There was no pretence of genius, or alternation of spasmodic effort and of rest, but a satisfactory accomplishment in all directions of what was undertaken. Hence there was a steady, healthful onward and upward progress, such as has characterized his course since graduation.

More quotable by much in this connection, and more illustrative of the trend of Garfield's college life than the crude and ill-rhythmed political satire to which Dr. Hopkins referred, was the following poem published in the third volume of the *Williams Quarterly*, in his Junior year, that is in 1855. This is a really fine poem, as the reader shall now see.

AUTUMN.

Old Autumn thou art here ! upon the Earth
And in the heavens, the signs of death are hung ;
For o'er the Earth's brown breast stalks pale decay,
And 'mong the lowering clouds the wild winds wail,
And sighing sadly, chant the solemn dirge,
O'er summer's fairest flowers, all faded now.
The Winter god, descending from the skies,
Has reached the mountain tops, and decked their brows
With glittering frosty crowns, and breathed his breath
Among the trumpet pines, that herald forth
His coming.

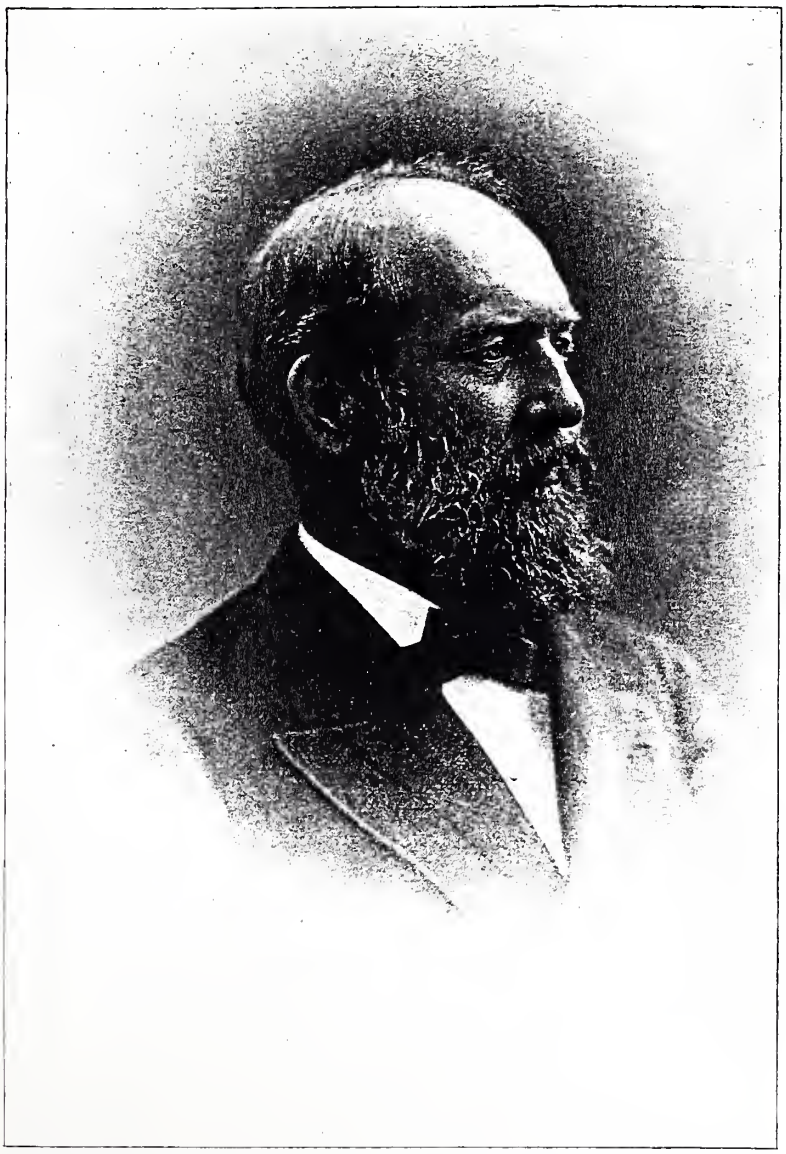
Before the driving blast
The mountain oak bows down his hoary head,
And flings his withered locks to the rough gales
That fiercely roar among his branches bare,
Uplifted to the dark unpitying heavens.
The skies have put their mourning garments on
And hung their funeral drapery on the clouds.
Dead Nature soon will wear her shroud of snow
And lie entombed in Winter's icy grave.

Thus passes life. As hoary age comes on
The joys of youth — bright beauties of the Spring,
Grow dim and faded, and the long dark night
Of Death's chill Winter comes. But as the Spring
Rebuilds the ruined wrecks of Winter's waste,
And cheers the gloomy earth with joyous light,
So o'er the tomb, the Star of Hope shall rise,
And usher in an ever during day.

The excellent reason given by Garfield himself to his correspondent why he should go to an Eastern college rather than to Bethany, namely, because he had always hitherto been associated with Disciples as such, justified itself in every stage of his after life. He went back to Hiram to teach so soon as he had been graduated at Williams; he became a marked man there at once in a sense in which he was not a marked man when he left there; it was not because he was essentially a more gifted, a more faithful, a better read man than perhaps three or four others of his compeers; it was because he had been for two years under a new set of influences, both intellectual and religious, under new physical conditions, — particularly of the mountains, — and under a new kind of teacher and of classmate examples; he had in no sense abandoned the points of his old Disciple training, — he went back unto his own, — but they perceived the differences at once, the grounds of which he himself

was scarcely conscious of, though he was now ready to assume, and they were now ready to concede a new leadership, both educationally and ecclesiastically, the fundamentals of which were corporate and sectarian. Five years of lordly teaching had sent out from and gathered at Hiram College enough of trained Disciple material practically to constitute the Forty-second Ohio regiment of volunteers in the autumn of 1861, with Garfield as colonel. The same complex influences combined, all of them honorable to him, but not all of them springing by any means from his individual qualities, elected him to Congress from the Nineteenth Ohio district in October, 1862. He took his seat on the 5th of December the following year. It was a critical turn. It brought with it great opportunities. It brought with it still greater hazards.

There was nothing remarkable in Garfield's brief military career, nor anything to indicate special military ability except the fact that he gained and retained for life the confidence and friendship of both General Rosecrans and General Thomas. He was chief of staff to the former in the much-disputed battle of Chickamauga, and was extravagantly praised in certain quarters for asking the permission of his chief, after the defeat of one wing of the army in that battle, to go find General Thomas, who commanded the other wing still unrouted; but Thomas retreated into Chattanooga the next day, just as Rosecrans had ordered the retreat of the defeated wing the evening before; and General Garfield never joined in the opinion of those who clamored that the latter did not do all that a good general could do to save the day as a whole. The present writer had the highly esteemed privilege, after the war was long over, of hearing Garfield discourse in private and at length, and on recurring occasions years apart, of the campaigns and of the generals and of the mistakes in the Civil War. Rosecrans was always a marked favorite of the soldiers in the armies he commanded, who commonly called him "Old Rosy"; and Garfield was so intimate with his chief, and so fully possessed his confidence, that he also usually addressed him as "Rosy." "*Now, Rosy, you don't want to do that,*" or "*It is clear that this is the right thing for us to do, Rosy.*" He did not, however, at any time put Rosecrans upon an equality, in point of military ability and genius, with General Thomas; nor did he even allow in that place of comparison General Grant himself. In his magnificent funeral oration over the remains of Thomas, buried at Troy in May, 1870, he did not scruple to put that chief, on the whole, at the head of American generals of the present century; nor, so far as is known, was there ever anything in his conversation to invalidate that esti-



JAMES ABRAM GARFIELD,

W. C., 1856.

mate. He was never inclined to place General Grant, either in military or civil position, so high as most other competent critics did; pencil in hand, he was known to be prepared to demonstrate Grant's military mistakes in the campaign resulting in the capture of Vicksburg; and he had commanded under Grant a brigade in the terrible battle of Shiloh, just before he was made chief of staff to Rosecrans, and probably received (as many others certainly did) an unfavorable impression of Grant's military management. Garfield was appointed a major-general "for gallant and meritorious services in the battle of Chickamauga, Georgia," but resigned shortly after to take his seat in Congress Dec. 5, 1863.

Little need here be said about his long career in the national House of Representatives, and that little will rest chiefly on his own authority, given in frank conversations with a friend, in whose house he was repeatedly a guest. (1) Very few members of the House knew him by sight when he first took his seat. But for obvious reasons there was great curiosity to know him and to talk with him. He had just arrived from the seat of war in the southwest, which was then the crucial point in the gigantic contest, as it proved to be the middle point of time also. Many members were very doubtful whether the War Department had not treated General Rosecrans with needless and unjust severity for his part in the partial failure of the day at Chickamauga. Garfield was as eager to make the acquaintance of the members as they were to make his. He was full of youth and life and buoyancy. He was just thirty years old. For two years he had had a thrilling experience, and he liked to talk about it. He was affable to everybody, and an extraordinarily good talker. He frequented the lobby quite as much as the floor, and the former was often the more animated scene. Some of the older and staider members smiled at his overflow and vehemence, and endless good-nature, but in their hearts they wished that they were young again, and had as clear a conscience as he had. (2) When it became time for him to take his turn in debate, it was found that, without the least apparent effort, he could be heard to the remote corners of the hall, that he had a readiness and good sense and pertinency in debate that can only come from quick apprehension of the real points involved and a general candor toward the position of an opponent. Members listened first because they could easily hear all that was said; and second, because they were pretty sure to get some views of the subject that might be useful to them. Garfield was a good debater. He had an extraordinary voice. He had good sense. He had had a good college training. He meant to be

fair to all sides. He commonly had the persuasive power that an obvious personal conviction takes along with it. "*In no one of the Congresses that I have attended, have there been over ten or twelve members who could be heard all over so easily as I could.*"

(3) Pretty soon after the death of Garfield his friend and fellow-Disciple and biographer, B. A. Hinsdale, now a professor in the University of Michigan, published a small volume of extracts from the speeches and other writings of the universally lamented President, and in the preface he referred at length to the obvious fact that the extracts as such gave inadequate impression of the force and masterfulness of the writings as a whole. Everything must be seen in its setting and surroundings in order to be properly seen at all. This may be easily explained from the nature and training of the man. No human being ever yet had a complete intellectual development. No human being ever yet had a full and rounded moral outfit. The crevasse is found, now here and now there, but crevasses are patent enough in each and all of the world's heroes and favorites. The fundamental reason why Garfield rarely or never expressed himself in quotable apothegms or moral maxims was that he was not built in that way. A scientific generalization inductively reached and properly expressed, has no exceptions whatever; and it is the highest joy of the scientist in any field to grasp and to utter such generalizations. A moral maxim perceived in its grounds of ultimate truth and righteousness stands fast forever, whether attained by processes of inductive proof, as in the case of the Ten Commandments, or intuitively sighted by the very highest minds, as in the case of the Beatitudes. "*Thou shalt not commit adultery.*" No exception — no tampering — no escape. "*Blessed are they who hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be filled*" with righteousness. Garfield's mind was not of that rare order that it took quick and firm hold of certainties as certainties. He saw truths, — a great many of them, and took comfort in them, — that he was sure lay near to the Throne, while he had a lingering fear that some of them might, after all, in special circumstances slip down the steps! He never grounded his soul on the profound formula, that a miss is as bad as a mile! This was the source of all the mistakes, — and he made a good many of them, — while he was a prominent and powerful and mostly admirable member of the House of Representatives. The most masterful speech of his life, and the one that yielded the condensed expression most likely to live, was that given to an excited and maddened crowd in New York just after the murder of Lincoln, and the happy phrase

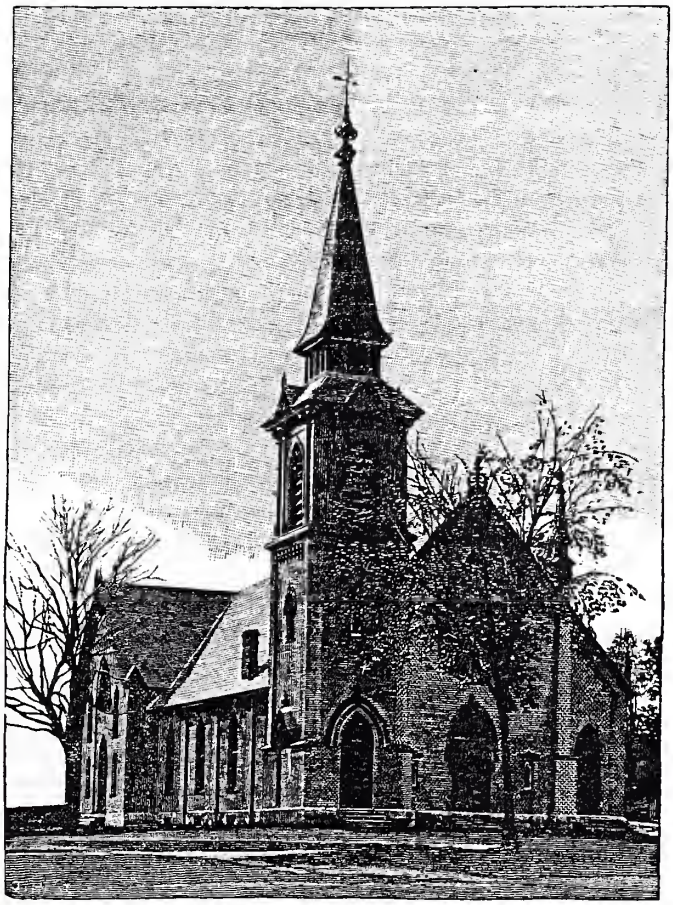
was, "*The President is dead, but God reigns, and the Republic still lives.*"

(4) The American Free Trade League was organized in New York a little after the close of the Civil War, for the express purpose of exposing the motives and thwarting the action of certain members of Congress from Pennsylvania and New England, who had secretly conspired, under the convenient disguises of huge war taxes and depreciated greenbacks, to carry the country back, without open discussion, to protectionism, which the country, after full and long and public discussion, had definitely abandoned in 1846, twenty years before, the year, also, in which Great Britain had definitively abolished her own so-called "protective" tariff taxes, namely, the Corn Laws. More unselfish and patriotic men never lived than those who formed the bone and sinew of that League. They combined to stand up for the rights of the poor and the plundered, for those who for obvious reasons could not stand up for themselves. The three presidents of this League in succession were William Cullen Bryant and David Dudley Field and David Ames Wells, all graduates of Williams College, all nationally and internationally distinguished men, all men highly esteemed by Garfield as fellow-alumni and disinterested citizens. He agreed with them in the constitution of their League, and in their statements of the nature of tariffs as taxes, and of the radical difference between revenue tariffs and so-called "protective" tariffs, — the former being so devised as to let the foreign goods come in and so pay the taxes on them into the United States Treasury, and the latter so devised as to keep the foreign goods out and so get no revenue on them (or if a few come in in spite of the barriers, a very little revenue at a very high cost). Garfield saw through the motives of the men who went to Washington to get "protective" tariff taxes put on. Indeed, he was a member of the Ways and Means when the first considerable raid was made on that committee for such abominable taxes; for he used the words following to a friend in the next congressional recess: "*there was not a man or a delegation before us last winter to get protective duties put on or old ones increased, but came in bare selfishness, without a thought or care except so to raise the price artificially of their own wares to their own countrymen.*" In March, 1869, just after the inauguration of General Grant as President, the American Free Trade League set on foot a series of public addresses in some of the chief cities of the North, beginning in Philadelphia. Two young men from New York, prominent in the League, Charles H. Marshall and Mahlon Sands, accompanied their speaker on this tour, and endeavored to

make influence for the cause wherever they went. From Philadelphia all three went on to Washington, and Marshall and Sands saw a number of public men, members of Congress and others, favorable to a national agitation for free trade; but they saw no other one so favorable to this as the then chairman of the Ways and Means, James A. Garfield. He inquired after the particulars of the Philadelphia meeting, and after the speaker's special line of argument at that time, which they gave to him, and of which he expressed his approval. His outspoken adhesion on this occasion to the principles and practice of the League were perhaps the reason why he was commended to the Cobden Club of London as a candidate for their membership. At any rate, he was so commended from this side, and was regularly elected a member over there, and signified in due time by letter his cordial acceptance of the honor conferred upon him.

The strange story of Garfield's nomination for the presidency at Chicago in the summer of 1880, was many times told by eye- and ear-witnesses claiming to know its inner history; and more than a decade and a half after the event a new interest was kindled in it over the country by original and important contributions made to it through the magazines by Murat Halstead and T. B. Connery. The former of these added much to the public knowledge at several points, while conceding his own inability to explain a striking fact to which he more than once called attention, and which will now be referred to in conclusion. John Sherman of Ohio was the logical and the really only proper candidate for the presidency on the Republican side in 1880. A leading member of the House Committee of Finance throughout the Civil War, and for some time its chairman; as Secretary of the Treasury under President Hayes, superintending the measures leading to the resumption of specie payments in January, 1879, after their suspension for seventeen years, and engaged in refunding at lower rates of interest the debt of the United States; he represented more prominently than any other statesman the Republican policies both of war and peace. He justly deemed himself entitled to the nomination, and honorably and earnestly sought the position. As a congressional neighbor and next friend to Sherman, Garfield volunteered to attend to his interests in the nominating convention, and did so with scrupulous fidelity; from one of the reporters' tables on the floor, Garfield put his colleague in nomination by means of a speech that was extraordinarily admired; and which was only equalled by a corresponding speech uttered by Roscoe Conkling in behalf of the renomination of General Grant for a third term of the presidency; but a hidden force at work in the con-

vention, of which not even Garfield was aware at first, which made the nomination of Sherman impossible, was attended by another hidden force of prescription and sound sentiment, which rendered impossible also the renomination of General Grant. The bottom story, now fully known, need not be told in this place. It is enough



METHODIST CHURCH.

to quote in full the letter of John Sherman in relation to it, as follows: —

"*I believe that Garfield was loyal and did his best to carry out the mandate of his delegation. If there was any disloyalty it was not on his part. When my nomination seemed hopeless, and there was a tendency of my strength to go to him, I telegraphed him my full consent. I*

was glad that the nomination was to go to an Ohio man. I think his friendship for me was unshakable, as mine was for him. Garfield was an exceedingly brilliant man, with a handsome face and imposing appearance. What he seemed to lack was moral steadfastness. He was very susceptible to the influence of stronger natures. He lacked depth of conviction. The last man who got his ear was apt to influence his judgment. I not only gave his nomination my hearty approval, but I worked hard for his election."

If we may fairly assume as the chief tests of a high success in a college professorship, (1) a considerable length in the time of service, say, not less than ten years; (2) a proved ability not only to carry on his own teaching acceptably, but also helpfully to contribute his full share to those miscellaneous duties falling to the members of any college faculty; and (3) a contented and hopeful spirit, such as served to enheart the students generally and tended to keep them in pleasant relations to the College, — we might safely reckon one half of the following named graduate professors as having gained a high success in their exalted calling; the other half, while there were decided differences between them in respect to those tests, may fairly be called successful professors on the whole. The year of graduation and the department of instruction are appended to their names.

Chester Dewey	1810	*Mathematics and Physics.*
Ebenezer Emmons	1818	*Natural History.*
Albert Hopkins	1826	*Physics and Astronomy.*
Edward Lasell	1828	*Chemistry.*
Nathaniel Herrick Griffin	1834	*Latin and Greek.*
John Tatlock	1836	*Mathematics.*
Isaac Newton Lincoln	1847	*Latin and French.*
John L. T. Phillips	1847	*Greek.*
John Bascom	1849	*Rhetoric.*
Arthur Latham Perry	1852	*History and Economics.*
Charles Franklin Gilson	1853	*Modern Languages.*
Cyrus Morris Dodd	1855	*Mathematics.*
Edward Herrick Griffin	1862	*Latin and Rhetoric.*
Leverett Wilson Spring	1863	*Rhetoric.*
Luther Dana Woodbridge	1872	*Anatomy and Physiology.*
John Edward Russell	1872	*Philosophy.*
Henry Lefavour	1883	*Physics.*

Applying the same tests of success as before, and premising that some of the following named non-graduate professors reached the highest rank of general usefulness attained by the first half of the names in the list preceding, there may well be named the follow-

ing. Their respective colleges and departments of instruction are appended.

Ebenezer Kellogg	Yale . . .	*Latin and Greek.*
Joseph Alden	Union . . .	*History and Economics.*
Sanborn Tenney	Amherst . .	*Natural History.*
Truman Henry Safford	Harvard . .	*Astronomy.*
Leverett Mears	Amherst . .	*Chemistry.*
Orlando Marcellus Fernald .	Harvard . .	*Greek.*
Richard Austin Rice	Yale . . .	*Modern Languages.*
Samuel Fessenden Clarke . . .	Harvard . .	*Natural History.*
John Haskell Hewitt	Yale . . .	*Ancient Languages.*

GEORGE LANSING RAYMOND.

A considerable number of professors and instructors, both graduate and non-graduate, are excluded from the above lists by the test of the time of service. The writer cannot forbear, however, to mention as falling in this category of the excluded, George Lansing Raymond, of the Williams class of 1862, who was Professor of Oratory from 1875 till 1881, who displayed here, and afterward at

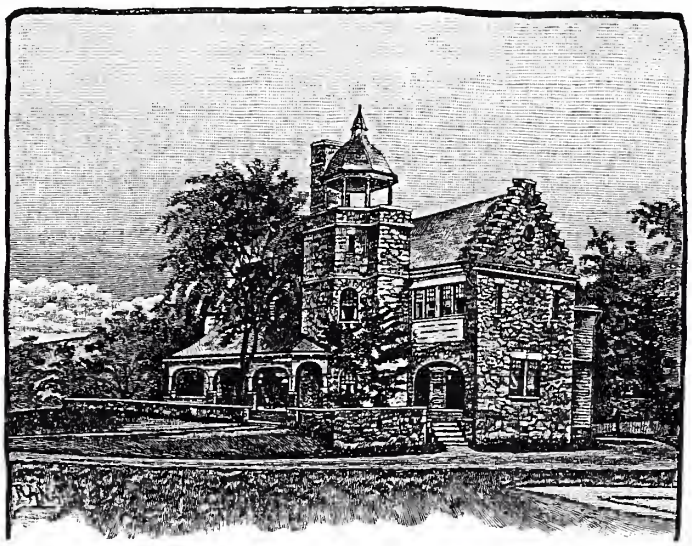
Princeton in a similar position, extraordinary gifts and acquirements along the line of art in general, and in particular the art of oratory. His written style was not felicitous in exposition; and besides, his topics were among the most remote and recondite ever treated of before college classes; and yet he earned, through his teaching and his books, an unique reputation in the country at large for original and profound construction in what may be termed perhaps the science of art. Professor Raymond was also through and through a kindly and considerate gentleman.

A few words here in relation to the college fraternities, or secret societies, of which there were ten as the old century went out, and about fifty per cent of the students constituted their membership. More than half possessed fine houses of their own, in which lived and lodged their members.

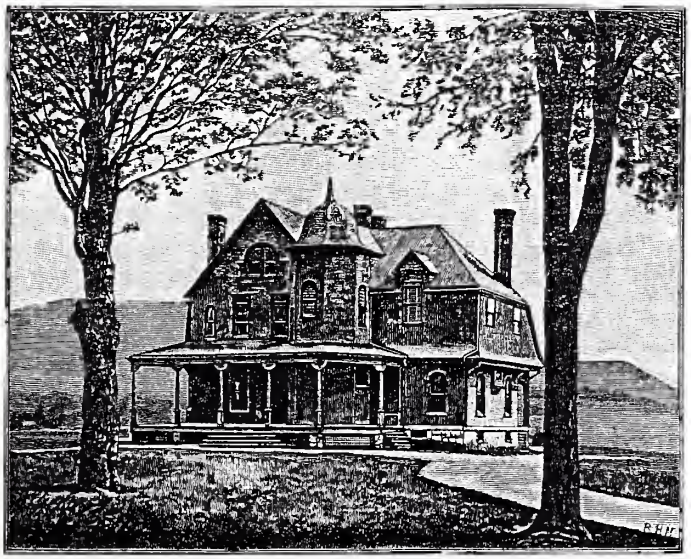
There was one ill consequence certainly of this custom of the fraternities to build expensively and to fare sumptuously: from it followed, by a sort of necessity, the habit of selecting for their new members each year the young men whose fathers were possessed of long purses; not that this was the only principle in their selection by any means, but it came to be a leading principle. It might be thought that this would introduce into the secret societies a kind of aristocracy, but such was not the case practically; they continued democratic in their relations each to each, and all in their common relations to non-fraternity students; while each was doubtless somewhat weakened intellectually and in point of forceful character by the necessity alluded to. There continued to be considerable discussion among the alumni of the College, among the college officials generally, and among the successive generations of college students, whether or not the fraternities were a benefit on the whole. The question certainly had two sides to it; it was debated on both with varying ability and intensity; and candor compels the statement of fact, that the fraternities pretty steadily gained in the college public opinion. They furnished a transient home to their graduates returning to the *Alma Mater;* they furnished a special motive to graduates to send back to the College new students from time to time; and when (as happened more than once) the old College seemed declining and unpopular, the feeling ran in many circles round the country over, *the Society must be perpetuated at any cost through the rescue of the College.* Thus the parent institution was strengthened through the instincts of self-preservation.

The centennial celebration of the College fell on Oct. 8 and 9 and 10, 1893. It was in every way a notable occasion. The weather

was throughout superb. Extraordinary pains had been taken in the points of invitations sent out and hospitalities prepared for. It



DELTA PSI



CHI PSI.

was a part of a matured plan to secure by means of this occasion a more general and pronounced recognition of the College as among

the leading colleges of the northern and eastern half of the country. Special invitations were sent to the representatives of these institutions, which were quite generally accepted, and their particular purpose measurably secured. Through local committees, alert and well-organized, courteous attentions were paid to strangers and to persons from a distance. The public exercises were well maintained from the beginning to the end, and the intervals between these were given up to walks and calls, to the making of new acquaintances and the renewing of old ones. President Carter displayed his remarkable skill in the organization of the celebration as a whole, in the public welcome accorded to all comers, and in the happy and proportionate recognition of institutions and individuals as the presiding officer throughout. All seemed to have a good time; all said that they had had a good time; and, as things go in a world constituted as this one is, it was superficially and apparently a great success. That there were drawbacks was a matter of course. That there were striking contrasts as between the semi-centennial of 1843 and the centennial of 1893 was a matter of necessity. On the other hand, that there were *such* drawbacks as appeared to thoughtful and keen-eyed men; and *such* contrasts appearing to the same between the two occasions in the same place fifty years apart; was a matter of distinct and deep-lined ill-omen to the old College. Before a few of the more material of these drawbacks and contrasts are here enumerated, it may be well for all to read brief specimens of the good words publicly spoken on that occasion by prominent alumni.

Henry Hopkins of the class of 1858, eldest son of Mark Hopkins, preached the sermon, the exordium of which is appended in full, and also three or four sentences from the body.

Williams College is an hundred years old, and there is not a wrinkle on her brow. Through the constant growth of a century, she has stood a steadfast type of a distinctive educational idea. In constantly increasing numbers, occupying ever wider areas, there have been other institutions having substantially the same origin, aims and methods. The American college is the generic name of the class. This designation has had in the past, and notwithstanding the changes of the present, still has, a definite meaning. It is descriptive of an educational organization conformable to no other type. These colleges stand here and there on the high places, through all the great land, from the Aroostook to the Golden Gate, from Canada to the Gulf; and are an honorable and excellent sisterhood, dynamic, dignified, gracious, beneficent. They are to-day blessing and adorning the vast commonwealths that make up the glory and strength of our Republic. Their history is a large and noble part of the history of the letters, the science, the patriotism, and the religion of our country; while in foreign lands the transplanted American college, as represented by such institu-

tions as Robert College at Constantinople, and the Doshisha in Japan, is training the men who are bringing in popular enlightenment, constitutional liberty, and the kingdom of God. If you search for a common characteristic, you will come very near to the heart of our topic, which is, the connection between education and religion. We are concerned especially with the higher education as illustrated in the American college, and religion as related to it.

There is trouble in getting contact after you have gotten men. Increase of numbers tends to weaken influence. The professors with large classes sometimes degenerate into automatic teaching-machines. The intercourse between teacher and pupil grows unlovely, frigid, and formal. How alluring the contrast, — the idea of the academic family of the colleges of the English University! President Woolsey is quoted as saying, "Had I my life to begin over again, I would throw in my lot with one of the smaller institutions: I could have more influence in training mind and in shaping character." There was a greater than he, who, when he would commit to the world truth of priceless value, was satisfied with a single class of only twelve. It is better to lead a few by the hand to the tree of life than, like a guide-board, to point a multitude to the tree of knowledge.

Charles Cuthbert Hall of the class of 1872 said the following words, amid many more of the same general tenor.

Williams College regards Christianity as something more than the cherished faith and the holy tradition of nineteen centuries. To us Christianity means the present power of the living Christ operating in the earth through the varied ministries of the Divine Spirit. Jesus lives, not as a precious memory, but as a contemporary Being; and because He lives, we live also, having received His Spirit in ourselves. And, through men who are made alive by His Divine Spirit, the power of the living Christ becomes an applicable force in the present age, to correct, inform, and guide social relations, and to advance the complete redemption of the individual.

James Hulme Canfield of the class of 1868 delivered the centennial oration. Two passages from it, herewith appended, will impart a fair conception of its drift and spirit.

Because of the somewhat limited number of students in attendance, Williams has often been referred to disparagingly as a "small college." But it should be remembered that its aim has always been to be a safe college rather than a large one. Undoubtedly ideal education calls for but one pupil and one master. The most powerful inspiration is that which comes from close personal relations. The best of the education which this college has offered young men during this century has been the influence of its Faculty. Association with strong character must breed strength of character. The relations of teacher and taught are mutual relations, and are mutually helpful, uplifting, and upbuilding. This "smallness" of the college has maintained conditions conducive to the fulfilment of its early purpose and plan. Personal character and watchfulness and sympathy have always been more possible, as well as more probable, than in larger institutions.

The best test of the success of the college, after all, is the men it has made. And in considering this point, one must carefully note the material with which it has always worked. You will recall that first petition for a charter for the college; wherein it was set forth that the location was advantageous because of certain conditions which tended to lessen the expense of instruction and render the means of a liberal education more easy, and thus bring them more within the power of the "middling and lower classes." To these classes the college has always appealed with the largest possible degree of helpfulness. It has believed that sound education was just as possible to the son of a peasant as to the son of a president; just as helpful to the blacksmith as to the barrister; just as quickening in all its power with the farmer as with the philosopher; and in its possibilities, quickening power, and helpfulness, a constant blessing to all, through all; and is needed by all alike.

Granville Stanley Hall of the class of 1867 used the following significant words, which will bear reading between the lines also.

We are wandering in the wilderness, and have been to a certain extent, it seems to me, in all matters of higher education, ever since the beginning of the elective system. When we began we had a symmetrical, seasoned, well-digested college curriculum. The only other example of a course of education known in the history of the world was known long before this country was founded. It was the course of education represented by the old *trivium*, *quadrivium* and *quindrivium*, which held their own for a thousand years, by the "ratio studiorum" of the Jesuits, and also by the schools which Charlemagne founded.

Since we lost that course, — and it is being rapidly lost, — we have been wandering in the wilderness; and all these promising attempts, admirable as they are, have not by any means completely solved the problem. On the other hand I think there is a general consensus that the great problem is yet before us and that it must be solved by new methods, if not, indeed, to some extent, by new men.

Washington Gladden of the class of 1859 made his contribution to the centennial in the form of the following hymn; as he had made many years before the more notable contribution of the first, and still the chief of the college songs, — "The Mountains."

Here, 'neath the soft October sky,
A century gone, the scholars stood
And praised the Power who dwells on high,
The Source of Light, the Fount of Good.

The flaming mountains heard their praise;
The winding river hushed its mirth,
And through the dreamy depths of haze
The heavens stooped down and touched the earth.

A hundred years their gifts have brought
To crown the work that day begun;
And flames from off this altar caught
Light every land beneath the sun.

O flaming mountains, guard us still!
O skies of autumn, softly bend,
And whisper of the gracious will
Of God, our Father and our Friend.

O Lord of life and light and love,
The years to come are safe with Thee;
Clothe us with wisdom from above,
And make us brave and strong and free!

It is of the very nature of a centennial celebration to be *commemorative* — to look mainly backward, and perhaps also to imply something of comparative criticism on the changing methods of the present. The prose excerpts just presented, and especially the last one, all either imply or import such criticism. The president of the College in the last dozen years, of his own motion and by means and authority more than questionable, had changed essentially the college curriculum, which, according to President Hall, was "symmetrical, seasoned, and well-digested," and had gone off "wandering in the wilderness." There was a widespread feeling among the alumni to the same effect, though no one else expressed it so frankly and strongly as Stanley Hall; probably there was no other one present so competent to give a sound judgment on that topic as was he. In this undertone of foreboding was seen the first of the contrasts between 1893 and 1843. The second was like unto it. The entire number of graduates during the first fifty years of the College was 959; during the second fifty years the number was 2292. At the semi-centennial, Calvin Durfee, of the class of 1825, who was present, and who was a man of sober judgment in such matters, records in his "History of Williams College," page 251: "This occasion brought together a great number of graduates (probably not far from three hundred), and with them a large crowd of interested spectators." Suppose we reduce his estimated number of 300 to 240, then it will follow that just one-fourth of all the graduates up to that time were actually present on the ground in 1843. This, too, while Williamstown continued to be extremely inaccessible to persons from a distance. Also a considerable proportion of the 959 had then already passed over into the land of silence. The number of graduates during the second fifty years of the College was 2292, as officially recorded. A praiseworthy and persistent effort was made to obtain for permanent preservation the autographs of all graduates actually in attendance in 1893. The names thus secured were 409. This number should be reduced certainly by 7, probably by 11 or 12, on account of those who properly enough signed with their classmates, but who for one reason or another did

not receive diplomas with them. It seems to be fair to reckon 400 (and no more) of the alumni on the ground at the centennial. But this is only a little more than one-sixth of the entire number graduated in the fifty years preceding. Fully one-fourth of the graduates corresponding were present in 1843. There was, therefore, a striking difference in the relative number in attendance at the two dates. And that, too, when the centennial naturally drew more strongly and from wider circuits than a semi-centennial; also, when the previous inaccessibility had changed in the interval by means of railroads, from south and north and east and west, to unusual easiness of access for a country town; and also when, owing to larger numbers in the later years, a much larger proportion of the entire numbers were relatively young men. How do we account for this difference in attendance at the two times? It was not anticipated. The authorities of the College had expected 600, and but 400 came. The reason for this was discussed at the time and place by many of the experienced alumni; and their varied opinions concentrated at least around this one point, namely, that some personal disaffection toward the College on the part of those more recently graduated at the College was an adequate ground for this discrepancy of attendance.

INDEX.

A.

Adams, Ebenezer, 393.
Adams, John, 172, 269.
Adams. John Quincy, 476, 786.
Adams, North, 5, 172, 444, 764.
Adams, Samuel, 24, 276.
Adelphic Union Society, 266.
Advocate Advertisers, 482.
Agricultural College, 688.
Aix la Chapelle, 5, 54.
Alden, Joseph, 593, 608, 693.
Allen, Ethan, 25, 60.
Allen, Parson, 115, 169, 225.
Alma Mater, 724.
Alpine Club, 401, 579.
American Advocate, 474.
American Board, 576.
Ames. Fisher, 277, 284.
Amherst, 14, 304, 398, 402, 415.
Amherst College, 450, 622.
Amherst, General, 20, 119.
Anderson, H. H., 745.
Anderson, Rufus, 369.
Andover and Blandford, 389.
Andover Seminary, 419.
Anti-Slavery Society, 483.
Arnold, Benedict, 25, 29, 60.
Arnold, Stephen, 47.
"Ashuelot Equivalent," 165.
Ashuwillticook, 5.
Astronomical Observatory, 545.
Auburn, 201.
Avery, John, 335, 338.
Avery, Oliver, 11.

B.

Babbitt, Captain, 113.
Baccalaureates, 603.
Backus, G. H., 377.
Backus, W. F., 308.
Bacon, Chloe, 80.
Bacon, Daniel, 134.
Bacon, John, 175, 198, 298.
Bacon, Ezekiel, 175, 298, 323.
Bailey, A. S., 356.
Baker Bridge, 128.
Baker, Elisha, 78, 83, 128.
Baldwin, Joel, 143.
Ballard, Addison, 524, 527.
Ballard, H. H., 518.
Bancroft, George, 22, 330.
Bangor, Maine, 362.
Bank, National, 799.
Bannister, Ridley, 473.
Bardwell, Mehitable, 356.
Bardwell, Obadiah, 44.
Barker, J. M., 745, 751.
Bartlett, Homer, 534.
Bartlett, William, 419.
Bascom, John, 368, 511, 559, 597, 601, 650, 655, 678, 708, 713, 765, 800.
Batten Kill, 21, 22, 96, 109.
Battle, Lake George, 15.
Battle of Bennington, 114 *et seq.*
Baum, Colonel, 18, 61, 116.
Bay Path, 50, 371.
Beadle, 1.
Beecher, H. W., 354.
Beecher, Lyman, 354.
Bee Hill, 134, 333, 440.
Beers, Isaac, 237.
Belcher, Governor, 5.
Belding, Noah, 152.
Bell, Governor, 392.
Bennington, 12, 15, 109, 391.
Benton's debates, 702.
Berkshire, 2, 9.
Berkshire American, 172.
Betts, S. R., 552.
Bidwell, Barnabas, 324.
Biography, Preface.
Bishop, H. W., 290, 381, 707.
Bixby family, 535.

Black David, 63, 130.
Blair, Absalom, 138, 231.
Blair, Ezekiel, 36, 143.
Boardman, William, 173.
Bondsmen of Skinner, 312.
Bosworth, W. G., 141.
Braddock, General, 54.
Brainerd, David, 631.
Breckinridge, C. R., 696.
Breimanns, Colonel, 125.
Brewer, Colonel, 102.
Brewer, Judge, 451.
Brickyard, 192.
Bridges, B. F., 29.
Briggs, Governor, 369, 372.
Britain, 22.
Broad Brook, 100.
Brougham, Lord, 792.
Brown, Captain, 113.
Brown, Harry, 281.
Brown, John, 24.
Brown, Samuel, Jr., 97.
Brown, T. M., 666.
Bruce, Wallace, 124.
Brush, Colonel, 121.
Bryant, Arthur, 339.
Bryant's Lyric, 341.
Bryant, W. C., 196, 236, 334, 461, 705, 765.
Bryant's commemoration poem, 348.
Bulkley Farm, 130.
Bulkley, J. R., 35, 295.
Bunhill Fields, 17.
Bunker Hill, 40.
Bunyan, John, 17.
Burbank, Asa, 246, 281, 411, 544, 741.
Burgess, Ebenezer, 366.
Burgoyne, General, 14, 20, 96.
Burning of East College, 267.
Bushnell, Jedediah, 352.
Butler, J. D., 19, 33.
Buttons in Easthampton, 707.

C.

Calhoun, S. H., 565.
Canaan, Conn., 10.
Canfield, J. H., 835.
Canning, E. W. B., 379.
Canning, J. W., 379.
Carleton, General, 104.
Carlisle, J. G., 697.
Carter, Franklin, 44, 468, 629, 633, 647, 709, 713.
Cartright, Richard, 152.
Castleton, 30.
Catamount Tavern, 110.
Catskill, 767.
Census, 273.
Census of the town, 763.
Centennial, 832.
Century Dictionary, 799.
Ceylon, 362.
Chadbourne's inauguration, 656.
Chadbourne, P. A., 44, 624, 652, 656, 709.
Chadbourne tomb, 369.
Chadwick, J. W., 555.
Champlain, Lake, 22.
Chapin, Elisha, 11.
Chapin, Oliver, 308.
Charlemont, 28.
Charlestown, N.H., 18.
Charter of College, 214.
Charter of Free School, 154.
Chatham, 766.
Chaudière, 38, 59.
Chicago Tribune, 140.
Chidester, 98.
Childs, H. H., 539, 552.
Chip Day, 268.
Chi Psi, 187, 833.
Chittenden, Governor, 144.
Cider-brandy stills, 129.
Civil code, 787.
Clark, Alonzo, 44.
Clark, Billy J., 201.
Clarke, Professor, 758.
Clarke, Samuel, 71, 111.
Clarke, S. F., 831.
Clark Hall, 262, 673, 733.
Clay, Henry, 168, 475.
Cleveland Petition, 699.
Cleveland, President, 697.
Cobden and Bright, 705.
Cobden Club, 704.
Cochran, Robert, 17.
Code Napoléon, 787.
Co-education, 677.
Coffin, James H., 528.
Cogswell, Rev. Dr., 209.
Cogswell, Samuel, 209.
Colby, Professor, 690.
Colchester, 12.
Cold Spring, 194.
Cole Avenue, 520.
Cole, C. S., 805.
Cole, Mrs. Henrietta, 446.
Colerain, 389.
Colleagues, Bodies of, 304.
College Bell, 198.
College building, 673.
College Catalogue, 237.
College Cemetery, 369.
College Centennial, 752.
College Chapel, 749.
College Church, 432.

College discipline, 397, 619.
College Library, 762.
College rebellions, 305.
College revivals, 427.
College Spring, 188.
College Temperance Society, 485.
Collins, Daniel, 78, 148, 167.
Colonization Society, 354, 366.
Colt, Judge, 707, 711.
Columbian Sentinel, 315.
Commencement, 223.
Commencement Ball, 470.
Comstock, Samuel, 481.
Concord, 8.
Conditions of success, 635.
Congregational ministers, 325.
Consumption Hill, 183, 458.
Continental Bills, 185.
Converse, Walter, 68.
Cooke, Parsons, 296, 410.
Coos Country, 140.
Corbens, 12, 55, 141.
Corbin, Asa, 275.
Court, Supreme, 184.
Cox, Betty Hubbell, 257, 264.
Cox, Thomas, 257, 263.
Crandall and Curtis, 526.
Cravath, 695.
Crawford, John, 11.
Crown Point, 11, 22.
Curtis, Allen, 9.
Curtis, G. W., 342.
Curtis, H. B., 263.
Curtis, Jared, 540.

D.

Daggett, President, 206.
Dalton, 165.
Danforth, J. N., 552.
Danforth, Keyes, 279, 474, 481, 521, 684, 750.
Dartmouth College case, 317, 405.
Daughters of Griffin, 421, 448.
Davis, Emerson, 395, 411.
Davis, Henry, 223.
Davison, C. A., 746.
Dawes, H. L., 689.
Day House, 297.
Dean, Josiah, 10.
Dearborn, General, 281.
Dedham, 367.
Deerfield River, 7.
Defalcation of Skinner, 315.
Delaplace, Captain, 31.
DELTA PSI, 833.
Democratic Party, 205.
Democrats, 245, 355.
Denison, John H., 761.
Dewey, C. A., 189, 255, 331, 403.
Dewey, Captain, 121.
Dewey, D. N., 619.
Dewey, Professor, 129, 308, 346, 375, 459, 690.
Dickenson, T. W., 27.
Dickinson, Deacon, 63.
Dickinson, J. W., 744.
Dike, S. W., 755.
Dimmock, Professor, 649, 657.
Dinners of Alumni, 671.
Disciples, Sect of, 819.
Doctor's Brook, 89.
Doctrine of Perfection, 487.
Dodd, Professor, 628.
Doddridge System, 220.
Douglas, Asa, 41, 46, 257.
Douglas, S. A., 113, 140.
Dunbar, Tutor, 223.
Duncan, Dr., 244.
Dunning, Michael, 71.
Dunning, Josiah, 59.
Durfee, Calvin, 219, 237, 346, 837.
Dutch settlements, 12.
Dwight, Henry W., 493, 500.
Dwight, John, 55, 795.
Dwight, Timothy, 207, 278, 631, 796.
Dwight's "Travels," 331.

E.

East College, 260, 522.
East Hoosac, 93.
Easton, Colonel, 28, 33.
Eaton, A., 286, 302, 517, 765.
Eaton, Major, 294.
Edwards, Jonathan, 169, 218, 416, 418.
Eldridge, Griffin, 42.
Eldridge, Hamilton, 614.
Election of Mark Hopkins, 498.
Eliot, John, 48.
Elocution, 614.
Ely, Geo. H., 697.
Ely Petition, 698.
Emmons, Ebenezer, 281, 396.
Emmons, Nathanael, 419.
Enos, Colonel, 41, 62.
Equality under the Law, 440.
Ethics, 607.
Ethics of Mark Hopkins, 513.
Evarts, Lawyer, 589.

F.

Faculty Meeting, 731.
Faxon, Thomas, 443.

Federalists, 228, 276, 355.
Federal Party, 161.
Fernald, Professor, 433, 665, 716, 831.
Field brothers, 451.
Field, David Dudley, 99, 451, 705, 765.
Field, Henry M., 171, 177.
Field, S. J., 780.
Finney, Rev., 421.
First Commencement, 233.
Fish Creek, 96.
Fitchburg R. R., 27.
Fitch, Charles, 209, 383.
Fitch, Ebenezer, 13, 45, 52, 137, 151, 204, 228, 311, 376.
Fitch, James, 51.
Fort Dummer, 20.
Fort Massachusetts, 7, 8, 15, 170.
Fort Pelham, 733.
Fort Shirley, 152, 733.
Fort William Henry, 55.
Foster, Ezekiel, 10.
Fraternities, College, 832.
Freemasonry, 71, 280.
Free School, 14, 153, 193.
Free Trade, 23, 415, 702, 777.
Free Trade League, 827.
French King, 723.
French Revolution, 230.
French War, 8, 10, 11, 15.

G.

Gale, John B., 799.
Gardner, Caleb, 294.
Garfield's campaign, 685.
Garfield, J. A., 661, 765, 823.
Garrison, W. L., 483.
Gates, General, 95, 101, 111.
Gemote, 1.
General Court, 2, 3.
Geology, 291.
Georgia lands, 317.
German tribes, 1.
Giddings, F. H., 701.
Giles, Jonathan, 129.
Gilson, C. F., 625, 830.
Gladden, Washington, 836.
God's acre, 11.
Godwin, Parke, 773.
Goodrich Hall, 673.
Goodrich, J. C., 564.
Gore, 71, 175.
Gore, The, 481.
Grace Court, 264.
Grant, General, 636, 824.
Grants, N.H., 17.
Gravel Day, 344.
Graves, Ebenezer, 10.
Gray, Lydia, 327.
Green, Bryam, 351, 361.
Green, Henry, 65.
Green Mountains, 22.
Greylock, 794.
Gridley, R. W., 430.
Griffin, his resignation, 436; his death, 437; his sermons, 438; his peculiarities, 446.
Griffin, E. H., 611, 665, 712, 717, 722, 808.
Griffin Hall, 197, 262, 456.
Griffin, N. H., 516, 585.
Griffin, President, 310, 412.
Grist-mill at North Hoosac, 117.

H.

Haliburton, Judge, 569.
Halifax, 566.
Hall, Ambrose, 42.
Hall, C. C., 835.
Hall, Governor, 26, 120, 133.
Hall, G. S., 738, 836.
Hallock brothers, 531.
Hallock, Moses, 375.
Hallock, William, 338.
Hamilton, Alexander, 277.
Hancock, 46.
Hancock, John, 58.
Handy, Parker, 45.
Hanover, N.H., 392.
Hardwick, 14, 16.
Harris, Israel, 33, 105, 138.
Harrison, Clement, 171.
Harvard College, 405.
Harvey, William, 428.
Harwoods, 14, 251.
Hawkins, Robert, 79, 86.
Hayes, O. B., 748.
Haynes, J. H., 733.
Haystack, The, 359, 369.
Hebrew Language, 715.
Hegel, 738.
Hemlock Brook, 9, 11.
Henderson, John, 136.
Herkimer, General, 107.
Herrick, Colonel, 121.
Hervey, William, 428.
Hessian soldiers, 135.
Hewitt, J. H., 831.
Hickcox, Stephen, 134.
Hickok, L. P., 805.
Hicks, Frederick, 577.
Hinsdale, B. A., 826.
Historic Sense, 730.
History, Defined. Preface.
Hoar, Senator, 704.
Hoisington, H. R., 298.

Home Market, 475.
Homesteads, 274.
Hoosac, 5.
Hoosac Junction, 16.
Hoosac Mountain, 12.
Hoosac Tunnel, 444.
Hopkins, Albert, 360, 368, 453, 466, 555.
Hopkins, Colonel A., 257.
Hopkins, Edward Payson, 492.
Hopkins Hall, 231.
Hopkins, Henry, 368.
Hopkinsian System, 219.
Hopkins, Mark, 99, 465, 471, 541, 598, 644, 765, 779.
Hopkins, Mark, Colonel, 94, 104.
Hopkins, Mary Curtis, 447.
Hopkins Observatory, 523.
Hopkins, Samuel, 167, 219.
Hosford, Stephen, 404, 443.
Housatonic River, 3.
House Tax, National, 226, 270.
Hovey, Professor, 479.
Howe, Fisher, 233.
Howe, Sampson, 54.
Hoxsey and Hickcock families, 440.
Hubbel, C. L., 283.
Hubbell, Jedediah, 113, 264.
Hubbell, Lyman, 62, 481.
Hudson, Seth, 9.
Hunn, John, 60.
Hyde, Alvan, 410.
Hyde, William, 494, 708.

I.

Indian towns, 4.
Ingalls, F. T., 637.
Ingalls, J. J., 637.
Innoculation, 103.
Ives, Professor, 768.

J.

Jackson, Abraham, 151.
Jefferson, 161, 229, 269, 475.
Jenkins, Charles, 340.
Jennings, Reverend, 503.
Jerome, Engene, 11, 750.
Jerome, Leonard, 42.
Jogues, Father, 117.
Johnson, Harry, 131.
Johnson Hill, 11.
Johnson, W. E., 72.
Johnson, W. S., 16.
Jones, B. W., 676.
Jones, Israel, 168.
Jones, of Adams, 400.
Josh Billings, 168.
Judson, Adoniram, 364, 368.

K.

Kant, 739.
Kappa Alpha Society, 610, 745.
Kellogg, Charles, 185.
Kellogg, Daniel, 201.
Kellogg, Ebenezer, 163, 179, 377, 423.
Kellogg, Giles B., 231.
Kellogg Hall, 262, 426.
Kellogg, Samuel, 77.
Kelloggs, 12.
Kent, James, 400.
Kidder Pass, 67.
Kilburn, Marcia, 90.
Killingly, 12.
Kimball, Richard, 19.
King in Council, 16.
Kingsley, Professor, 224.

L.

La Fayette, 41, 792.
Lake George, 15, 23.
Lanesboro, 74.
Larned, Sylvester, 347.
Lasell Gymnasium, 728.
Lawrence Library, 762.
Leake, Frederic, 443, 721, 799.
Leet Hill, 174.
Leet, Jared, 174.
Lefavour, Professor, 758, 830.
Lexington, 40.
Lincoln and Phillips, 623.
Lincoln, General, 110, 134.
Lincoln, Professor, 574.
Lincoln's "Worcester," 17.
Linsley, Tutor, 223.
Little Hoosac, 65.
Little, Woodbridge, 166.
Livingston, Edward, 787.
Loomis, Harvey, 363.
Lottery for Free School, 157, 189.
Loup, Hopkins & Co., 684.
Lowell, John, 590.
Lowell Lectures, 592.
Lyon, Mary, 771.

M.

McCosh, 600.
McCulloch, Hugh, 696.
Mackay, Professor, 224.
Mackenzie, R. S., 636.

McMahon, Thomas, 256.
MacMaster, 67.
Magee, Irving, 752.
Man "Friday," 720.
Manning, Daniel, 697.
Mansion House, 186, 260.
"Manual of Botany," 290.
March climate, 343.
Marcus Morton, 538, 540.
Marcy, Governor, 615, 692.
Marshall, C. H., 827.
Marshall, Chief Justice, 213
Marsh, Charles, 572.
Marsh, Dr. Perez, 165.
Marsh, D. W., 435.
Marvin, J. R., 593.
Mason, John, 51.
Mather, B. F., 568.
Mather, Elias, 258.
Mayunsook, 5.
Meacham, James, 84.
Meacham, Jonathan, 10, 188.
Meack, Jacob, 72, 78, 89.
Meadow lots, 11.
Mears, Professor, 757, 831.
Meeting-house, Old, 240.
Mercer, General, 383.
Merriman, Daniel, 710.
Merriman, W. E., 746.
Metaphysics and Ethics, 679.
Mills, Drake, 301.
Mills, E. H., 247.
Mill's "Logic," 468, 611, 692.
Mills, Samuel, 66.
Mills, Sedgwick, 67.
Mills, S. J., 352, 543.
Mineralogy, 768.
Missionary College, 351.
Missionary Park, 368.
Modes of discipline, 509.
Modes of teaching, 505.
Mohawk, The, 107.
Mohawk trail, 7, 27.
Mole, Thomas, 561.
Montcalm, General, 11.
Monument Mountain, 4.
Moore, Judah, 389.
Moore, President, 254, 386.
Moore, Z. S. M., 391.
Morgan, B. F., 87.
Morgan, Colonel, 41.
Morgan, Governor, 727, 756.
Morgan Hall, 263, 755.
Morgan, H. H., 807.
Morgan, John, 472, 780.
Morris, Founder, 347.
Morse, Joseph, 35.
Mount Defiance, 107.
Mount Fitch, 401.
Mount Moore, 401.
Mum Bet, 159.
Murray, Nicholas, 527, 618.
Muster-rolls, 39, 126 *et seq.*
Mygatt, L. C., 754.
Mystery, 548.

N.

Nash, Lieutenant, 113.
Natural sciences, 287.
Navigation Act, 22.
Nelson, John, 326, 358.
Newark, 420.
New England Puritans, 296.
New France, 11.
New Hampshire, 16.
New Hampshire Grants, 25, 28.
Nicaragua, 577.
No. 4 —, 18.
Noble, Daniel, 384, 405, 439.
Noble, David, 77, 143, 173, 253.
Noble, J. H., 33.
Noble, Juliette, 255.
Noble, Mason, 252, 485.
Noon Prayer Meeting, 488, 557.
Norris, Mary, 365.
Northam, Sarah, 134.
North Carolina, 476.
Northrup, G. W., 572.
Nott, President, 280.
Nott, Samuel, 365.
Noyes, Professor, 695.

O.

Oberlin, 601.
Ode, Anti-slavery, 484.
"Old lime-kiln," 183.
Old measures, 431.
Olds, F. W., 344.
Olds, Professor, 307, 374.
"Old Ti," 46, 105.
Origins in Williamstown, 481.
Orton, Azariah, 347.
Orton, Professor, 347.
Otter Creek, 21.
Owl Kill, 109.

P.

Packard of Shelbourne, 399.
Packard, Theophilus, 384.
Page, Dr., 101.
Paley, 514, 595.
Parker, Linus, 115.

Park Street Church, 420.
Parsons, E. B., 759.
Partridge, Dr., 120.
Patterson, Colonel, 41.
Peaks, Mountain, 765.
Peel, Sir Robert, 704.
Pelham, 388.
Perry, A. L., 491, 595, 612, 682, 691, 710, 807.
Perry, Bliss, 130.
Perry, George B., 357.
Perry's Elm, 8.
Pest-house, 100.
Peterborough, 386.
Peters, Rev. Dr., 180.
Petition for College Charter, 210
Pfister, Francis, 119.
Phelps, E. J., 19.
Phillips, Professor, 559, 581.
Philologian Society, 266.
Philosophy, 679, 809.
Philotechnian Society, 266.
Pilgrims of Plymouth, 2.
Pine lots, 100.
Pittsfield Gymnasium, 330.
Pittsfield Sun, 294.
P. K., 422, 516.
Political Economy, 816.
Politics, 778.
Pomfret, 48.
Port Byron, 202.
Porter, Dr., 66, 98, 280, 282.
Porter, Professor, 465.
Post, Evening, 775.
Post-office, 294.
Potter, General, 131.
Pownal, 59.
Pratt, Bill, 265.
Pratt, Llewellyn, 686, 710, 711.
Pratt, William, 139.
Priest Potter, 21.
Prime, Rev. Dr., 707.
Princeton College, 176, 416.
Prindle, Lieutenant, 113.
Procter, H. T., 192, 298.
Propriety, 9
Proprietors' Book, 10.
Protectionism, 22, 277.
Protestants, 220.
Public Debate, 595.
Puritans of the Bay, 2.
Puritan Recorder, 426.
Putnam, Israel, Preface.
Putnam, Schuyler, 333.
Putney, W. B., 754.

Q.

Quack at Williamstown, 103.
Quakers, 171.
Qualities of Fitch, 238.
Quebec, 12, 58, 177.
Quincy, Josiah, 406.

R.

Raymond, C. L., 831.
Rebellion of 1868, 642.
Reeve, L.
Rehoboth, 46.
Removal of the College, 385.
Remsen, Ira, 647.
Republicans, 276.
Rice, Harvey, 468.
Rice, Professor, 719, 831.
Richards, James, 362.
Rich, Elijah, 67.
Rich, Moses, 67.
Robbins, J. W., 326.
Robbins, Thomas, 225, 235, 549.
Robinsons, 34.
Robinson, Captain, 16.
Rockwell, Colonel, 685.
Rogers, Robert, 20.
Root, Charity, 265.
Rosecrans, General, 824.
Rossiter, Nathan, 42.
Roxbury, 48.
Rudd, Joseph, 133.
Russell, John E., 327.
Rutland, 29.

S.

Sabin, H. L., 28, 65.
Sabin, John, 33, 75.
Sabins, 31.
Sabin, Zebediah, Preface, 42, 47.
Safford, J. H., 174.
Safford, T. H., 756, 762, 803, 831.
Sage, Orrin, 708.
St. Croix, 114, 117.
Salisbury, Professor, 798.
Sanderson, S. W., 510.
Sands, Mahlon, 827.
Sand Springs, 344.
Saratoga River, 96.
Schuyler, General, 18, 94, 212.
Schuylerville, 139.
Scotch-Irish, 17, 37, 387, 389.
Scribners, 624.
Scudder, H. E., 470, 747.
Scudder, Samuel, 581, 747.
Seal, Free School, 14, 204.
Searle, Isaac, 185.
Second Meeting-house, 258.
Sedgwick, 775
Sedgwick, General, 337, 338, 350.
Sedgwicks, 786.

Sedgwick, Theodore, 72, 157, 347.
Seelye, Ephraim, 100.
Seelye, J. H., 805.
Selling of wood, 345.
Semi-centennial, 535, 547.
Senior recitation-room, 799.
Sergeant, Erastus, 97.
Sergeant, John, 4.
Seward, Governor, 292, 769.
Seymour sisters, 550.
Shattuck, Amasa, 89.
Shaw, Henry, 168.
Shay's Rebellion, 92, 277.
Sheffield, 3.
Sheldon, Noah, 264.
Sheldon, Remembrance, 279.
Shepherd, Samuel, 384, 422, 454.
Sheridan, General, 636.
Sheriffs of Berkshire, 301.
Sherman family, 244.
Sherman, John, 829.
Sherman, W. B., 242.
Shute, Governor, 17.
Sierra Leone, 306.
Sigma Phi Society, 744.
Silliman, Professor, 288, 328, 690, 767.
Simonds, Benjamin, 73, 95, 186, 190.
Simonds family, 357.
Simonds, Joseph, 75.
Skaneateles, 201.
Skinner, Alice, 250.
Skinner, Benjamin, 371, 374.
Skinner, Mehitable, 61, 373.
Skinner, Rachel, 371.
Skinner, Rev. Thomas, 162.
Skinner's Meadow, 252.
Skinner, T. J., 72, 82, 104, 138, 161, 249, 312.
Slick, Sam, 570.
Sloan, D. W., 44.
Sloan, General Samuel, 41, 42, 123, 343.
Sloan Road, 42.
Slope Hawks, 82.
Smedley, Deacon James, 131.
Smedley, Lucy B., 264, 443.
Smedley, Nehemiah, Preface, 15, 27.
Smith, Dr. Samuel, 279.
Smith, L. A., 435.
Smith, Lorin, 75.
Smith, Nathan, 38.
Society of Alumni, 246, 704, 411, 740.
Society of Brethren, 364.
Socratic methods, 605.
Soldiers' Monument, 263.
Sprague, Rev. Dr., 428.
Springfield Republican, 700, 707.
Spring, Gardner, 357.
Spring, L. W., Preface.
Spring, Professor, 235, 512.
Spy-system, 723.
Square, The, 8.
Stafford, Joab, 57, 114.
Stamp Act, 22.
Stark, John, 18, 105, 389.
Starkweather, Augustus, 296.
Starkweather, William, 295.
Stewart, Dugald, 606.
Stirling, J. H., 739.
Stockbridge, West, 4.
Stoddard, Colonel, 4.
Stoddard, Colonel John, 754.
Stone Hill, 64.
Story, Judge, 299.
Stratton, Ebenezer, 150.
Stratton, Isaac, 90, 123.
Stratton's House, 91.
Stuart, Lemuel, 36, 187, 255.
Student body as such, 499.
Student-soldiers monument, 639.
Subscription for new church, 241.
Sullivan, John, 64.
Sumner, Charles, 790.
Sumner, Professor, 706.
Sutton, Burrall, 300.
Swell-body hack, 399.
Swift, Rev. Seth, 148, 177.

T.

Table of trustees, 181.
Taconic Passes, 282.
Taconic system, 519.
Talcott, Samuel A., 370.
Tariffs and Taxes, 624.
Tariff-taxes, 478.
Tatlock, John, 449, 585.
Tatlock, William, 561.
Taxation, 23.
Taylor, Samuel, 738.
Temperance Society, 205.
Tenny, Sanborn, 627, 669, 851.
Terry, General, 146.
Thacher, John B., 697.
The town, 2.
Thomas, Dwight, 88.
Thomas, E. M., 227.
Thomas, General, 824.
Thompson, Colonel, 391.
Thompson, [illegible]s, 263, 459, 756.
Thompson, Robert, 53.
Thompson, F. F., 756.
Tibbett's Place, 119.
Ticonderoga, 11, 31.
Tilden, Governor, 791.
Todd, Rev. John, 663.
Todd, Rev. Samuel, 171.
Tories, 75.
Torrey, Asenath, 68.

Torrey, Justin, 283.
Tory breastwork, 116.
Toussaint, Louis, 442.
Towner, General and Doctor, 43.
Towner, Sophia, 281.
Train, Thomas, 10.
"Trees Grant," 71.
Troy and Boston Railroad, 294.
Trumbull, J. H., 148.
Tyler, Professor, 392, 402.

U.

University of Cambridge, 210.
University of Rochester, 463.
University of Wisconsin, 675.

V.

Van Rensselaer, 772.
Van Schaack, 222.
Vermont, 14, 110.
Vernon, 12.
Von Jagemann, 449.

W.

Wadhams, Jonathan, 751.
Walden Spring, 194.
Walker, R. J., 704.
Walker, William, 401.
Walloomsac, 12.
Warner, Seth, 19, 25.
Warren, Jabez, 10.
Warren, Joseph, 24, 58.
Washburn, Emory, 555.
Washburn, Governor, 290.
Washington, General, 38.
Watts, Isaac, 17.
Wayland's "Moral Science," 515.
Webb, Derick, 146.
Webster, Captain, 120.
Webster, Daniel, 212.
Webster, Noah, 408.
Welch, Whitman, 13, 430.
Welch, William, 57.
Wells, David A., 425, 691, 705, 827.
Wells, John, 502.
Wentworth, Governor, 15.
West College, 183.
Western Star, 294.
Westfield, 4.
West Hoosac, 7, 12.
West Hoosac Fort, 8, 11.
West, Stephen, 218.
Wheeler, Deacon, 150.
Wheelock, Eleazar, 653.
Whig Party, 440.
White David, 63, 130, 178.
Whitehall, 22.
White, Horace, 140.
White, James, 707, 746, 750.
White, Joseph, 28, 255, 423, 622, 707, 711, 750.
White River Junction, 19.
Whitfield, George, 17.
Whitman, Dr. Timothy, 447.
Whitman, Mrs. Lucy, 525.
Whitmans, 12, 368, 446.
Whitney, M. B., 745.
Whitney, W. D., 765, 796.
Willett, Colonel, 107.
Williams, Abagail, 97.
Williams, Dr. Thomas, 98.
Williams, Elijah, 218.
Williams, Elisha, 200.
Williams, Ephraim, 5.
Williams, Founder, Preface, 8, 13, 152.
Williams, Judah, 147, 173.
Williamstown Academy, 474.
Williams *versus* Amherst, 409.
Williams, William, 9, 164.
Will of President Moore, 415.
Will of the Founder, 153.
Window of Griffin Hall, 459.
Wing, A. E., 373.
Winthrop, Governor, 49.
Wirt, William, 212.
Witenagemote, 2.
Wolfe, General, 11, 54.
Woodbridge, J. E., 296.
Woodbridge, John, 381, 411, 740.
Woodbridge, Joseph, 4.
Woodbridge, L. D., 443, 689, 830.
Woodbridge, Timothy, 4.
Woodcock's Corner, 85.
Woodcock, Nehemiah, 78, 85.
Wood for fuel, 268.
Woods, John, 166.
Woods, Leonard, 386.
Woodward, Jonathan, 141.
Woolsey, President, 695.
Worcester, 388.
Wordsworth, 554, 602.
Wright, Charles, 170.
Wyman, Isaac, 10, 98.

Y.

Yale College, 13, 41, 631.
Yankee speculation, 14.
Young, Erastus, 44.
Young, William, 68, 321.
Youngs, 37, 69.

Z.

Zelie and Perry, 265.

KMAN
RY INC.
MAR 99